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MISSOURI

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NOTES ON THE JONES FAMILY IN MISSOURI.

The Joneses are chiefly of Welsh descent, and they may be found wherever the English language is spoken. We have read of John Paul Jones and his exploits as a naval officer, fighting for the cause of American freedom, on the high seas, during the Revolutionary war. But he really was not named Jones, only John Paul. In Missouri the Jones family has been distinguished for lawyers, doctors and ministers of the gospel and politicians and educators.

John Rice Jones came from Virginia to Indiana and then to Missouri in 1808. He was a member of the Constitutional convention of 1820, then judge of the Supreme Court and died in 1824. He was of Welsh descent. His son, George W. Jones, was United States Senator from the State of Iowa, and his son was my schoolmate at the Western Military Institute at Drennon Springs, Ky, in 1851 and 1852.

Charles Jones came from Virginia to Franklin county, Missouri, and was a leading member of the State Senate, and died in St. Louis in 1876. Breckenridge Jones is a prominent lawyer and banker of St. Louis. The Rev. Isaac Jones, a Presbyterian preacher, dwelt in Columbia for a number of years, notably between 1840 and 1860. His house was on

the east side of Eighth street between Broadway and the old City Hotel. A. H. Jones, a bachelor, living north of Columbia, deserves notice for his generosity in giving $15,000 to the new Y. M. C. A. building.

James Jones was an early settler in Montgomery county, and for many years before the Wabash Railroad came along, his house was the regular stopping place for stages. In the month of January, 1848, I staid one night with Mr. Jones. The house, a log, was standing right in the center of the town of Jonesborough until about 1904, being about 100 yards east of the Wabash Depot and about 200 feet north of the Railroad.

Dr. John Jones resided near Marthasville in Warren county. He took an active part in ferretting out the horse thieves who infested the country prior to 1845, and for this, he was secretly assassinated in 1842. This caused great excitement at the time, and some persons were arrested on suspicion, but nothing could be proven against any one. I was then but a boy, yet I remember hearing of it.

Lewis Jones, was a famous hunter in early times. Once he went so far from home as the Platte, was taken prisoner by the Indians, stripped of all his clothes, given an old gun and turned loose. He started home, and on the way shot a panther, skinned it and put the skin on himself, and traveled in this way for several hundred miles to his home in Montgomery county. The skin being fresh when put on, there was some trouble in cutting it and taking it off.

John Jones, a native of Wales and a sailor, sailed around the world, and between 1890 and 1902 was employed as night watchman on the U. S. snagboat Charles R. Suter. At his leisure he employed himself in weaving cords around chains, canes, bell ropes, &c., and making baskets. His work was pretty and showed science and skill. I have a cane showing his workmanship that he presented to me.

Jefferson F. Jones of Welsh origin came with his parents from Kentucky to Boone county, Mo., in 1824. A few years later he settled in Callaway. He was a successful lawyer and was a leader among the people. He used his influence

in promoting the building of the North Missouri Railroad. He was a member of the Legislatures of 1856 and 1875, and was energetic and faithful to his ideas of his duty. He was a strong sympathizer for the South, and raised a company for the purpose of fighting in the southern cause. In this he was checked by Gen. John B. Henderson, and had to sign articles to relinquish his purpose.

William Claude Jones was a member of the Constitutional convention of 1845, and in 1846 a member of the State Senate from Newton county. In 1849 he was a member of the Board of Curators of the State University. Soon after, he went to California, and died there a few years later. He composed the following song to the air of Lucy Neale:

1. Where the wild Neosho winds and kisses many a flower
The prairie deck'd in beauty smil'd, around the red man's bower;
Joy's mellow voice was there, there love's sweet voice was heard,
And the warrior press'd to his throbbing breast,
The lovely Prairie bird!

Chorus:
Oh the Prairie bird, the lovely Prairie bird
And the warrior press'd to his breast
The lovely Prairie bird!

2. The flow'rs of spring had bloomed, and the warrior sought the plain
Where the Buffalo in grandeur roamed,
In a wild and stately train.
While the warrior's arm did thin many a lordly herd
The wild Comanche bore away his lovely prairie bird.

Chorus: Oh the Prairie bird, &c.

3. In Neosho's flow'ry vale, his wigwam wild was lorn
Where his heart's sweet flow'r--his gem of hope
His prairie bird was gone.

The smile which won his love, each cherished look and word
Rose in the warrior's heart, and he wished to save the prairie bird.

Chorus: Oh the Prairie bird, &c.

John P. Jones came from Massachusetts to Missouri, and was Post Master at Keytesville, Mo., between 1876 and 1890. While living there he made an extensive archaeological collection of flints and stone implements which he disposed of to Central Park, New York. He then turned his attention to early Missouri history. Interesting articles on these subjects may be found in Vols. 4, 5, and 6 of the Kansas City Review of Science and Industry for 1880 and 1883. Sometime about 1890 he went to Southwest Kansas, and then to California, and was in San Diego in 1896, engaged in studying out the travels of the early Spanish explorers. In a letter to me he says that he crossed the Rocky Mountains on the same trail that Lewis and Clark did in 1805 and that it has been used ever since, and was in use earlier than the time of Lewis and Clark.

John Carlton Jones was born in Kentucky. In 1882 he began to teach Latin in the Missouri University, and has now been so employed for twenty-five years. He was assistant and then Secretary of the Faculty. In 1891 he became full professor in charge of the Latin Department, and now, for several years has been Dean of the Academic Faculty.

Joneses may be found throughout the State of Missouri, and many of them have been prominent and influential, and we do not recall that any have not performed their part well.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

SOME HISTORICAL LINES OF MISSOURI.

Missouri is entitled to be regarded as the keystone State of the American Union rather than Pennsylvania. Her geographical position made her the highway and the principal theatre of all the early explorers. A hundred years ago all western roads pointed to our state, and for a half century they ended at or in her borders. Her eastern shore is laved by the mightiest river of the world; the great Missouri bisects her territory, and the Ohio with its drain arteries extending into New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, strikes her border sixty miles above her southeastern border as the bird flies, and more than twice that distance probably by the meanderings of the great river. Missouri lies between 36° 30' and 40° 34' 40" north latitude, and between these two lines the fiercest contests, political and military, of the country, were fought to a finish and settled.

The Missouri Compromise Line.

It turns out that the most important line in our history, The Missouri Compromise Line, coincides almost in its whole extent with the southern boundary of our state, and before going into the history of the former I will briefly state the history of the establishment of the latter.

The first petition for the admission of Missouri into the Union was prepared and signed in the fall of 1817, and on March 17, 1818, John Scott, our delegate to Congress, presented this petition to the House and it was referred to a committee. This petition asked that the southern boundary of the state be fixed at 30° 30' north latitude, stating that that was an extension of the line between Virginia and North Carolina and Kentucky and Tennessee. November 22, 1818, the Territorial Legislature of Missouri adopted a memorial which was

presented to Congress, praying that the southern line of the new state be fixed as follows: Beginning on the Mississippi at the line of 36° north latitude and running thence to the junction of Big Black and White Rivers; thence up the main fork of White River to 36° 30' and thence west, etc. There were two settlements between the lines proposed by the peoples' petition and the legislative memorial, one along the river in what is now Pemiscot county and the other on White and Black Rivers and probably a few on the St. Francois. At that time there was a county called Lawrence, composed of a strip of territory now within the limits of this state, about thirty miles wide, extending from the St. Francois River to the western border of the state, and running to Little Red River on the south, with its county seat at Davidsonville, which was near the present site of Pocahontas, New Madrid county, with its county seat at the town of New Madrid included the settlements along the river in what is now Pemiscot county. As soon as the agitation for the admission of Missouri began, an effort was made to organize the Arkansas Territory. This brought the question of the boundary line of the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas to the front, and the line as it stands today was agreed on. That line was a compromise. The settlers along the Mississippi prayed that their business and political relations with the other citizens of New Madrid county be not severed by cutting them off from their county seat. Their wishes prevailed and what has sometimes been called "Missouri's Toe" (Pemiscot and Dunklin counties) was added to Missouri. And for a like reason the settlers along White and Black Rivers with their county seat, Davidsonville, were included in the bounds of Arkansas Territory. The bill to admit Missouri was passed by the House on February 17, 1819, and on the day that bill passed, a bill to organize the Arkansas Territory was introduced into the House. The latter bill became a law March 2nd, 1819, but the Missouri bill was lost March 3rd of the same year, and did not become a law until more than a year afterwards, so the Act March 2, 1819, organizing Arkansas Territory, first fixed the line 36° from the Mississippi to the St.

Francois, and 36° 30' from that river west as the northern line of Arkansas, and by the act of March 6, 1820, that line was made the southern line of Missouri. The starting point on the Mississippi for this line had its inception in an act of the Missouri Territorial Legislature of December 31, 1813, defining the line between New Madrid and Arkansas counties. That line began at the lower end of Island No. 19 (near the line of 36°), and ran thence to the mouth of Little Red River and thence up that river to the western line of the "Osage Purchase." That was before Lawrence county, which was bounded east by the St. Francois, was formed.

The line between Arkansas and Missouri was for many years a source of annoyance to the settlers along the border of the two jurisdictions. January 21, 1821, the Missouri Legislature prayed the Government at Washington to survey this line and locate it, which was done in 1823 by Joseph C. Brown, under appointment of Wm. C. Rector, Surveyor General of Missouri and Illinois. But the friction between the settlers along the above line continued for a long time. Finally, February 11, 1841, the Missouri Legislature authorized the Governor to appoint a commissioner to act with one from Arkansas to survey and more exactly fix and mark the line. Under this act, Governor Marmaduke appointed Ex-Governor Daniel Dunklin to make the survey, and he and the commissioner from Arkansas commenced the work, but on July 25, 1844, Dunklin died. George Penn, of Saline county, was appointed vice Dunklin, and by November, 1844, sixty miles of the line had been surveyed. Afterwards the whole survey was finished and the line, reported by the joint commissioners, was ratified by Arkansas by Act of December 23, 1846, by Missouri by Act of February 16, 1847, and by Congress by Act of February 15, 1848.

The Adoption of the Missouri Compromise Line.

The establishment of the boundary line between Missouri and Arkansas had no political significance whatever. but out of its establishment grew the first great slavery agitation in our country, which resulted in the adoption of what is known

in history as the Missouri Compromise Line. This was the fourth compromise on the slavery question. In the formation of the constitution there had been three compromises on this subject:

First. The Fugitive Slave Clause.

Second. Three fifths of the slaves (called "other persons" to avoid the use of the word "slave" in the Constitution) were to be reckoned as a basis of representation in the lower House of Congress and for taxation.

Third. The Foreign Slave Trade might be abolished after the year 1808.

From the time of the adoption of these three compromises, 1787-89 to the adoption of the fourth in 1820, was what might be termed the tranquil period in our national history in regard to slavery agitation. The first suggestion of a line dividing slave and free soil came from Mr. Louis McLane, of Delaware, during the discussion of the bills to admit Missouri as a State, and to organize the Territory of Arkansas in 1819. February 15, 1819, Mr. Talmage, of New York, proposed a scheme for the gradual emancipation of slaves in Missouri, and on February 17, 1819, Mr. Taylor, of New York also, proposed the same scheme for Arkansas. February 15th Mr. McLane suggested a line, without naming any particular line, however, equitably dividing the territory west of the Mississippi between the contending parties, as a compromise. Mr. Taylor's emancipation scheme for Arkansas was defeated in the House February 17, 1819, by a vote of 68 to 80. The same day Mr. Taylor introduced, for the first time in the history of the country, an amendment to the Arkansas bill, fixing the line of 36° 30' as a dividing line between slavery and freedom. The same day Mr. Harrison proposed that this line should run due west from the mouth of the Des Moines river. After a heated debate Mr. Taylor withdrew his amendment to the Arkansas bill, and that Territory was organized by Act March 2, 1819, without restrictions as to slavery. As has been noted, the Missouri bill, on account of the slavery question, was lost the next day, March 3, 1819. At the next session the Missouri bill was re-introduced, and Mr. Talmage renewed his amendment, providing

for the gradual emancipation of the slaves of Missouri. The scheme was to prohibit in the future the importation of any more slaves into the state, and to make all children born of slave mothers free after the age of twenty-five years. At that time there were in the State about eleven thousand slaves. Most of the leading statesmen of Missouri, including her representative in Congress, John Scott, and her two future senators, Benton and Barton, opposed this emancipation scheme. and insisted on the admission of the state without conditions as to slavery. It is proper to state, however, that the citizens of Missouri were, by no means, unanimous in making the institution of slavery permanent in this state. In April, 1820, a meeting of about one hundred citizens of St. Louis was held. presided over by Joseph Charless, at which it was resolved that the further importation of slaves into the state be stopped as soon as possible. The debate in Congress became bitter and memorable. The agitation growing out of it, which was simply a renewal of the agitation at the preceding session, continued for weeks, exciting the passions of both sides almost to the point of sundering the bonds of our union. A compromise, the fourth on the slavery question, was finally reached. This compromise, proposed by Senator Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, provided that slavery should not exist in any of the territory acquired by us from France in 1803 north of 36° 30' north latitude, except Missouri, which might be admitted as a slave state. Please note this exception as important, as will be developed hereafter. This line was adopted by Act of Congress March 6, 1820. Note this date also as an epoch marker.

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Holt, April 13, 1820, referring to the measure said: "The coincidence of a marked principle, moral and political, with a geographical line, once conceived, I feared would never more be obliterated from the mind." He added that he feared that the union was doomed, and went so far as to suggest a line of cleavage, the Potomac, Ohio and Missouri, or probably the Mississippi rivers (meaning, of course, the Mississippi north of the Ohio). A week later, in a letter to Holmes, he said: "This momentous ques-

tion, like a fire bell at night, awakened me and filled me with terror. I considered it at once the knell of the Union." He added that his one comfort was that he would not live to see the catastrophe. As an index to the feeling of our State at the time on this question, and as exemplifying the trend of political action of this period, I will state that the grand juries of St. Louis, St. Charles and Jefferson counties (and there may have been more) made reports to their respective courts, asserting the dogma of states rights and severely criticizing Congress for its action in connection with the establishment of this line. Mr. Jefferson was mistaken when he suggested that the establishment of this line introduced a new element in American politics. "The coincidence of a marked principle, normal and political, with a geographical line," existed at the time of the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, and had existed for over half a century. Jeremiah Mason and Charles Dixon, two celebrated English surveyors, had fixed and marked the line between Pennsylvania on one side and Delaware and Maryland on the other in 1760-67, and while that line had no political significance at the time it was surveyed, it, in time came to be universally recognized in this country as the line dividing slave from free territory. In 1787 this line, as a divisional one between slavery and freedom, was extended along the Ohio to its mouth and from the ocean to the mouth of the Ohio it became recognized as Mason and Dixon's line. On one side of it lay the South; on the other side the North. On this side slavery existed, on that freedom prevailed. Here was slave soil and slave labor, there was free soil and free labor. This line, at first a purely imaginary one, in time became a chasm and finally became the battle line of the contending forces. This line divided the States, while the Missouri Compromise, when established, divided only the territories of the United States, then largely uninhabited.

If the line between the free and slave States, the Ohio river, had been extended westward, it would nearly have coincided with the southern line of Missouri, as fixed by the Act of March 6, 1820. Benton, in his abridgement of Con-

gressional Debates, Vol. 6, p. 430, says, a proposition was made in Congress in 1811 to extend this line westward from the mouth of the Ohio. It is probable that both sides agreed to the Missouri Compromise under a serious misconception of the character of the Louisiana Purchase, outside of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota, as geographers of that day marked nearly all of the territory west of the Missouri as the "Great American Desert." By this mutual mistake both sides did not think that they were surrendering very much in fixing the line they did between slave and free soil.

The Missouri Compromise Line, as established by Act of March 6, 1820, extended no further west than the 100° west longitude, which had been fixed as the western line of the Louisiana Purchase south of the Arkansas River, by the treaty with Spain in 1819, but by the Act of Congress, 1845, fixing the boundary of Texas, it was provided that if any states should, in the future, be formed out of Texas territory, slavery should not exist north of 36° 30', which had the effect to extend the Missouri Compromise Line to the Rio Grande. Afterwards when other territories were organized, a narrow strip of land nearly 200 miles long and 35 miles wide, lying between 36° 30' and 37° North latitude and 100° and 103° west longitude was not included in any of them, and was for a long time known as "No Man's Land" but it was finally attached to Oklahoma, and now forms Beaver County of that State.

February 15, 1847, when it had become manifest that an extensive territory would be acquired from Mexico, and when the agitation growing out of the Wilmot proviso, which sought to prohibit slavery in our acquisitions from Mexico, was again convulsing the country, the Missouri Legislature adopted resolutions instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives from Missouri, to abide by the Missouri Compromise Line in the organization of future governments for the territories then owned or that might, in the future, be owned by us. Thus as late as 1847

the Missouri Legislature had no thought and probably no desire to disturb that line.

March 10, 1849, the same Legislature adopted what are known as the "Jackson Resolutions," which asserted the doctrine of State Sovereignty and of States Rights, and alligned Missouri with the extremists of the South. These resolutions asserted further that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in any of the territories of the United States, "but for the sake of harmony and the preservation of the Federal Union they will still sanction the application of the principles of the Missouri Compromise to the recent acquisitions, if by such concessions, future aggressions upon the equal rights of the States may be arrested and the spirit of anti-slavery fanaticism extinguished." By the resolutions the Senators from Missouri were instructed and her Representatives requested, to vote in accordance with the principles they announced on all questions coming within their purview. The great Benton revolted against these resolutions, and in 1849-50 made his memorable appeal to the people and thereby lost his place in the Senate, to the irreparable loss of the State. The defeat of Benton marked an important epoch in Missouri history, for by it our State passed from the conservative leadership of Bentonism to the radical leadership of anti-Bentonism, to continue up to the flight of Governor Jackson across her southern line in 1861, a period of ten years. It ought never to be forgotten, however, that though Benton was defeated, his memorable appeal did more than any other one thing to make Missouri Union in sentiment. He charged that the "Jackson Resolutions" spelled secession and disunion, which forced his enemies to deny this; and to fortify them in this denial, to vociferously assert that they loved the Union and would do all they could to maintain it. Hence, on this appeal, all were, publicly at least, for the Union, with this distinction; Benton and his adherents were for the Union first and slavery afterwards, while the anti-Bentonites were for slavery first and the Union afterwards. This contest did not end with the defeat of Benton. He and his adherents con-

tinued it until his defeat for Governor in 1856, when he retired from public life. He had, however, sown the seeds of Unionism, which germinated and brought forth abundant fruit. When the crisis came, February 28, 1861, the State adhered to the Union by a vote of 80,000 majority. It should be noted at this point that the Missouri Legislature, on the 21st day of February, 1861, just seven days before this decisive vote for the Union, by joint resolution declared against coercion, and "that in case of invasion of any Southern State to carry that doctrine into effect, the people of Missouri will instantly rally on the side of their southern brethren to resist the invasions at all hazards and to the last extremity," which shows that representative bodies do not always represent.

In 1850 other compromise measures were adopted, as follows:

1st. California was admitted as a free State.

2nd. New Mexico, its north line extending to the Arkansas river, and Utah, were organized as territories, and authorized to come into the Union free or slave, as they chose.

3rd. The Fugitive Slave law was strengthened.

4th. The slave trade in the District of Columbia was prohibited. These made eight compromises on the subject of slavery, and thus ended the compromising era of our country.

The Fugitive Slave Law.

The Fugitive Slave Law was always intensely unpopular in the North, and the one of 1850 was denounced more bitterly than the one of 1793, as it required the citizens of the North, when called on by the officers of the law, to become "slave catchers," as they called it. They claimed that it was asking too much to require them, by law, to help capture and return to slavery men and women, though black, fleeing by their doors to make themselves free, or forbidden to feed them or give them shelter.

Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe published "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in 1851-52, as a protest against the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. She makes heroes and heroines of the men and women who refused to obey that law by feeding and clothing fugitive slaves and aiding them in their flight to freedom. She also portrays, in strong dramatic colors, the inhumanity of breaking up the family life and sundering the ties between parents and children, husbands and wives of the slaves of the South by their sale and separation. She sarcastically refers to the fact that fugitive slaves had to be clandestinely conducted through a free country to a province of a monarchy, Canada, before they could be free. Mrs. Stowe appealed chiefly to the men and women of the North, but she did not ignore the South. Her work struck a sympathetic cord in the human heart everywhere, and it met with an immense sale. The result was, lines known as "underground railroads," were established from Mason and Dixon's line to Canada for the escape of fugitive slaves, and by means of which many did escape. This angered the South, and its statesmen insisted that the North had already abrogated the Missouri Compromise, at least in its spirit, and they began again to seriously discuss the question whether Congress possessed the power to exclude slavery from any of the territories of the United States, and by 1854, they were ready to overthrow the Missouri Compromise Line.

At that time, (1854), the two Senators of Missouri, David R. Atchison, a democrat, and Henry S. Geyer, a whig, and all the Representatives in the House, except Benton, then a member of that body, were extreme pro-slavery men.

The Churches Divided.

In the meantime the line of demarkation between slave and free soil had become a disturbing element in the churches. The Methodist body had split along that line in 1844, and the Presbyterians and Baptists soon followed.

This schism distinctly emphasized the moral and religious phase of the question involved and aligned religionists, North and South of this dividing line, into separate groups. Nearly all the members of the religious bodies in the slave States, became political adherents of the pro-slave idea, and nearly all in the free States became political adherents of the free soil cause. This allignment intensified the situation and embittered the controversy.

It is important in this connection to refer to another significant episode in the history of Missouri. January 16, 1833, the Missouri Legislature formed a new county and named it Van Buren, in honor of the Vice-President of the United States. February 16, 1841, the same Legislature, by joint resolutions, addressed Mr. Van Buren, as President of the United States, tendering him its regard, esteem and confidence, and complimenting him on his firm stand for the rights of slaveholders "against the operations of a party, which is led by the world's convention of England and is rendered formidable by its association with the capitalists of London and many of our deluded citizens," and on his opposition to the measure to allow the postoffice to carry abolition documents. Van Buren was defeated for the nomination for President in the democratic convention of 1844, and in 1848 he ran for President on a free soil platform, and thus caused the defeat of Lewis Cass, the candidate of the democratic party on a state's rights platform, and March 7, 1849, the same Legislature changed the name of Van Buren county to Cass. How fickle is fame! The Legislature in changing the name of Van Buren county discreetly omitted its reasons for so doing. In this, Missouri showed herself more radical than Arkansas, which has allowed the name of Van Buren to designate one of her counties even to this day.

David R. Atchison.

This gentleman, who succeeded Dr. Linn in the Senate in the fall of 1844, was the antipode of Benton, the other Senator. Benton, while pro-slavery, was an unconditional

Union man. Atchison was for the Union but not without slavery; the former was consistent, the latter inconsistent, as his public career will show. Senator Atchison, March 10, 1848, after our acquisitions from Mexico, the largest portion of which lay south of the line of 36° 30' voted to extend the Missouri Compromise Line to the Pacific and so did Benton on the organization of Oregon Territory, but subsequently, fearing that the bill would be lost with that provision in it, Benton and other men were willing to omit it but Atchison insisted on retaining it. Again on the adoption of the Compromise measures of 1850, Mr. Atchison voted to extend the Missouri Compromise line to California, but he was again defeated and this time he went so far as to join Jeff. Davis, R. M. T. Hunter and some other southern men in a protest against its non-extension. This protest asserted that the refusal to extend that line to California "was fatal to the peace and equality of the States.....and leading, if persisted in, to a dissolution of the Confederacy." Atchison's change of base will be noticed under the next sub-head.

The Abrogation of the Missouri Compromise Line.

In the winter of 1853, a bill for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska was before the Senate, and Mr. Atchison stated that, while he did not consider the Missouri Compromise Line as just, he had come to the conclusion that it could not be repealed, and hence it might be considered as permanent, and he was willing to organize the Territory on that theory. But by the next session a change had come over the spirit of his dream, and he became a persistent advocate of the abrogation of that line. In January, 1854, Mr. Douglas, chairman of the Committee on Territories, made a report on the Nebraska bill, in which it was recommended that the line 36° 30' be disturbed; but finally he changed his mind and reported a bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and recommended that this historic line be abrogated. Mr. Atchison, in a speech

at Atchison, Kas., September 20, 1854, gave the reason for this change of base on the part of Senator Douglas. In that speech he told the people that he had forced Douglas to take that step by telling him that if he did not report an amendment to the bill to abrogate that line, he, (Atchison), would resign as Vice-President, be put at the head of the Territorial Committee, and report such a measure himself. And he went on to say that Douglas yielded, and on May 30, 1854, Mr. Pierce signed the bill, with that provision in it, wiping out the Missouri Compromise Line, and leaving the people of the Territories free to adopt or reject slavery at their own option. May 30, 1854, thus becomes one of the most memorable days in the history of our country, and especially in the history of Missouri. That day was the beginning of the end of slavery, and of the dogma of peaceable secession. Jefferson was mistaken about the establishment of the Missouri Compromise Line being an error, sufficient to cause alarm, but his criticism of that line and his prophecy in regard to it exactly fit the crisis reached May 30, 1854, when that line was abrogated. The abrogation of that line came like a clap of thunder out of a clear sky and it fell upon the ears of the people like a fire alarm at night, filling them with alarm and indignation. The North was ripe for decisive action. This line which had been regarded as sacred as the Constitution itself and as a measure of peace for over thirty-four years was wiped out, and the proposition to carry slavery into all the Territories aroused a storm of wrath and indignation throughout the North, and the determination was at once formed to fight the institution to a finish everywhere. The pulpit, platform and press, along the whole line of the free States hurled their anathemas against what they termed the oppressions of the slave power, urging that that power proposed to nationalize slavery. The anti-slavery people asserted it had been the hope of the fathers, Southern as well as Northern, that slavery would in time be put in the way of final extinction, and that hope had been theirs up to May 30, 1854, but by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise

Line, they were forced to the conclusion that the slaveholders intended to extend that institution with the deep-seated determination to perpetuate it. This they intended to resist to the last extremity. The conflict between freedom and slavery in their minds became irrepressible. The South insisted that slaves were mere chattels, on a par with horses and cattle, and as such, slaveholders had a right to carry them into the Territories of the United States where the Constitution threw its protecting arm around them, not to free them, but to enslave them. And when the slaveholders, with the Bible in one hand and the Constitution in the other, asserted that by the first they could prove slavery right and by the other legal, the anti-slavery people replied that if that was true, which they denied, they would demand an anti-slavery God, and anti-slavery Bible and an anti-slavery Constitution, and that they would appeal to a law higher than the Constitution or institutions, the law of eternal justice and love of humanity. The assertion of a Divine sanction for slavery, and the further assertion that slaves were mere chattels, things to be treated like other property and that when the masters moved to the Territories with their slaves, they carried with them also the law of slavery of their own States, shocked the whole North, and the assertion of the higher law doctrine shocked the whole South.

In the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Line by the slaveholding States chiefly, the South unwittingly threw down the gauntlet of war, which the North promptly took up and the two antagonistic civilizations buckled on their armor for the conflict. In the North this conflict was intended to be to a finish from the start. There were to be no more palliations or compromises; but the South, having avowedly adopted the Kansas-Nebraska bill as a peace measure, as it was termed, did not awake to a full realization of the nature of the conflict it had precipitated for two or three years afterwards.

Kansas Becomes the Battlefield.

The effect of the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise Line, instead of calming the troubled waters of slavery agitation, simply transferred the contest from the halls of Congress to the plains of Kansas, which became at once the center of the stage, and remained such for three years.

Emigrant Aid Societies.

The portents of the coming storm had already, by the time the Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law, induced the people of Massachusetts to organize Emigrant Aid Societies to make Kansas a free State, and in a short time Missourians, under the leadership of Atchison, B. F. Stringfellow, Claiborne F. Jackson, and others organized secret, oath-bound Blue Lodges, Social Bands and Sons of the South, afterwards joined by organized bands from South Carolina and Georgia, to make Kansas a slave State. These methods, on both sides, were new in American politics and tended to intensify and embitter the struggle.

The Republican Party.

An anti-slavery party, the Republican, sprang up as if by magic, the sole inspiration of which was "free speech, free soil and free men" and around this sentiment the anti-slavery forces became coherent, persistent and determined. The struggle in Kansas was fierce and bloody. March 30, 1855, large numbers of armed Missourians invaded that Territory and elected a pro-slavery Legislature, which became "the direful spring of woes unnumbered" to both Kansas and Missouri. May 21, 1856, Sheriff Jones and his posse, composed of Missourians very largely, sacked Lawrence and destroyed two free State newspapers. May 24, 1856, old John Brown appears upon the scene at Dutch Henry's Crossing, Kas., where he and his companions killed five pro-slavery men in a most cruel and wanton manner. The free State people from March 30, 1855, when the Mis-

sourians elected a Kansas Legislature, refused to recognize that Legislaure as legal or the government it established as entitled to their allegiance, and organized a State government of their own, formed a constitution known as the "Topeka Constitution," and under it applied for admission into the Union as a free State. The anti-slavery members of Congress supported this free State government, and voted to admit Kansas as a free State under the Topeka Constitution, while the pro-slavery members, backed by the administration fought both as illegal and revolutionary.

The Sumner-Brooks Episode.

May 21, 1856, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, made his bitter speech in the Senate on what he termed "The Crime Against Kansas," and on the next day Preston H. Brooks, of South Carolina, struck Sumner over the head with his cane, knocking him senseless to the floor. Sumner's condition after this stroke aroused the sympathy and indignation of the whole North, and Brooks, after an unsuccessful attempt to expel him from the House, which was at the time anti-slavery, resigned his seat and applied to his people for vindication, which they gave him almost unanimously, there being only six votes against him. This episode became of national importance as a controling element in the politics of the day. In the eyes of the extremists of the North, Brooks' assault embodied the ruffian spirit of pro-slaveryism and Sumner's speech, in the eyes of the South, embodied the spirit of the abolitionists, who had, it was claimed, no regard for the rights of slaveholders. During this period a new impetus was given to the sale of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," hundreds of thousands of copies of which were bought and eagerly read. The advance in the spirit of the pro-slavery propaganda was shown by resolutions passed by a convention of southern men held at Savannah, Ga., December 12, 1856, and at another at Vicksburg in 1859, asking for the repeal of the law interdicting the foreign slave trade. During the years 1856-60 many negroes

from Africa were smuggled into Southern ports and sold there into slavery.

The Dred Scott Case.

March 6, 1857, is also an epoch marker. On that day the Dred Scott Case, the most celebrated in the annals of this country, made Dred Scott, a Missouri negro, the most notorious, if not the most illustrious, man of his age. Since March 6, 1857, his name has been spoken and printed millions of times. The Court, through Chief Justice Tawney, in that case, held: 1st. The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. 2nd. As the Constitution makes no distinction between slave property and other property, "no tribunal acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive or judicial, has a right to draw such distinctions or deny to it" the protection of the Government. 3rd. No negro, whether free or slave, could become a citizen of the United States without their consent. 4th. For a hundred years before the adoption of the Constitution the people held that negroes had no rights which they (the whites) were bound to respect. 5th. That neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature had the power to exclude slavery from the Territories, and consequently the Missouri Compromise Line was unconstitutional and void. McLean and Curtis, two of the Justices, filed able dissenting opinions, taking issue with the Chief Justice on all points. The decision caused jubilation and delight in the South. Now there could be no question but that all the Territories were alike open to the slaveholders with the assurance of protection for slave property there. The North, on the other hand, could see nothing in this decision but added proof of the determination of the slaveholders to nationalize slavery, reversing, as it did, the policy inaugurated by Jefferson in 1784, and consummated by the ordinance of 1787, and the compromise measures of 1820 and 1850, and the Republican party, the anti-slavery party, lately organized, appealed from the Supreme Court to the people on the momentous questions

involved in the Dred Scott case. Here was presented a new phase of an old conflict. The South maintained that this appeal was simply a new manifestation, in concrete form, of the higher law doctrine; it was revolutionary and subversive of all government. On this appeal in the Dred Scott case, the anti-slavery advocates argued that it was only a step from the principles of this decision to the nationalization of what they regarded as the "crime of crimes" as "the sum of all villainies." It was plain to them that if slaves were mere chattels, things, like horses or cattle, and the Constitution of the United States threw its protecting arm around the institution of slavery in the Territories, the same Constitution protected slavery in all the States, against State Constitutions or State laws, thus nationalizing that institution. This seemed logical. They further contended that while the Constitution recognized the existence of slavery, it did not establish it....that slavery was against the world spirit and especially against the spirit of American institutions, and that Congress had the power and ought to exercise the power to prevent the extension of such an institution into the Territories under its immediate control. Their battle cry became "No more slave States anywhere North or South." Thomas H. Benton, in September, 1857, published, in Washington, "An Examination of the Dred Scott Decision" in which he took the ground that it was wrong on every point, considered judicially or historically.

Missouri Takes a Hand Again.

February 16, 1857, the Missouri Legislature declared by a joint resolution by a vote in the House of 107 to 12, 13 not voting, and in the Senate by a vote of 25 to 4, 4 not voting, "that the emancipation of slaves held as property in this State would be impracticable, inexpedient, impolitic, unwise and unjust and should be discountenanced by the people of the State."

The Battle of the Constitution.

The Kansas Legislature, elected March 30, 1855, enacted an extreme pro-slavery code, even making it a felony to deny by word or in print that a man could not hold slaves in Kansas, and in 1857 it called a Constitutional Convention which adopted a pro-slavery constitution, known as "The LeCompton Constitution," which was presented in the winter of 1858, and Congress was asked to admit Kansas under it as a slave State. Then came the battle of the constitutions, LeCompton against Topeka. The LeCompton Constitution proved to be the rock on which the Democratic party split. The Buchanan administration advocated the admission of Kansas under that Constitution, while Douglas and his followers took strong grounds against it, arguing that it was very plain that that Constitution did not reflect the will of the people of that Territory. The contest became one mainly between the administration and the Douglasites, as the Democratic party, at that time, controlled both Houses of Congress. There is very little question that Douglas decided the fate of Kansas. If he had joined the administration forces, the LeCompton Constitution would probably have been adopted, and the whole course of Kansas-Missouri history changed. This schism in the Democratic party became permanent, and projected itself into the presidential compaign of 1860, and really determined its result. The outcome of the whole matter was the submission of the LeCompton Constitution to a vote of the people of Kansas with the promise of protection against outsiders, and the assurance of a fair election. August 2, 1858, the people rejected it by a vote of 11,300 to 1,788. This really ended the contest there. That vote made it plain that Kansas was to come in as a free State.

Illinois Becomes the Battlefield.

Lincoln in the Limelight.

A crisis was plainly in view and events of portentious importance, it was seen, would soon transpire, and the man to meet that crisis and control those events emerged from

comparative obscurity. This man was Abraham Lincoln. The great debate between him and Douglas in Illinois took place in 1858, and the whole country listened. In that debate and in the next two years, this man, seeing more clearly than any other statesman of that period, the issues that ought to be made, brought order out of chaos. The course of the free State men of Kansas in refusing to recognize the Legislature elected March 30, 1855, as they claimed, by Missourians, as legal, or to obey the government it set up, which course was endorsed by the anti-slavery forces in Congress and in the country, and the proclamation of the higher law doctrine by such men as Seward and Sumner, and the war made on the Fugitive Slave Law, had made the attitude of the Republican party one of disorder and disobedience to law, and had made the Democratic the law and order party. Mr. Lincoln saw clearly that if this attitude of the two parties was maintained, nothing but defeat could come to the party advocating disobedience to and defiance of the law; and here is where he showed wisdom above that of his contemporary statesmen. He saw that the fight, the final one, between slavery and freedom, was on. The vast step on the slavery question from Thomas Jefferson to Jefferson Davis, plainly portended the trend of slavery agitation. The aggressions of the slave power, as it was called, must cease. All of the territory of the United States must be dedicated to freedom. No more slave States must be admitted, but all this must be done legally and in order. Mr. Lincoln pointed the way. He ignored the higher law doctrine entirely, asserted that the slaveholders were entitled to a fair fugitive slave law, and that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed. This turned all the abolitionists against him, but he persisted. He asserted that the fathers deemed slavery an evil to be dealt with as such, and that we must come back to that thought. The South claimed a divine sanction for slavery, making it right, and a constitutional sanction, making it legal. He said it was "no just function of the Government to prohibit what is not wrong," that if "slavery

is right, ordained by the Almighty, on one side of a line..... then it is positively wrong to harrass and bedevil the owners of it with constitutions and laws and prohibitions of it on the other side of the line." "We must have," he says, "a national policy as to slavery which deals with it as being wrong." If slavery is right it can logically go everywhere; if it is wrong it ought finally to disappear everywhere. The slaveholders deemed slavery right. The North, if it was to remain consistent, must take the ground that slavery is wrong. This would make the issue between slavery and freedom irrepressible, and that conflict would go on until freedom conquered slavery or was conquered by it. This country could not remain half slave and half free; that a house divided against itself could not stand. He did not expect the country to become all slave, but he did hope and expect, as our fathers had hoped and expected, that slavery would in time be put in such shape that the people would rest assured it would finally disappear, and we would become a homogeneous people. All of this must be done, Mr. Lincoln said, under the forms of law. Even in his criticism of the Dred Scott decision, and his appeal to the people from that decision, he took no revolutionary stand. The Supreme Court, he said, had in the past reversed its own decisions and it could do so again. He appealed to the people because he claimed the people could unmake and remake both the Court and the Constitution. Many of that time thought, as many think now, that Mr. Lincoln, at this point, got on very thin ice. But he was right, and in this his democracy touched elbows with the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson, though it stood in deadly conflict with that of the extreme Southern Democrats of that day. The history of the Supreme Court proves that Mr. Lincoln had the right to make that appeal. Federalist judges wrote Federalist doctrines permanently in our institutions. Democratic judges conformed their views to the Democratic pro-slavery construction of the Constitution, and Republican judges have engrafted Republican principles in the laws of the land. Besides that, the Democratic party, for thirty

years prior to 1860, had made a successful appeal to the people from the decisions of the Supreme Court on the power of Congress to establish a National Bank; and even as late as 1896 and 1900, the Democratic party in its platform appealed from the Supreme Court on the bank and income tax questions.

The law will grow under our form of government, and I maintain that the people have a right, and the power, too, to make that growth conform to their conceptions of government. There is no danger in this principle, either. If England, without a written constitution, has evolved in the ages such splendid government as she has, there can come no possible danger to us from a government evolved by the people under a written constitution in an orderly and regular way.

Mr. Lincoln's outline of the issues, so plain and explicit, struck a responsive cord in the Northern heart. Is slavery right? If so, protect it. Is it wrong? If so, treat it as all other wrongs are treated, so as to get rid of it peaceably as soon as possible. On the other hand, the South denounced Mr. Lincoln's position in unmeasured terms, and December 15, 1859, the Missouri Legislature, by joint resolutions, joined the South in such denunciation.

Events moved rapidly to make the issue between slavery as right, having Divine sanction, and slavery as wrong, to be dealt with as such, sharper and more distinct.

Helper's Impending Crisis.

In 1859, Helper, a North Carolinian, published "The Impending Crisis." Mrs. Stowe had appealed to the moral and religious forces of the country against slavery, while Helper appealed mainly to the non-slaveholders of the South against that institution, presenting the economic side of the slave question. The book was full of statistics, showing that slavery was a fatal injury to the South and to free labor. It was endorsed by John Sherman and other leading anti-slavery men, and it was printed and distributed in the

North as a campaign document in 1860. This book angered the South to a greater extent than "Uncle Tom's Cabin," because it struck nearer home. It appealed to the non-slaveholders of the South, and the slaveholders realized that if ever the non-slaveholders of their section concluded slavery was, in an economic way, an injury to them, slavery was doomed in the States, for out of a white population in the South in 1850 of about 6,000,000, 4,250,000 were non-slaveholders, and, of course, if united, could control the remainder, less than 2,000,000. Helper and all his endorsers were furiously denounced everywhere in the South.

John Brown.

In the same year, 1859, John Brown made his celebrated raid at Harper's Ferry, Va., and he was captured and hung. His execution was witnessed by 2,000 people, among them being Governor Wise of Virginia, Wilkes Booth and Robert E. Lee. The poets of the North apotheocized John Brown as the very incarnation of the spirit of freedom and of the higher law doctrine, that if it be right to enslave men and women by force, it is not only right, but a duty to make them free by force, and in less than five years the soldiers of the Union army and the people, too, were singing "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

In the South John Brown was denounced as a murderer and traitor, and the people there viewed his act as only another proof of the lawlessness of abolition fanaticism.

The Higher Law.

As has been stated, Mrs. Stowe in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" made heroes and heroines of the men and women who defied the Fugitive Slave Law, and aided slaves to escape from bondage by means of the underground railroad to Canada. A slave catcher came to be detested in the North, as much as a slave-kidnapper was in the South. Many fugitive slave cases came before the courts, every one creating

intense excitement. One, however, as portraying in a peculiar way the prevailing feeling in the North, may be specially mentioned.

At Oberlin, Ohio, a fugitive slave was turned over to the owner or his agent and Simon Bushnell and about thirty others rescued him September 13, 1858. The rescuers were indicted, and in April, 1859, Bushnell was tried and convicted in Cleveland, and made to pay a fine of $600.00, and was sent to jail for sixty days. The people let the law take its course, but when Bushnell had served out his jail sentence they made his return to Oberlin, July 11th, a triumphant march, where an immense crowd was gathered to welcome him home. He made a speech saying that he had done right, had paid the penalty of the law for it, and he was ready to do the same thing again when opportunity offered, whereat a great shout of approval rent the air. The whole affair from its inception to its close had lasted about ten months. The whole North was aroused. The press, platform and pulpit resounded with sympathy for Bushnell, and with a full endorsement of his course and of his determination to obey his conscience rather than the law. The people became conscious of the deeper conflict underlying and causing the throes of the time. Both parties saw the issue in its full bearing. The conflict was irrepressible indeed and the crisis was seen to be surely approaching.

Bushnell's case revealed a new phase of the higher law doctrine, presenting the difference between submission to law and disobedience to law. He had disobeyed the Fugitive Slave Law, but he submitted to the penalty it imposed. There was no effort on the part of the people to rescue him. They also submitted to the law, but when he emerged from his prison sentence, they tumultuously put upon his brow the martyr's crown.

The fugitive slave cases, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Helper's "The Impending Crisis" and the general trend of the slavery agitation, brought the South to realize that a defense of slavery had to be made before the bar of the American people. Mr. E. N. Elliott of Mississippi undertook this task,

and January 1, 1860, published a book called "Cotton is King." This work contained many articles by the ablest pro-slavery writers of the country. It undertook to show that African slavery, as it existed in the United States, was economically and morally right, that it had the Divine sanction in the Bible, that it was a blessing to the whites and slaves alike, and that the effort of the anti-slavery people of the North to abolish it was a crime, and it must be confessed that it left nothing on that side to be said. This book was in line with the thought of all the pro-slavery statesmen of the day; and they cannot be regarded as of a low order intellectually, though they lacked the imagination to transmit a knowledge of the past into the comprehensions of the future. They clearly comprehended the issue Mr. Lincoln had made between slavery as right and slavery as wrong, and feeling that they must stand by the rightfulness of slavery or go down, inspired "Cotton is King," which, in a very able way, undertook to show that slavery was right. But the appeal was against the moral sense of the world and of the age, and from the start they fought a losing fight. "Cotton is King," however, had the effect to make the issue clearer and sharper, and when the final test came in November, 1860, between the united forces opposed to slavery as wrong, and the warring, discordant factions of the opposing forces, Mr. Lincoln, representing the former, was elected President.

Six years of intense and angry agitation, accompanied by lawlessness and bloodshed, had heated the iron hot, and South Carolina, taking Mr. Lincoln at his word that the purpose of his party was to nationalize freedom, struck while the iron was hot, and ten of her Southern sisters, some willingly, some reluctantly, followed her lead, and at half past four on the morning of April 12, 1861, the bomb was fired on Ft. Sumpter and the flag, and called the nation to arms, and the maintainance of the Union was submitted to the arbitrament of the sword.

The conservative, compromising forces of the border States stood aghast at war, but the extremists of both sides

stood firm, the South because it felt sure of separation and independence, the North, because, while it hoped to perpetuate the Union, it would, in case of final separation, be relieved from responsibility for slavery and as a foreign nation it would have a free hand, untrammeled by laws or constitutions, in its war on that institution. It was a battle of giants, and after four years of the bloodiest war of modern times, the dogma of secession expired, and four millions of slaves were bidden to go free in the agony of the Nation. The slaves are free, but after forty years of freedom for them, the race question still abides, and God forbid that we, by our other fatal mistakes, should have to settle that question too in another agony of the Nation, bloodier and fiercer, probably, than the first.

But the race problem is one phase of the slavery question. Racial prejudice is not local but earthwide and in its presence reason is dumb, and the race issue is one that probably statesmen cannot settle, but must be ground out in Time's mills in the tears and anguish of the people. Those, that won't reason, must suffer.

What a frightful mistake the statesmen of Missouri made in 1820 in not adopting the gradual emancipation scheme then proposed, and insisting on excepting this State from the operation of the Missouri Compromise Line. I am not much given to speculation on "what might have been," but I hope you will pardon me for saying a word or two on what, it is now apparent to all, would have happened if Missouri had come into the Union in 1820 as a free State. If our State had been made a free State by the terms of her admission into the Union she would have escaped the woes unnumbered which the curse of slavery in after years brought on her; and then what another fatal mistake the Missouri statesmen made in 1854, when they voted unanimously, with the exception of Benton in the House, for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Line. If the mistakes of 1820 and 1854 had not been made, our beloved State would not now have to record in sorrow and in tears the scenes enacted at Camp Jackson, or Springfield, or Osceola,

or Lone Jack, or Palmyra, or Kirksville, or Centralia, or recount the devastations and loss of life along the trail of Price and his army from Pittman's Ferry by way of Pilot Knob, Union, Boonville, Westport and along the Missouri-Kansas line south, and the invasion by Missourians of Kansas Territory to make it a slave State, the tarring and feathering of free State men, the sack of Lawrence, May 21, 1856, the bloody raid of old John Brown in the neighborhood of Dutch Henry's Crossing, May 24, 1856, the raids of Jennison and Montgomery along the Missouri-Kansas border, and the tragedy of the Marais des Cygnes, by all of which the Missourians acquired the name of "Border Ruffians," and Kansans that of "Jayhawkers;" the massacre of Lawrence in 1863 under Quantrell and the depopulation of Bates, Cass and Jackson counties by "Order No. 11" would not have occurred. In that case Missouri would have been in firm and friendly league with Kansas, and together they would have stood shoulder to shoulder in defense of the Union. But these mistakes were made and our western neighbor emerged from a ten years' contest as "Bloody Kansas," and Missouri's soil was drenched in fraternal blood, and at the end of the conflict she found her beautiful hills and plains almost one vast desolation, and the passions of her people wrought up by the bloody strife to white heat. The wounds growing out of these mistakes of our leaders in 1820 and 1854 have been substantially healed, but they bring up many bitter memories yet. The Missouri Compromise Line has long since vanished, but no man can understand American history, and especially Missouri history, without fully understanding the history of the rise and fall of that line. The conflicts growing out of its establishment in the first place, and its abolition in the second place, tinge our whole history. Yes, they have controlled the trend and the outcome of our whole history, but the abolition and not the establishment of that line marked the most portentious epoch in our history.

It is appropriate that I should state, en passant, that an injustice was done both Kansas and Missouri in calling

the citizens of the former indiscriminately "Jayhawkers," and the citizens of the latter "Border Ruffians," for but a few comparatively of the Kansans were "Jayhawkers" and only a small number of the Missourians were "Border Ruffians."

Permit me to suggest that the Kansas struggle and our attitude in the Civil War affected us in one direction, the injurious consequences of which are probably irreparable; that is, owing to the conduct of the Missourians in interfering with the emigration of free State men through our border, the emigrants from the North were diverted from us through Iowa and Nebraska, and I feel sure that if Missouri had been what was termed a true, loyal State during the war, the first Pacific railroad would have traversed our territory instead of that of Iowa, and St. Louis would at once have been the halfway station between the oceans. Prior to the Kansas struggle and the Civil War everything pointed to this result. The Santa Fe and Oregon trails, and the Overland Mail Route to California began in our borders. A convention of delegates from fifteen States held at St. Louis, October 15-17, 1849, recommended a Central Pacific railroad, and this was the dream of Benton when in his speech at that convention he uttered those immortal words, "There is the east, there is the road to India." But while Missourians were engaged in a bloody,internecine strife for the mastery, marching and countermarching her hostile armies over her hills and across her valleys, desolating the homes of the people and bringing pangs of distress to numberless women and children, and death to its best citizens, Chicago seized the prize, and she holds it today. But will Chicago always hold the prize? St. Louis ought to be the commercial metropolis of the great Mississippi basin. Her geographical position entitles her to it, and it was only wrested from her at a time when Missouri lay bleeding at the feet of the War God. Is it too late for St. Louis now to regain what she lost by the mistakes of 1820 and 1854? I cannot answer but I hope.

Conclusion.

What was the result of the fierce controversy, so far as the chief Missouri participants in it, Benton and Atchison, were concerned? Atchison, though the leader of the pro-slavery party, failed to succeed himself in the Senate in 1855-56, and was retired to private life. He died, and the public has almost forgotten him. On the other hand, Benton died April 10, 1858, a political outcast, but in 1895 the Missouri Legislature appropriated money to place life size marble statues of Benton and his pupil and admirer, Francis P. Blair, in Statuary Hall in the Capitol, at Washington, under the Act of Congress, authorizing each State to place in that Hall marble or bronze statues of two of its deceased distinguished citizens, whom it might deem worthy of national commemoration on account of civil or military services. Their statues were placed in that Hall, and by resolution February 4, 1899, they were accepted by Congress, and they were formally accepted by the House on the same day and by the Senate May 19, 1900, by appropriate resolutions and addresses. Thus the State, whose politicians had infused gall and wormwood in the last eight years of Benton's life, forty years after he had "gone to the bourne, whence no traveler returns," rendered him the greatest honor in its power. This posthumous homage, vividly reminds us of that strange freak in our nature that impels us, often, to ostracize a man while he lives and apotheocize him after he is dead.

JOHN L. THOMAS.

BRYANT'S STATION AND ITS FOUNDER WILLIAM BRYANT.

The pioneer Kentucky fort, so long and so widely known in history, in public records, in Court trials and in Court decisions as Bryant's Station, was built in the month of April, 1779. The founder of Bryant's Station and the man from whom it derived its name was William Bryant.

By the evening fireside as a boy, the writer hereof early grew familiar with the history of the station and its founder. It was perhaps but natural that he should listen with delight to the thrilling story regarding the place, because of the fact that his great grandfather was the founder of this farfamed and historic fort. Whatever, therefore, is herein stated, is based not alone upon history, but also upon well established tradition.

The Memorial Proceedings.

Memorial proceedings were held upon the site of this vanished fort in 1896, to do honor to the memory of the pioneer women who, when the station was besieged by the Indians in the month of August, 1782, left the protecting walls of the fort, marched down to the spring around which lay four hundred and fifty savage foes concealed in the weeds and cane, and obtained a sufficient supply of water to enable the men within the fort to withstand the siege of the Indian foe. Articles were contributed by several writers, all of which were prepared for publication by Col. Reuben T. Durrett, of Louisville, President of the Filson Club, and the volume containing these articles is known as Filson Club Publication No. 12.

An account of William Bryant should have occupied a place in this publication. The omission was perhaps due to a lack of definite information regarding him, upon the part of

those who participated in the memorial proceedings. And it was not until some time afterward that descendants of William Bryant, residing in other States, learned of the memorial proceedings.

Col. Durrett, in the address which he delivered gave to the public for the first time, the names of several women and girls who went to the spring for water, thus rescueing after many years their names from undeserved neglect. And to which may now be added the name of Rachel Bryant, wife of William Bryant, the founder and chief defender of the station.

And it is now deemed proper and pertinent that the founder of Bryant's Station, should be specifically pointed out and identified. For while the historians generally have given the name of William Bryant as the founder of the station, there have not been wanting statements on the part of some writers, which, whether intended to be or not, have nevertheless been very misleading, not only to other writers, but also to those interested in collecting and preserving material of an historic character concerning Bryant's Station and its founder.

The time has arrived, however, when before departing further from well established historic facts, the name of the founder of Bryant's Station should be delivered from error and confusion, and placed in its proper light in history free of all misleading statements. The record of such a man is deemed worthy of preservation. Nor is it altogether unimportant that our histories should be free from error and confusion, in order that the reader may with confidence rely upon it that all statements rest upon the foundation stones of fact.

While the history of Bryant's Station, its siege by the Indians in August, 1782, the heroic act of its women in going to the spring for water, and the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks which followed hard upon these other events spreading death and sorrow in its wake, have been told again and again, yet how few there are who know anything of the founder of the station aside from his mere name.

The founder of Bryant's Station has not been sufficiently identified by our historians; or rather, statements have been introduced concerning him, which have been not only inaccu-

rate, but positively misleading, and having the effect only of confusing the reader. No effort has been made so far as I am aware to correct these errors, although it has long been known that they exist, and so far as I am aware no attempt has been made to give to the public a complete and accurate account of the founder of Bryant's Station, by those having knowledge of the facts. And it is with the hope that the same will find some interested readers, and that the future historian will know whereof he speaks when he refers to the founder of Bryant's Station that his narrative has been written.

With reference to the speculation in which some parties have indulged in recent years, induced by some of the misleading statements above referred to, regarding the name of the station, if the reader desires to investigate for himself upon this point, he is respectfully referred to Filson Club Publication No. 12, and particularly to the unbiased statement of facts as therein set forth by Col. Durrett. If further evidence were wanting, however, than that contained in the above named publication, it may be found in two decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, involving title to lands in the neighborhood of Bryant's Station, one rendered in 1816, (1) the other in 1834. (2)

From the first named decision I beg to quote as follows:

"Bryant's Station is a fixed place of public notoriety It is on the great road leading from Lexington to Limestone on the Ohio, which road crosses the dividing ridge between the waters of Elkhorn and Licking, which is the ridge mentioned in Masterson's entry."

I quote another sentence peculiarly applicable in this connection:

"Perplexity and confusion may be introduced, but an object can not be rendered more certain than by bestowing on it its particular and appropriate name, if that name be one of general noteriety."

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1. See Maston v. Hord, U. S. Reports, (Wheaton), Vol. 1, page 130.
2. Garnett v. Jenkins, U. S. Rep. (8 Peters), p. 72.

In the Appendix to Vol. 1, page 491, I find also the following language:

"Noteriety is either absolute or relative. Absolute, as where the object is known so generally, that according to the usual courtesies and intercourse among men, the presumption is irresistible that anyone using ordinary inquiry might have been conducted to the place, as Lexington, Bryant's Station, the Lower Blue Licks, etc. Relative, as where the particular object is not actually known but is ascertainable by reasonable diligence, as one mile east of the lower Blue Licks, etc."

From this decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, it must be apparent to the least discriminating mind that Bryant's Station, was known to be and was recognized as being the particular and appropriate name of the station. How could the place have been rendered more certain, than by bestowing on it its particular and appropriate name? And its particular and appropriate name being Bryant's Station, the particular and appropriate name of its founder could not have been other than Bryant.

In the trial of the cause decided in 1834, the testimony of about twenty-five witnesses was introduced in evidence, some of whom had visited the North fork of the Elkhorn before Bryant's Station was built, and some of whom had resided at the station or in its vicinity thereafter, and the name of the station without exception is given as Bryant's. Without going into detail, I quote from the evidence of two of the witnesses. Patrick Jordon relates that in the year 1780:

"Bryant's Station was a place of general noteriety, and he presumes it is twenty-five or thirty miles above Lecompt's Run."

John Ficklin states that he has been acquainted with Bryant's Station and North Elkhorn ever since 1781:

"Both Bryant's Station and North Elkhorn were places of great noteriety at that time."

From the foregoing it will be seen that Bryant's Station was a place widely known, and it was everywhere recognized that the name of the place was without question Bryant's Station, and in all records of a public or official nature and in all

historical documents, unaffected by error, it was so called. It can easily be understood how, in the miscellaneous correspondence of the day, or in cases wherein the parties in interest may have affected the name, "perplexity and confusion" might be introduced, but such errors can not destroy the unimpeachable record, which must ever afford the best and most credible evidence as to the correct name.

But since it is conceded by all, (3) that the name of the place was Bryant's Station, and since it is likewise conceded that the name of the parties mentioned in Bradford's Notes, and by some other persons, was not Bryant, and the facts conclusively show that they did not use this name, nor were they known by the name of Bryant, all else at once becomes simplified, and errors of every nature may therefore be justly disregarded. And I shall now state such facts regarding the founder of this pioneer fort, whose name was Bryant, as may be deemed pertinent, and shall take no liberties either with names or facts, a practice which should commend itself to every one writing upon historical subjects.

William Bryant.

Dr. Percy Bryant, of Buffalo, N. Y., has told us that "The name Bryant can be traced back to Sir Guy De Briant, who lived in the time of Edward III, and whose descendants had their seat at the castle of Hereford in the marches of Wales. Arms: The field is Or, three piles meeting near in the base of the Escutcheon, Azure. No connection has been established between this family and the first of the name who came to America with the early settlers of Plymouth Colony, but this will probably be accomplished when the effort is made." (4)

According to well established tradition, William Bryant, of Bryant's Station, accompanied by a brother named Benjamin Bryant, came from Wales to the shores of the New World

3. Filson Club Pub. No. 12, page 21, note (Durrett).
   Filson Club Pub. No. 12, page 72, note (Ranck).
4. New Eng. Hist. & Geneaological Index, Vol. XLVIII, page 46.

in 1764, while they were young men. William Bryant settled in North Carolina in the region of the upper Yadkin river, while his brother chose Virginia for his adopted state. In this region William Bryant lived for several years, married and acquired property, and here he became acquainted with the Boones, Bryans, Wilcoxes, Callaways and other pioneer families in that section of the country. Being near the same age as Daniel Boone, the two became warm friends, and the friendship thus begun on the frontier of North Carolina, continued throughout the remainder of their lives.

Boone and Bryant Visit Kentucky.

Some time prior to the year 1775, two men wandering out from the settlements on the Yadkin River in North Carolina, penetrated the region of Kentucky as far as the North fork Elkhorn Creek. Here they made a camp, hunted and explored the country for several weeks, then breaking up their camp returned to the settlements on the Yadkin. They were Daniel Boone and William Bryant. Both were destined to become historic characters on account of their connection with the early settlements of Kentucky. Boone on account of his many daring deeds and thrilling adventures, has been justly celebrated by the historians of the border. While it did not fall to the lot of William Bryant to particularly engage the pen of the historian, and while his life was not so filled with adventure as was that of Boone, neverthelesss he was a conspicuous actor in several important events and had a wide and varied experience, and his name is inseparably linked with the early settlement of Kentucky and Missouri, and his name is to be found upon the pages of history in the States named.

During the progress of the Revolutionary War, William Bryant joined the Continental forces and served for a time in the War for Independence. And while serving as such soldier he was captured by the British, and was placed on board a prison ship in Charleston harbor. One night he dropped silently into the waters of the harbor, swam ashore and returned to the American lines in safety. It is said that his brother

united his fortunes with the Tories, and I have no further account of him or of his descendants, if he had any.

Early in the year 1779, William Bryant led a party of emigrants into the wilderness of Kentucky for the purpose of securing land under the law of Virginia which opened Kentucky to settlement. Stopping at Boonesborough on the way they obtained some needed supplies, and then continued their journey, halting at length at a point about five miles northeast of Lexington, where they erected and fortified a number of cabins, and the place was from that time forth known as Bryant's Station, in honor of the leader of the party; it being the usual custom in the early days of Kentucky, to name the stations after their most conspicuous man. And as Harrodsburgh and Boonesborough, had derived their names from their respective founders James Harrod and Daniel Boone, so also Bryant's Station derived its name from its founder, William Bryant.

Col. Cave Johnson in his Autobiography (5) states that in 1779, while he and Wm. Tomlinson were on their way from Virginia to Kentucky, they met on the Cumberland River this party of emigrants. He and Tomlinson joined the emigrant party and for greater safety and convenience journeyed with them to the North fork of Elkhorn Creek, and assisted in building the first cabins of Bryant's Station.

I have already stated that William Bryant was a soldier of the Revolutionary War. I have been unable to learn from the records at Washington, D. C., that he ever applied for or was granted a pension for such services. From the records of soldiers who served in the war, however, at Raleigh, N. C., I have found his record of service. Following is an extract from a letter from the Secretary of State of the State of North Carolina, addressed to the writer hereof, dated Oct. 9, 1906:

"Replying to your letter of recent date, I beg to say that I find in the Colonial Records copied from the records (of soldiers who served in the Revolutionary War) in Philadelphia, the following: Wm. Bryant, Pt. Blounts Company; date of

5. Autobiography of Cave Johnson MS. in possession of Col. R. T. Durrett, Louisville.

commission or enlistment, 26 Apr. '78; period of service 2 1-4 years; omtd. in 1779."

From the foregoing it will be seen that to April, 1779, William Bryant had served for practically a year in the Revolutionary War, his services being omitted in 1779, while he was in Kentucky. And as he served all told two and one-fourth years, it will be seen that after having been in Kentucky for a year, he then returned to North Carolina, where he served an additional one and a fourth years in the War.

At the close of the War he returned to Kentucky with his wife to remain permanently. The reason for his return to North Carolina is accounted for from the following facts:

The land commissioners who held their Court at Bryant's Station in 1780 to adjust settlers' and improvers' rights to lands, found that the title to the land on which the station was built belonged to another (Col. Wm. Preston), and William Bryant, much to his regret no doubt, was compelled to relinquish the land upon which he had settled, and which he had previously explored in company with Boone; and on the 20th of May, 1780, he entered other land in the usual way.

Hunting Expedition of May, 1780.

It was about this time also, that an event occurred which perhaps furnishes the real reason why Wm. Bryant returned to North Carolina; for in truth the event referred to well nigh caused the abandonment of Bryant's Station. From the first, the Indians had constantly harassed the settlers, committing all manner of depredations. No one could go outside the walls of the fort without great risk of being fired upon by the skulking foe, and the cattle, hogs and other stock of the settlers were almost daily being butchered or stolen from them by the Indians. So troublesome and daring had they become that, in order to procure meat for the station, which was obtained by hunting, for the woods abounded with game, the settlers were compelled to hunt in parties of sufficient number to be able to defend themselves against any assault which might be made by the Indians.

One afternoon during the latter part of May 1780, (6) twelve mounted men left the fort on a hunting expedition down Elkhorn Creek, led by William Bryant. When they arrived in the hunting woods near where Georgetown now stands, they determined in order to cover as wide a scope of country as possible, to divide themselves into three parties. (7) One of these parties was under the immediate direction of William Bryant; another of the parties appears to have been acting under the direction of James Hogan. It does not definitely appear who led the third party. Hogan's party was to cross the Elkhorn and range down the North side, while the other two parties were to range down the South side, flanking out as much as possible, but the three parties were to meet at night at the mouth of Cane Run of North Elkhorn, and encamp together during the night. William Bryant and his men arrived safely at the place agreed upon. The other parties however were less fortunate. Hogan's party having traveled but a short distance after crossing the Elkhorn, heard a loud voice in their rear calling upon them to halt. Hastily looking back, they found that they were being pursued by a war party of Indians, and not being in condition to give battle, being uncertain as to the number of the enemy, they immediately began endeavoring to effect an escape, being closely pursued by the Indians. They finally outdistanced the savages, however, recrossed the Elkhorn near sundown, and returned to Bryant's Station. It appears that the third party of hunters also, soon after separating from the other parties were set upon by a party of Indians some twelve or fourteen in number, and this party also retreated, and succeeded in getting off without being fired upon, and they, too, retraced their steps to Bryant's Station.

On the following morning, Hogan now re-enforced by twelve or fifteen men, left the fort before daylight and went in search of William Bryant and his men. They traveled

6. Autobiography of Cave Johnson, MS.

7. Several writers have made it appear that the hunters were divided into but two parties. This and other errors appear to have originated in Bradford's Notes.

down the Elkhorn in the direction of the mouth of Cane Run, and when within a mile or so of the place, they heard the report of several guns in quick succession. Concluding that Bryant and his men were either engaged in a battle with the Indians, or had fallen upon a herd of buffaloes, Hogan and his men hastened forward to lend their aid in either event. They arrived too late, however, to avert disaster. The Indians who had on the previous day captured a pack horse which had been abandoned by Hogan and his men in their flight, had made use of this animal to draw William Bryant into an ambuscade.

William Bryant and his men who had been hunting on the previous day, soon after starting out on the morning following to renew the chase, heard the sound of a bell on the pack horse, which they immediately recognized. Not knowing what this circumstance meant, and not understanding why the other parties had not joined him the night before as agreed, Bryant now directed his three companions to remain where they were, while he should cross an intervening creek to the horse and ascertain what this circumstance meant. He had approached within a short distance of the animal, when suddenly and without warning, he was fired upon by a party of Indians in a canebrake near by and was severely wounded. Although his wounds were exceedingly painful and severe, he immediately set spurs to his horse, succeeded in eluding the Indians and returned to Bryant's Station where he arrived early in the day. (8)

Hogan and his men soon arrived upon the scene, encountered the Indians and a battle ensued, lasting some thirty minutes. They at length compelled the Indians to retreat, however, with the loss of one Indian killed and scalped, and several others wounded who effected their escape. Hogan and his men had fared but little better; for upon returning from the pursuit of the Indians, they found one of their own number where he had fallen, mortally wounded. He was taken on to the station where he expired soon afterward. Four others were also wounded, though none mortally.

8. McClung, page 169.

Some writers have made it appear that William Bryant was killed in this hunting expedition. One of them, referring to the station at the date of its siege by the Indians, says: (9)

"There were at that time but few families occupying the station, William Bryant, its founder, and one in whose judgment, skill and courage, many confidently reposed for security from savage enormity, had been unfortunately discovered by some Indians near the mouth of Cane Run, and killed. His death caused most of those who had come to that place from North Carolina, to forsake the station, and return to their own country."

The statement that William Bryant was killed in this hunting expedition, is absolutely incorrect and without foundation in fact. As we have already seen, he was severely wounded, but his injuries at the hands of the Indians were not fatal. It was doubtless true, however, that his wounds, which rendered him unfit for service during the summer of 1780, together with the loss of the land on which the station was built, caused him to return to North Carolina, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that many of the more timid settlers felt justified in abandoning the place when deprived of the services of their chief defender.

The error as to his having been killed, no doubt had its origin in a series of articles which appeared in the Kentucky Gazette in 1826, (10) and subsequent years, nearly fifty years after the event occurred, and several years after William Bryant had removed from the State of Kentucky. The articles referred to are not more accurate than many other newspaper articles, published under similar circumstances. (11)

It would appear that the object sought by Bradford in his account of Bryant's Station and the hunting expedition of May, 1780, was not attained. For instead of converting the name of the place, which was evidently his purpose, so thor-

9. Chronicles of Border Warfare, by Withers, (New Edition) p. 348.

10. Bradford's Notes.

11. In Filson Club Pub. No. 12, Mr. G. W. Ranck merely reiterates, with certain material alterations, Bradford's statements.

oughly was it established in history and in all public records that the name of the place was Bryant's Station, and so well was it understood that the name of its founder was William Bryant, subsequent writers knew as a matter of course that he meant Bryant's Station, and they accordingly continued to so call it. And they likewise naturally supposed that the name of the parties mentioned by him must be, therefore, "Bryant also," and they erroneously called them Bryant. And by a similar parity of reasoning, they naturally supposed that the party particularly referred to by him, who had been killed by the Indians, and whose name was similar to that of William Bryant, was William Bryant, and being thus unwittingly misled they gave to the public the error that William Bryant, the founder of Bryant's Station had been killed by the Indians while on a hunting expedition. (12)

The man who received his mortal wounds in the battle between Hogan's men and the Indians was probably a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone (13) and who had entered land in the vicinity of Bryant's Station at an early day.

If Bradford had not disregarded certain well established historic facts; if he had stated all the facts relative to the founding of Bryant's Station, or if his account of the hunting expedition had contained a correct statement of the facts, there would indeed have been small ground upon which any errors regarding William Bryant might have been based, and confusion would have been avoided. The errors alluded to however may now be dispensed with, and without doing violence to the facts.

The well established tradition, with which I have been familiar since early youth, that William Bryant while leading out a hunting party from Bryant's Station, was drawn into an ambuscade by the Indians and was fired upon and wounded, but that he escaped and returned to the station, substantially corroborated by Col. Cave Johnson in his Autobiography, I do not feel disposed to reject as being without foundation in fact,

12. Sketches of Western Adventure, by McClung, page 166.
13. Chronicles of Border Warfare, by Withers, page 348.

upon the statement of any one. Nor do I believe that he meant any else than William Bryant, in stating that William Bryant was so wounded. Col. Johnson himself took part in the hunting expedition, and was personally acquainted with the parties, and would have been as likely to know the correct name of the leader of this hunting expedition, and who he states was "the head and principle man of the families and station," quite as well as any one. Nor does he say that William Bryant was killed, or that he was mortally wounded. If there is any ambiguity in his account of the expedition, it is regarding the man who was mortally wounded in the fight which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians, and at a time subsequent to the wounding of William Bryant and his return to Bryant's Station.

By reason of experience, courage and sagacity, and circumstances in life, William Bryant was the natural leader of the early inhabitants of Bryant's Station, and he was so regarded. A man of dauntless courage and splendid physique, (14) he was the one man above all others to whom the settlers most confidently looked for defense against the assaults of the Indians. During these early times he took a very active part in several engagements with the Indians, holding the rank of Captain under command of Cols. Todd and Boone. As already stated, he had returned to Kentucky at the close of the Revolutionary struggle, and had again taken up his residence at the fort. When the station was besieged by the Indian foe under command of Cols. Caldwell and McKee, aided and abetted by the infamous Simon Girty, he was one of the most active and vigilant of the defenders, if not actually in command of the fort, and was wounded in the assault upon the garrison, which disabled him to such an extent that he was not a participant in the battle of the Blue Licks which followed.

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14. Mr. J. M. Bryant, of Cedar City, Mo., who was born in Estill county, Ky., March 10, 1825, retains a distinct recollection of his grandfather, William Bryant. He states that Wm. Bryant was about five feet ten inches in height and was heavily built. He bore across his nose and face a heavy scar, the result of a blow inflicted by an Indian tomahawk in a battle with the Indians. He also had several scars on his person received in encounters with the Indians.

William Bryant's wife was a near relative of Daniel Boone. I am unable to state the exact relationship, but the tradition is well established that she was related to Boone, and I have no doubt of its authenticity. Her name was Rachel Wilcox, and it is likely she was a daughter of John Wilcox, who married in North Carolina a sister of Boone. It is of course well known that Boone married Rebecca Bryan. Although of similar name, she was not related to William Bryant. Eight children, six sons and two daughters, were born to Wm. and Rachel Bryant.

I have no means of knowing how long William Bryant remained at Bryant's Station, but no doubt he resided there until Indian hostilities had subsided sufficiently to permit of the settlers moving onto the lands they had located and entered. The family removed to what is now known as Estill county. Three of the older sons, and probably the eldest daughter, were married in this county, and each of these three sons, Jeremiah, (15) Hiram and Thomas, (16) owned land in Estill County

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15. Jeremiah Bryant, the eldest son, was born Aug. 20, 1791. He married Martha Plummer. Ten children were born to them as follows: Rachel, 1814; Christina, 1816; Susan, 1818; Crayton P., 1821; Cornelia, 1823; Jeremiah M., 1825; Martha, 1826; America, 1829; Amanda, 1831; Sarah T., 1833. Jeremiah Bryant, with his family removed from Kentucky to Missouri in 1832. In 1834 he returned to Kentucky on business, and on his return trip to Missouri he contracted the cholera and died on board a steamer on the Missouri River, July 11, and his remains were sunk beneath the waters of the Missouri. Some of his descendants yet remain in Callaway County, where he settled.

16. Thomas Bryant, the fourth child, was born January 10th, 1795. He married Polly Bennett in Estill County, Ky., December 11th, 1817, the marriage ceremony being performed by Joseph Proctor, who was a pioneer Methodist preacher and most courageous Indian fighter. Proctor participated in and was one of the survivors of Estill's defeat. He shot and killed the Indian who killed Captain Estill, and rescued William Irvine who was badly wounded, "after the most desperate and gallant exertions," conveying him to Bryant's Station where he made known the result of the sanguinary and disastrous conflict. Polly Bennett was a daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Proctor) Bennett, her mother being a sister of Joseph Proctor. The children of Thomas Bryant and wife were as follows: Jeremiah, 1818, died young; William, 1821; Joshua, 1823; Rachel, 1825; these were born in Estill County; Benjamin, 1827; Andrew Jackson, 1830; Lucretia, 1832; Deborah, 1835; Elvira, 1837; the latter were born in Clay County, Ky. In 1837, Thomas Bryant,

between the years 1825 and 1832. All the children with the exception of Hiram and Rachel sooner or later removed to Missouri, Thomas Bryant, grandfather of the writer hereof being the last to leave Kentucky in 1837.

William Bryant was a prosperous planter, owning a large amount of property, among which may be mentioned some sixty colored persons.

"First Runaway Slave Advertised North of the Ohio River. (17). March 22nd, 1794, Wm. Bryant, of Lincoln County, Ky., advertised a runaway negro, Sam, and offered $10 reward for securing him so that his owner should have him again." (18)

Part of the present County of Estill formerly lay within the original County of Lincoln, and part of it within the original County of Fayette.

Kentucky's strenuous days were drawing to a close. The wilderness had been subdued, and for several years William Bryant lived quietly upon his farm, devoting his time to the cultivation of the soil. But many of his old time friends were either dead or had pushed still further westward, where the

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being in poor health, removed with his family to Boone County, Mo., where he remained about two years, when he removed to Ripley County, where he died Sept. 5th, 1845. In 1846, his family removed to Wapello County, Iowa. Of the sons of Thomas Bryant, William was a soldier in the Mexican War, serving in a Missouri regiment; Benjamin Bryant, was a soldier in the War of the Rebellion, serving in Company B, 30th Iowa Vol. Infantry, and was honorably discharged on account of disability. He died Feb. 15th, 1902. He was a man of great moral and physical courage. Being an orator of much ability, he was prominent in the anti-slavery agitation, and long a leader in politics in his section of the country. Disease of eyes, throat and lungs contracted in the Civil War, greatly impaired his usefulness and activity, and in a great measure prevented his attaining eminence he might easily have done. He married in Shannon County, Missouri, Rachel Chilton, daughter of John and Lettice Carter Chilton, August 3, 1846, and they soon removed to Wapello County, Iowa, and later to Davis County. Twelve children were born to them, nine of whom attained to manhood and womanhood, as follows: Francis Asbury, 1851; Andrew Jackson, 1853; James Chilton, 1855; Lucy, (Mrs. M. M. Ralston,) 1858; Benjamin Bassett, 1860; Theodore Finis, 1862; William Cullen, 1865; John Carter Inman, 1868; Thomas Julian, 1873.

17. History of Kentucky, by R. H. Collins, Vol. 2, page 113.

18. In his last will he bequeathed certain negroes to some of his children.

population was less dense and where land could still be had for the asking. Daniel Boone and his family were among the number of those who had thus sought out a new home beyond the Mississippi, in the Territory of Louisiana. When Boone returned to Kentucky about the year 1810, on a mission which was highly creditable to him, what could have been more natural than that he should seek out his friend and former companion, who though advanced in years like himself, was still hale and vigorous, and pour into his willing ear the story of the new country which was not unlike the Kentucky of early days.

Missouri was soon to be formed into a Territory, and Statehood was only a matter of time. Wm. Bryant soon resolved that when the time should seem propitious, he too, would take up his residence in this new country. Having disposed of such of his property as he did not wish to carry with him, he with his wife and the younger members of the family, took up the line of march and in due time they reached the Territory of Missouri, first settling upon the waters of Femme Osage, not far from the Boone settlement. (19) And thus again Daniel Boone and William Bryant had become pioneers. Within a year or so after reaching their new home, Bryant's wife who had been a true and faithful companion for many years passed away. Most of his children having by this time established homes of their own, he was left practically alone in the world. About this time he returned to Kentucky, where he and his son Hiram Bryant, shortly became involved in litigation (20) over some land they were occupying, and it appears that a judgment in ejectment was rendered against them in 1818, and soon thereafter he returned to Missouri, which was to be his home for the future, and whose soil was finally to receive his remains.

Upon the subsequent events of his life, his second marriage at an advanced age, the loss of a considerable portion of his property, and other events, it is not my purpose here to

19. History of Missouri, by Louis Houck.
20. Lessees of Samuel Smith vs. Robert Trabue's Heirs, U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 9 Peters, page 4.

dwell. To the end, he was the same independent and courageous man that he had been in the earlier days, when with such men as Daniel Boone he was helping subdue the wilderness of Kentucky, not inclined to indulge in the exploitation of the stirring scenes through which he had passed, or of the part he had taken in them; and with character by no "foul dishonor" sullied, he rounded out the measure of a long and active life.

A few words more, and our narrative is finished.

About a year after the death of his friend, Col. Boone, William Bryant (1821) removed to Boone County, Mo., (21) where he resided until the date of his death, which occurred in 1834, at the advanced age of ninety-five years.

And today in an old neglected cemetery, on a high hill overlooking the Missouri River as it rolls to join the "Father of Waters," and near the site of the vanished town of Stonesport, (22) in the County bearing the name of his friend of many years, rest the remains of William Bryant, (23) soldier of the Revolutionary War, founder of the pioneer Kentucky fort known in history as Bryant's Station, founder of a family in the New World, and compatriot and friend of the celebrated Daniel Boone.

I shall never cease to be mindful of the fact that I trace my lineage to Kentucky sires, who have done their full share toward spreading civilization in the Western World, but who have neither sought to magnify their own achievements nor

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21. The early records of Boone County, show conveyances of land by certain grantors to William Briant. (See Deed Record F, page 4.) On the margin of Deed Record A, page 292, is the following: "Wm. Briant's last will and testament, Aug. 1, 1824." In conveying lands, however, his signature appears as William Bryant, and his name is so given in the record and on the original will. (See Deed Record C, page 266; Deed Record E, page 397.)

Singularly enough, John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky in the so-called Autobiography of Daniel Boone, published in 1784, fell into the same error regarding the spelling of the name, and in referring to Bryant's Station he called it "Briant's Station." The error was corrected, however, by the subsequent historians.

22. Stonesport was located about a mile up the River from the present village of Claysville.

23. A large cottonwood tree stands at the head of William Bryant's grave.

underrate the deeds of others; and shall ever hold in grateful remembrance the name of him who with strong hands carved a name imperishable in history. I esteem beyond expression, all those brave heroic souls, both men and women, who in the face of untold hardship and peril wrested the soil of the "Dark and Bloody Ground" from the hands of its savage possessors, and gave to the sisterhood of States the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

THOMAS JULIAN BRYANT.

Red Oak, Iowa.

A GERMAN COMMUNISTIC SOCIETY IN MISSOURI.

The last decades of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries were marked by concentrated action on the part of various organizations to establish communistic settlements. A great number of these attempts were made in the United States. The Shakers, the Harmonists, the Separatists of Zoar, the Perfectionists, the Communities of Robert Owen and Brook Farm are but a few of the leading communistic attempts of this period. In a number of these unique religious principles obtained and formed the bond of union between its members. Others again were held together by constitutional agreement for the sole purpose of economic betterment. Still others had for their aim the communion of highminded and highly intellectual individuals who sought the association of kindred minds, and who under the idyllic conditions of communal life hoped for an amelioration of conditions intellectual and spiritual.

Among the minor communities is classed the one at Bethel in Shelby County, Missouri. In some respects this society is unique. It existed from 1844 to 1879, without the semblance of a constitutional agreement. It had no peculiar dress, nor singular customs. The sole bond of union was the magnetic power and iron will of its founder. In a measure it may be said that its purpose was to carry out the whim of its founder and leader, but many of its members joined because they foresaw an immediate betterment of economic conditions. Its constituency, with the exception of a very few persons, consisted of Germans, who had either come directly from the Fatherland, or who had already become naturalized in the various parts of the United States. Nordhoff in his work: "Communistic Societies in the United States," page 319, says that several Protestant sects were represented, that there was even one

Jew, but no Roman Catholics. (1) The site of the colony was on North River in Shelby County, Missouri, forty-eight miles from Hannibal.

Its organization took place in 1844 and the body remained intact until 1879 or shortly after the death of its founder—Doctor William Keil. Soon after the settlement was established in Shelby County, 3536 acres of land were purchased or entered near the present site of Bethel. This town became the center of activity. Other groups of houses near Bethel received the names of Elim, Hebron and Mamri. In Adair County, not far from Kirksville, 731 acres of land were acquired and the town there established received the name of Nineveh. (2) In 1855, for reasons hereafter to be discussed, it was decided to divide the society, a large number of its members following Dr. Keil to Washington Territory, and later to Oregon Territory. Thus an unique condition in communistic life came about in that two bodies of people, so far separated as the State of Missouri and the Territory of Oregon, could be controlled by one head, at a time when communication was slow and difficult, and all this too with a body that was not held together by any written agreement. As stated previously, the singularly powerful will of Keil was the force that held this society intact. When this force disappeared by Keil's death, and no successor appeared strong enough to rule, the natural result was a dissolution of the organization, and a division of the acquired property. The dissolution is itself strikingly interesting, in that it was affected in the simplest manner possible and with very little friction.

Since the whole life of the society—as was pointed out already—was concentrated in the iron, indomitable will of William Keil, it will be necessary to preface the more detailed account of this study by a consideration of his life

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1. This statement of Nordhoff's applies directly to the Aurora, Oregon, settlement which was the daughter colony of the Bethel, Missouri, colony, as will be discussed in detail later on. But all of the members at Aurora had been members at Bethel or were their direct descendants, hence the statement may be regarded as applicable to the Missouri community also.
2. Now it is called Connelsville.

and activity. I base my account of Keil's life on: 1. A mass of letters written by himself to members of the society at Bethel; 2. On statements of trustworthy persons at Bethel, Missouri, and Aurora, Oregon,—not only those who praise Keil but also those who defame him,—and 3. On brief accounts found in the various histories of communistic life in this country, but especially on the account of the early years of Keil's life, as found in a rare and odd book by a clergyman, Carl G. Koch, who at one time was an ardent adherent to Keil's views, entitled: "Lebenserfahrungen," printed 1871 in Cleveland, Ohio, in the Verlagshaus der Evangelishen Gemeinschaft.

Of Keil's early life we have no further record than that he was born on the sixth of March 1811 in Bleicherode, District of Erfurt, Prussia. His parents were German, and seem to have been of the middle class. (3) It goes without saying that he must have attended the elementary schools of his town. There is no record of his attending a technical school or university. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether he was legally entitled to the title of Doctor, altho he is said to have practiced medicine in this country with apparent success. In his home country he followed the profession of man-milliner. He practiced his trade in Koellede, District of Merseburg, Prussia. He is said to have been very handsome in his youth and a most excellent workman and very industrious. Nordhoff gives us a picture of the man as he saw him in this country. (4) He describes him as a "short, burly man, with blue eyes, whitish hair and white beard." Nordhoff continues: "He seemed excitable and somewhat suspicious; gave no token whatever of having studied any book but the Bible, and that only as it helped him to enforce his own philosophy. He was very quick to turn every thought toward the one subject of community life; took his illustrations mostly

3. The statement of Hinds, in his "American Communities," page 287, in which he states that Keil was born in Nordhausen, Germany, is, according to the best sources, fallacious.

4. "Communistic Societies in the U. S.," page 318.

from the New Testament; and evidently laid much stress on the parental character of God. As he discussed, his eyes lighted up with a somewhat fierce fire; and I thought I could perceive a fanatic, certainly a person of very determined, imperious will united to a narrow creed." I have been fortunate in securing from Jacob G. Miller of Aurora, Oregon, who was one of the leaders at Bethel, a large number of letters from Dr. Keil to the remaining members at Bethel. Most of these letters were written by his secretary, Karl Ruge, a college bred man, and are in fairly good style. Those written by himself are wretched illustrations of letter writing and show a most imperfect knowledge of his own language. His pictures show him as a man with broad and high forehead, rather thick nose and a square chin—in other words, the type of a strong animal with indomitable will and bull-dog tenacity.

It seems to be the prerogative of men of Keil's profession to be moody. Their work does not absorb their mental energy completely, and so they are frequently found to be the possessors of the most fanciful notions. Keil's pet inclination was first the stage. This did not prevail long, however. Soon he became a religious enthusiast and subsequently a devotee of such mystics as Jacob Boehme and his followers. He now began an investigation for an "Universalmedizin," a panacea which should heal all the ails the human flesh is heir to. This whim led him to a superficial study of botany, and in his fanciful search he no doubt got some smattering ideas of medicine. He made innumerable experiments to solve the laws of nature and to probe into the mystery of life. His queer experiments he continued even after he came to this country. Koch asserts that Keil showed him a flask in his (Keil's) drug store in Pittsburg, Pa., which contained a fluid which Keil purported to represent the product of his long investigation. He claimed to be in possession of mysterious cures which he avowed to have received from an old woman. It is said that this person would not have parted with these secrets under any consideration, provided he did not leave the country. Thus

Keil came in possession of these secrets before he came to the United States. Most probably these mysterious secrets were powwowing formulae, of which so many exist in certain parts of Germany, and so many of which are to this day found among the inhabitants, particularly the Germans, of Pennsylvania.

The exact date of Keil's coming to America is not positively fixed. It is very probable, however, that it was in 1835 or 36. He lived for a short time in New York City and then came to Pittsburg. Soon after his arrival in Pittsburg, he performed some strange cures, as it seems, somewhat in the manner of our modern magnetic healers, and was soon dubbed with the unsavory title of "Der Hexendokter," by the common people.

In 1838 Dr. William Nast, the founder of the German Methodist Church, conducted revival meetings in Pittsburg. Keil attended these meetings and became converted. Soon after his religious awakening, he met the Reverend J. Martin Hartmann, whom he claimed as his real spiritual father. This Hartmann was deeply interested in the principles of communism, and it is very probable that he augmented, if he did not give the initiative to Keil's closer consideration of Community life. At a Quarterly Meeting held October 12th, 1839, at Stewardstown, Pennsylvania, he was licensed as local preacher, having previously shown much enthusiasm in religious work as Class leader. It is stated, however, that this license was never formally issued. The first field of church activity for Keil as local preacher was at Deer Creek, near Pittsburg. Dr. Nast, in an interview with Koch, stated that in his opinion Keil seemed perfectly sincere in his conversion, and that at the outset of his ministerial career he was deeply concerned and eager to do good. For Keil the period of probation which the church imposed on him, as it does on all who come under its ruling, was extremely irksome, and frequent and urgent were his appeals to be given full charge of a congregation. Dr. Nast adds a queer story, in which he states that Keil was possessor of a mysterious book, written for the most

part in blood, and which contained all sorts of mystic symbols and formulae, unintelligible to any one but Keil. These secrets were nothing more, I take it, than the pow-wowing formulae which had been communicated to Keil by the old woman above mentioned. After his conversion Keil invited Nast and several brethren to witness the burning of this mysterious book which was regarded as the work of the devil. The destruction of the old volume took place amid certain ceremonies and prayer. Hartmann is said to have humored Keil in his pet notions concerning religions, and to have stimulated him in his striving to ascend faster than the church usually permits its servants to rise. Thus encouraged and humored Keil soon became unruly. He rebelled against the church and its tenets. Then came his separation from the Methodist Episcopal Church. He avowed that he could not work in a church where men served God for pay. He adhered to the Biblical injunction: "Freely ye have received, freely give." He was opposed to Hartmann receiving $400 from the missionary fund and certain stipulated sums of "Classmoney" as salary. When Keil's superiors waived these objections, he withdrew from the church, taking the entire congregation at Deer Creek with him. Thus Keil early demonstrated that he could not obey, that he had to rule. He gave up his medical practice entirely and devoted himself to independent preaching. He had no income, save what his members saw fit to voluntarily give him. The work as independent preacher circumscribed his field of activity too much, however, so he joined the Protestant Methodist Church. The entire congregation at Deer Creek again followed him blindly. Now he extended his work into the "Point," that is the lower part of Pittsburg, where he made many converts among the iron-workers and factory employes. Refusing to obey the superiors of the Protestant Methodist Church, its head, the Reverend Geissinger saw himself compelled to exclude him from this body. With Keil the entire congregation again severed their connection with the church. Keil continued to de-

nounce all ministerial service for pay as un-Christian; all sectarianism, all church regulation as the work of human hands and unessential to the moral teachings of Christianity. He renounced all title save that of Christian; accepted no rule save the admonitions given in the Bible. To serve Christ, not man, he claimed his sole aim. To act according to the Golden Rule; to live a moral pure life was the gist of his teaching. His whole congregation accepted these views implicitly and devotedly clung to him as their leader.

All this had transpired in rapid succession before 1840. Those who have heard Keil's preaching still assert that he was a forceful and fluent speaker. Believing him to be sincere they clung to him lovingly and devotedly, and spread his fame among those with whom they came in contact. Soon his fame extended to regions far removed from Pittsburg. Among his ardent followers were young men of talent and the gift of speech. Foremost among these were Karl G. Koch, the same who wrote "Lebensurfahrungen," and three brothers; Christian, Andrew and Henry Geisy, as it is seen from the names, all Germans. The entire body of Keil's adherents at this time was composed of Germans. The young men whose names were given above, Keil sent out to preach his views among the Germans in the various parts of this country. They traveled for the most part on foot, preaching, in accordance with Keil's teaching, without money and without price, in the settlements of Germans, wherever they could get a hearing. They preached in private houses and in school buildings, and lodged with such persons in whom Keil's views seemed to find fruitful ground. Disdaining to adhere to any established creed, they followed their leader in taking as the cornerstone of their spiritual edifice the teachings of the Apostolic Fathers. Rapidly the work spread until it extended thru western Pennsylvania, southern Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Kentucky, even to Iowa, where in Bloomington, (now Muscatine) and Iowa City, and other places small groups of the "faithful" assembled. In Ohio the influence extended thru the counties of Columbiana, Stark, Trumbull, Monroe and Washington. Sometimes Keil would follow the course his

disciples had taken and strive to bring to a culmination the work they had begun and fostered. More and more Keil was regarded as an extraordinary man, and those outside of his magnetic influence assert, even today, that he regarded himself as such. His former love for the mystics asserted itself in him again. He preached in the manner of Jacob Boehm and charged his deputies to do the same. His unsophisticated followers stood aghast before this unheard-of wisdom. Moreover Keil knew how to perplex them by telling them that he had visions. The book of Daniel and the book of Revelations afforded him many a favorite text. Sometimes he perverted the text completely if his purpose was thereby the better accomplished. One time he is said to have made the startling assertion that on a certain day he would be publicly sacrificed. Throngs of people arrived to view the spectacle, some curious, some deeply concerned. Of course no untoward thing befell him. The explanation was simple enough for him—the Lord still had a mission for him to fulfill. Persons outside the pale of his influence believed that his followers worshiped Keil more than Christ. In fact it is vouched that women, carried away by his preaching and entering into a peculiar hypnotic state, cried out: "Thou art Christ." At my last visit to Bethel, I met a man who himself had been a member of the community, who made the statement that Keil's wife, (whose maiden name, by the way, was Ritter), called on the speaker's father who had refused to join the society,—having known Keil in Germany and doubting his supernatural gifts,—and that Mrs. Keil, in the heat of the argument, made the startling assertion that her husband was as great as Christ himself. To such laudations Keil is said to have remained silent. The devotion of Keil's followers was certainly great and his influence over them grew from day to day. Keil knew well how to make use of all the demonstrations of loyalty they might bring him. After some time young Koch could not share Keil's views any longer and he frankly told him so. Keil used all the argumentative power at his command to hold him under his control, for he feared that

Koch had a strong influence. The latter withdrew, however, and sought in every way to enlighten the people in regard to his opinion of Keil. But very few paid any heed to his admonitions. The other preachers remained faithful to Keil. Keil designated himself as the "Centralsonne," central sun, and the leading subordinates received the title of "Lichtfuersten" and "Lichtfuerstinnen," princes and princesses of light.

At Phillipsburg, 28 miles below Pittsburg, on the Ohio River, a large body of Keil's followers lived. This town will be of interest to us in this study, as here the project of Keil's Community took definite form.

In 1805 George Rapp had established the famous Harmony Society—one of the largest communistic undertakings in the United States. (5) This society existed at Economy, Pa., only a few miles from Phillipsburg. In 1831 the visionary Bernhard Mueller, better known in the studies of communistic societies by the high-sounding title of Count Maximilian de Leon, arrived with a body of followers at Economy, and was admitted by Rapp into the Harmony Society. (6) Mueller caused trouble by preaching, to the younger generation, at Economy especially, the doctrine of greater personal liberty, and especially the right to live in the married state,—a privilege which the Harmony Society, according to the celibacy clause of its constitution, forbade It soon became necessary for Rapp to take a determined stand. A vote was taken, and 176 persons who had been members of the society followed Count de Leon. (7) An indemnity was paid to the seceding members. After this separation Mueller and his followers betook themselves to Phillippsburg, where he established a colony on communistic principles, barring the celibacy provision and other strict rules of the Rapp Colony. After a short time Mueller was

5. John Bole's "The Harmony Society," International Press, Philadelphia.

6. Nordhoff's "Communistic Societies in the United States," pages 79 and 80; also Koch "Lebenserfahrungen," p. 129 ff; Bole's "The Harmony Society," p. 124 ff.

7. Cf. Bole's "The Harmony Society," p. 125.

entrapped in fraudulence and was compelled to flee to Arkansas, where a few of his adherents followed him. A large portion of his old charge remained in Phillippsburg. Despite the disastrous experience, which they had had with two communistic societies, many of them regarded communistic life as the only ideal way of living. They maintained that all that was necessary, was a leader of strong personality and undoubted integrity. In Keil they saw the ideal leader for such an undertaking. No doubt Keil himself was not very reluctant either, and so the beginning was made for the society which I wish to discuss. Here Keil foresaw such a chance to rule as he had never had before. The former members of the disbanded Leon Colony, as well as those who had been with Rapp gave Keil many hints concerning communistic undertakings. One of the things which they recommended to Keil as an especially strong factor in holding the people under one's control, was the practice of requiring confession from the members of the organization. Rapp had done this with great success. This confession consisted in subjecting the people to a series of questions on very delicate topics. It appealed to Keil. As a matter of experiment he instituted this confession in his church. Being subject to none of the older churches, he could do so with impunity. He had the young people come to him alone; the married people, however, were forced to come husband and wife together. Most of the interrogations, to which he subjected them, pertained to sex and sexual relations. Some of the persons turned from him in disgust, but many did confess sincerely. The strife which he thus conjured up in some of the families was very bitter, and the happy relations of many homes were unnecessarily disturbed. In his sermons he is said to have spoken freely of these things, and he made use of the information thus attained to intimidate the simple folk and to scourge them into line, to more easily compel them to do his bidding. Believing that he would be successful in a communistic venture, and feeling the great influence he had over the people in his charge, he definitely decided on the organization

of such a society. He counseled carefully with the ex-Harmonists and the ex-Leonists. They having had experience in such matters and being men of rare ability as mechanics and artisans, he solicited their participation most earnestly. The number of the ex-communists was, however, too small for his undertaking. It was therefore necessary that more persons should become interested in the undertaking. The capacity of preacher had made him acquainted with a great many persons in various regions of this country. He knew, too, that he had a certain influence over them. Accordingly he sent out his messengers to the various communities where his deputies had preached. A general invitation was issued for all to join the undertaking. The advantages were not too much discussed, in order that there might not be too many discontented parties. The only offer which Keil is said to have held forth is that the participants in the attempt should have plenty of work and bread and water. But so certain was he of his power over these people, that he doubted not that many of them would willingly join him, in order that they might be under the immediate supervision of a man whom they regarded as more than ordinary. A number of those appealed to did accept the call. As fast as they could dispose of their property, they joined the society. I do not wish to be understood as saying that the majority of those who had come under the pale of Keil's preaching and the preaching of his deputies joined. Many of them had no wish of giving up individualism. Then, too, Karl Koch was very active in his attempts to prevent the people from joining. The ex-Harmonists and ex-Leonists who expressed a willingness to participate insisted on having a written constitution. Accordingly such a document was drawn up. But as the people could not agree as to certain provisions it contained, Keil was called in and the matter submitted to him. He at once declared most emphatically that under no condition would he go bound and fettered by any written agreement. If a man's word was not as good as a written law, then he could and would have nothing to do with the entire project.

The Bible should be the foundation of the society which he proposed to found; the Golden Rule should be its motto. It is most interesting to know that such an old document did exist in the Bethel Community. It is usually stated, even by ex-members, that there was never any written agreement. For practical purposes this is true enough, for it was never put into effect. But as a matter of historic fact, it is interesting to know that an attempt was made to build the society on a written agreement. The finder of this old document would be lucky indeed. The old gentleman in whose possession it was last found believes that it was destroyed with a mass of other old papers. He recalled, however, that some of the provisions set forth therein, pertained to the admission and dismissal of members. Moreover he states that this writ provided that young men who were taken into the society were forbidden to marry before the expiration of the third year of their membership. Furthermore it must not be overlooked that this was the time when the agitation of the Mormon affairs made exclusive societies of this nature very unpopular, in Missouri at any rate. Under the proposed arrangement the society had no legal existence. The various members must hold the property of the body in trust. The Bethel Society remained an unincorporated body of persons until its dissolution. It was only a voluntary gathering of like-minded individuals. Nothing could possibly testify more ably to the astonishing power of Dr. Keil. For thirty-four years he was able to rule this extremely loosely-knit body dogmatically and dictated its policies to his own liking.

It has been made to appear by certain writers on this subject that the followers of Keil were an ignorant lot who knew nothing but to toil. I am not willing to accept this affirmation without qualification. The majority of the members consisted of common toilers, to be sure, who brought naught but their willing hands. But is not every community made up in this manner? I have found among the surviving colonists men rather well-read, and extremely shrewd in business matters. Moreover I have conclusive

proof that many of them possessed information that would have placed them side by side with the better informed men of an average community; men who were far more intellectual than Dr. Keil, their leader. Notable among these was Karl Ruge, a college-bred man, prepared for the legal profession, who came to America with the great number of intellectual aristocrats in 1848. Here too is to be remembered Henry Finck, a master in music, to whom is due, in a large measure, the high position which the Colony at Bethel took as a center of music lovers in those early days. One of his sons has become a noted musical critic in New York City, while the other has made his mark as an attorney at law in the same metropolis. Nor must I pass by the great number of artisans whose handiwork still remains at Bethel as the strongest testimonial of their ability. Then there were men of the type of C. Wolf, who, conscious of their own strength and ability, had the temerity to oppose even Dr. Keil in some of his undertakings. After deliberate, inpartial and unbiased examination I am prepared to gainsay the statement that the colony consisted of ignorant men only. In trying to solve the problem as to why it was possible for Keil to gather so large a body of followers around him, it may be that Hinds in his "American Communities," (8) has found the right solution. He says: "I can only account for this by recalling, that when Dr. Keil began his independent career the people of the Eastern and Middle States had just passed through a series of religious and other excitements, that made them eager for new social conditions, and so quick to follow those who offered to lead them where such new conditions would prevail, and by supposing that Dr. Keil, however foolish his fanaticism and preposterous his claims, had yet wonderful powers of gaining and holding the attention and hearts of men." What effect Keil had on the intellectual life of the colony after its founding is another question which will be considered in due time.

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8. Page 287-8.

In the spring of 1844 the plans had matured sufficiently to make imperative the search for a location for the new colony. Of the instructions which the three deputies: Adam Schuele, David Wagner and Christian Presser took with them, as they wandered west in search of land, we know nothing. Most probably they were never transmitted to writing, as nearly all the orders and transactions were oral, and without any tangible form. It seems reasonable to assume that Keil gave directions to the effect that they should find land in a region virgin in nature, where the contaminating influences of advanced civilization did not obtain to affect the new settlement. They selected a site in one of the choicest agricultural regions of Missouri. It is located in Shelby County on the North River. The place is not particularly romantic but for the purpose of the settlement there were many advantages connected with this location. According to the "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties," (9) Peter Stice lived here at the time of the purchase by the colony and operated a saw mill, using the water of the North River as motor power. According to the same source three other land owners were located here—Rockwood, Vandiver, and Chinn. Their land was acquired by the colony. Other tracts were later entered from the government.

In the autumn of 1844 Keil and his family together with George Miller and a few others arrived in this western wild. They spent the winter amid considerable hardship, dwelling in some of the old log houses on and near the purchase. Vandiver possessed a good brick house which was built about 1840, and is still inhabited to this day. Here, most probably, some of the colonists found shelter, for the hospitality of the Missourian of that day has become proverbial. In the spring of 1845 many other colonists arrived. They did not all come at the same time, but they arrived as they were able to dispose of their possessions at home. Some of them purchased a boat to come down the

9. Page 861 f.

Ohio and up the Mississippi. There joined themselves to these men a number of adventurers who did not have the cause of the society at heart. The result was that the society grew rather rapidly, in fact too rapidly. For the adventurers soon became dissatisfied and severed their connection, often causing a good deal of unpleasantness and defaming the undertaking before the world. They could not attack Keil personally, for he had promised them nothing but hard work and bread and water. As has already been indicated, the members came from every region into which Keil had sent his deputies.

The men of the hour were the former members of the Harmony Society. Schooled in the ways of communistic life, and complete masters of some trade, they became the saviors in time of imminent danger and need. The names of these ex-Rappites are, according to the memory of the old men at Bethel, the following: Adam Schuele, Matheus Schuele, Jacob Veihinger, John C. Bauer, Michael Forstner, George Forstner, George Ziegler, David Wagner, Adam Keller, Christian Smith, Samuel Schreiver, and George Schnaufer. Some of these men who were especially skilled in some trade were urged by Keil to join the society. Others came of their own free will. Having had experience, however, with Rapp and Leon, some of them would not join without imposing certain conditions. So they proposed to belong to the society for a specified time only. If at the expiration of this time the society pleased them, they would continue as members. If, on the other hand, the affair was not to their liking, they reserved the right to be free to withdraw. This was a rather odd condition to enter into on the part of Keil, but he needed these men exceedingly much in his new enterprise. Some of these men, in fact the greater number, it is said, withdrew at the end of the time specified in their agreement. It is impossible to find a written statement concerning this compact. Most probably it was only a verbal agreement, as most of the transactions of the society were of this nature. The word of a man was as good as his signed statement. Since these men

had conduced to the stock of the society, they demanded the return of their investment. As the money had been spent in the acquisition and the improvement of the property of the colony, they could not be paid in cash. Hence certain pieces of property were assigned them as a remuneration. Their services to the colony having been most valuable, it is not hard to understand that they should demand some of the choice tracts of land. This demand had to be complied with, and so these men who had no more connection with the society became possessors of some of the finest building-sites in Bethel. One of the most flagrant cases of this kind was that of John C. Bauer. He decided not to leave the town of Bethel although he had volunteered, on strength of the above named compact, to sever his connection with the colony. Many attempts were made to "freeze him out," as a surviving kinsman of his puts it, but without success. Bauer was such an excellent mechanic that the society constantly had to employ him, when they found themselves in a predicament. So he continued to ply his trade with a good deal of success. Thus a strange condition had come about. In the midst of communism there was the purest individualism. Simple as the whole matter is it seems quite hazy in the minds of some of the writers of this subject. Hinds in his work "American Communities," (10) says: "A small store in the heart of the village was owned and managed by an outsider. The explanation of this singular state of things is found in the fact that a few years after the founding of the community, to satisfy the malcontents, a partition of the property was made among the members, and a few availed themselves of the opportunity to withdraw their share from the common interest, and have since managed it wholly for themselves." Now this statement is misleading. There was no general division of the property at this time, as the above statement would imply. The young men who owned and operated the store in question were the sons of John C. Bauer. They

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erected their place of business on the site which their father had received, as per agreement, which was made before they left Pennsylvania. All those who received a title to property at Bethel at this time had an agreement of the kind stated above. They cannot be called malcontents in the true sense, since they had a definite understanding with Keil to stay with him for a certain time only. In granting them property, Keil fulfilled only his part of the contract, they having already fulfilled their part. These sons of John C. Bauer, who, by the way, are now spelling their names Bower, operated a very successful general merchandise business, selling to outsiders as well as to members of the society—for it must be remembered that this society which, so to speak, stands on the borderline of communism, allowed its members to have some private earnings. This income they were not compelled to turn over to the general coffers, and thus had some money to spend for things which the society store did not provide them with. From their gardens they also made some private earnings, and so the strange mixture of communism and individualism, manifested at Bethel, finds an easy, logical and historical solution when the above facts and agreements are kept in mind.

Keil had been, and was still at the founding of the colony in Missouri, a religious enthusiast or if you choose a fanatic. For most of his action he cited parallel instances in the Bible. In accordance with such an inclination he called the places he founded on the North River after Bible names: Bethel, Elim, Mamri and Hebron while in Adair County the place was named Nineveh. His ardor seems to have died out, however, for in Oregon he named the only place there founded by him after a favorite daughter of his—Aurora.

Soon after the most necessary needs had been met, the colonists proceeded to erect a church building. They spared no pains and trouble in making it a magnificent place of worship. All the skill of the local artisans and artists was represented in this edifice. It was constructed

of brick and stone and finished in the most beautiful black walnut, of which an abundance grew on the banks of the North. According to Nordhoff, (11) the floor was made of large red tiles, and a narrow pulpit stood at one end. There were two doors, one for each of the sexes. The men and women sat on separate sides of the room. I am told by persons who saw the old church that a spacious gallery ran along three sides of this hall, a portion of which was railed off for the band which played on festival occasions. This gallery was faced with large and neatly carved panels of black walnut, 18 by 24 inches in size, and all of one entire piece of wood. In the massive tower hung three bells. When I remarked to one of the old members that this building must have been an enormous expense to the young colony, he said with an air of great pride that the whole church cost them nothing save what they had to expend for window glass, nails and the three bells. All the rest of this fine structure was prepared by the colonists themselves. This church was the pride of the community as well as the entire County of Shelby. One can scarcely interview an old resident of Shelby County who knew the colony in its palmy days, who does not make reference to this magnificent edifice. In this church the colonists assembled every two weeks to hear Dr. Keil "preach" as they called it. As Keil professed allegiance to none of the established churches, he had no particular doctrine to uphold or defend. As one of the old men told me, he simply preached the doctrine of moral living. One hears so many contradictory reports concerning Keil, and is told so often that he indulged in excess himself, that it is difficult to see how he could have had unalloyed success. However, he had such a firm grip on his people, that they feared him and did not raise a voice against him. The chief aim of his preaching seems to have been to induce his followers to lead a moral life; to assert his authority; to compel the members to be industrious and thus foster the progress of the community. The

11. Page 325.

strongest weapons he had were employed to instill fear and respect of his authority in his members. To give a concrete notion of his preaching, I shall cite a specific incident which was communicated to me by a wholly truthful person. Whether through the system of confession which he made use of, or in some other way Keil had an inkling that some of his members were guilty of illicit carnal intercourse. He resorted to the following drastic measures to expose the malefactors and to check the evil. In open meeting he made known his findings, and in conclusion charged those concerned to arise there and then before the assembly or upon failure to do so he would announce their names. So terrified were the guilty ones and under such awe they stood before the man, that they arose at once, confessed their guilt and penitently bowed before the fearful upbraiding which was hurled at them from the pulpit. The most natural thing imaginable, namely that they would leave the community, the scene of their disgrace, did not happen. They remained and bore in contrition the contumely which followed such a confession or exposure.

Since Keil and his followers had no obligations to any established church, it was but natural that the usual observances of the church should be omitted. Thus they did away with baptism; they had no more confirmation, a custom which many of the members had been used to in Germany; they did not celebrate the Lord's Supper in the orthodox manner; if they observed it at all, it took the form of a general meal at the home of some member. The confession which Keil made use of, he employed solely for the purpose of instilling fear for his authority.

The church which is represented at Bethel now—for the days of the old Keil church has long passed—is the Methodist Episcopal. The services are all in the English language. A few years ago a German Methodist Church existed, but it had to be abandoned for want of support. In the building which the German Methodists owned, the Christian Church has begun to hold its meetings.

One of Keil's former followers told me that none of Keil's old members joined the Methodist Church after the dissolution of the society. They had gotten so out of tune with the old churches that they could not make themselves comply with their teachings, and so remained without the pale of all church organization. The membership of the existing church at Bethel is made up of the younger generation in the town and of the surrounding country. The following significant statement of an old Keilite will throw some light on the subject of their attitude towards the church: "The churches do no harm as long as the preachers behave themselves."

There were several festivals during the year which were always celebrated in grand style. First among these was Keil's birthday which was always a colony holiday. Then came Easter and Penticost and the Harvestfeast in the autumn. On these occasions great tables were spread and loaded with all the things that the German kitchen and cellar could offer. These feasts were held at Elim, the residence of Keil. Everybody was welcome and from far and wide the people came to share in the feast. A procession was formed in Bethel which, led by the band, marched to Elim. The band also played during the entire time of the feast. No charges were imposed, and all strangers were made to feel comfortable. In the evening there was dancing. The real purpose of this almost unparalleled generosity is not well known. Whether it be that they wished to induce outsiders to come into the fold of the society or whether it was simply pure altruism on the part of the colonists, I am not prepared to say. At Christmas time the church was decorated with two huge Christmas trees. The celebration which was rather unique took place at the early hour of four on Christmas day. To this occasion also hosts of strangers arrived. The program consisted of a talk by the preacher, congregational singing and music by the band. Then huge baskets of cakes and apples and quantities of candy were distributed. Colonists and strangers shared absolutely equal. The trees were allowed to remain stand-

ing until New Year's day and then its gifts were distributed among the children of the colony. This beautiful celebration was in time interrupted by rowdy elements which came from the surrounding region, and so, rather than compelling them to be orderly and thereby possibly making enemies, this unique custom was abandoned.

The description of the colony church logically suggests the mention of other structures and the prevailing style of architecture. As stated before, the site of the Bethel settlement is not particularly interesting, in fact it is almost wholly devoid of all that might be termed romantic. Most of the buildings and their surroundings do not help to alleviate the prosaic effect. The buildings are made to serve practical purposes, and are almost totally barren of all ornamentation. They are usually made of brick which the colonists made themselves, stone which was quarried along the North, and timber which was hewn and sawed in the surrounding forest. The houses are built close to the street. Most of them have no front yard whatever. The architecture is of that very plain style so common in many old German settlements of this state. The eaves drip on the street and there often is no porch at the entrance. The structures are carefully put up, however, and seem to be capable of surviving yet many a decade. In some instances a wooden framework was erected and the intervening spaces were filled with brick and mortar. These buildings were plastered both on the inside and outside. The hinges and locks are handmade.

Soon after the colonists came to Bethel they erected a steam burr-mill. All the shafts and things of this nature were made of hard wood. They also established a distillery, a tannery and a colony laundry. All these institutions needed much hot water. For economy a large boiler was purchased for the mill and this was made to supply the other three industries with hot water. Then the problem of how to convey the water to these various buildings had to be met. Metal pipes they could not afford nor were they easily obtainable. Here the colonists showed their inventiveness.

They took long, straight beams, about twenty feet in length and a foot or a foot and a half in diameter at the larger end and with a specially constructed bit, they drilled a two-inch hole thru the entire beam. By hollowing out the larger end and tapering the other they effected a joint which by wrapping with flax or hemp dipped in tar they rendered tolerably water-tight. From this one illustration it must be apparent that these people were very inventive indeed. Many of the Germans whom Keil gathered around him and especially the former adherents of Rapp and Leon were skilled artisans. At every turn one meets evidences of their aptitude. Altho the product of their labor is sometimes crude, it nevertheless shows what they were able to do. Apparently there were master workmen for every kind of labor, but especially apt were they in working in iron and wood. The old mill and distillery were destroyed by fire but a part of the old tannery stands to this day. Here, too, one is impressed with the inventiveness of the workmen. In those days all the fixtures and all the tools had to be made by hand. Altho they pursued this industry only in a small way, they nevertheless gained considerable proficiency in tanning. Their shoes were carefully made and strong, and many outsiders, especially those who owned slaves, purchased their workshoes here. In those days the deer was found in large numbers in North Missouri. Their hides furnished gloves which were made under the supervision of the head-glovemaker Adolph Pflugk. These gloves are said to have been of excellent make. That they really must have been of superior quality and workmanship is attested by the fact that in 1858 they took a first premium at an exhibition in New York City. (12)

For the operation of the tannery much oak bark was necessary. The colonists did not like to rob their own trees of their bark . So they ascertained where an outsider contemplated clearing. They went to him made the proposition to hew down his large oak trees on condition that he

12. "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties." P. 863.

would allow them to peel off the bark for their own use. When such permission was obtained, all men, regardless of the trade they plied in the colony, went to the woods, performed this task in common and conveyed the bark in huge loads to Bethel. Thus they accomplished their task quickly, and also gave their neighbors a laudible example of forest protection, which lesson in this land of plenty, however, passed unheeded.

In the village smithy, which is now owned and operated by a direct descendent of the colony blacksmith, I was shown all sorts of tools that were made in the colony days. They are neat and seem to be better in many respects than the factory-made articles of today.

For the making of linseed oil the colonists resorted to the following device. A very large stone was rendered perfectly smooth and laid down horizontally. On this stone rested two circular stones, each sixty-four inches in diameter and twelve inches in thickness. They were fastened by a strong axis to a heavy rod in the middle. To this horses and mules were hitched and made to roll the heavy stones over the horizontal stone. The horses going around in a circle very much as they do in turning a canemill. The flaxseed was spread on the flat stone and the circular stones, moving over this, crushed the flaxseed into pulp, from which the oil was later extracted by intense pressure. One of these stones now rests over a public well in Bethel, the other in said to be used for a similar purpose in Shelbina.

(To be concluded.)

WILLIAM GODFREY BEK,
Instructor in Germanic Languages, University of Missouri.

NOTES.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

On Monday evening, December 28th, the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association will meet in joint session in Washington to listen to the inaugural address of Mr. James Bryce as president of the latter body. Tuesday morning there will be separate sessions in Washington; in the afternoon a special train to Richmond; in the evening the presidential address of Professor George B. Adams—on Wednesday there will be papers on the Relations of Geography to History, and various other subjects. On Thursday the conference of state and local historical societies, for which Prof. St. George L. Sioussat will act as secretary, will be held, and also "round table" conferences on American colonial and Revolutionary history and in Southern history. In the evening General E. P. Alexander, C. S. A., and other officers and authorities in Civil War history will discuss the campaigns in Virginia. On New Years day there will be an excursion to Charlottesville and the University of Virginia. During the week there will be opportunity to visit the battlefields of Petersburg, Seven Pines and Yellow Tavern.

DANIEL BOONE'S REMAINS.

The legislature of Kentucky arranged for the removal of the bones of Daniel Boone from Missouri to that state, and in 1845 a commission came from Kentucky, and took back what was supposed to be his remains. It is now claimed that a mistake was made and that the wrong body was taken. As no headstone with inscription was ever placed over his grave the mistake, if there was one, was easily made, and it may now be difficult to satisfactorily decide where the body really is.

MARK TWAIN TRANSLATIONS.

In the exhibit made by the women of Connecticut at the World's Fair at Chicago was an exhibit of forty-two translations of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The library of the British Museum has translations of the same in twenty languages. A similar exhibit of translations of Mark Twain's work would be very appropriate for the State Historical Society of Missouri, and be of great interest. The Society asks donations of all such translations for its Mark Twain collection.

DONATION OF MAGAZINES.

Dr. Zopher Case, of Warrensburg, a relative of Leonard Case, Jr., founder of the "Case School of Applied Science" at Cleveland, Ohio, has made a large donation to the Society of magazines and medical journals, they being the accumulation of many years. The medical journals include the leading ones of the country to the present time, 332 of these having been published in Missouri. The collection included in all 3990 numbers.

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS BURIED IN MISSOURI.

The Review for October, 1907, contained a list of Revolutionary Soldiers buried in Missouri, compiled by the late Mary Louise Dalton, which list recorded the locality of thirty-four graves. A note in the same number of the Review added one name to the list. Late papers have added two names. William Dilday, who is buried in an old cemetery in Lawrence county, and —. Ferrell or Ferrill, who is buried in the Macedonia cemetery north of Stella, in Newton county. He came with his family from Indiana about 1836, and first located on Shoal Creek, and later moved to a place about a mile north of where Stella now is, where he died in 1841. His grave in this cemetery is not now known.

REV. JESSE WALKER.

A letter from Mr. Ezra M. Prince, secretary of the McLean County Historical Society at Bloomington, Illinois, re-

ferring to the paper in the July Review on Rev. Jesse Walker, says:

"He was intimately connected with our local history. He formed the first religious organization in our county, the Blooming Grove class of the M. E. church.

The first cabin built in the county was by John Hendrix in the spring of 1822. He and his wife were ardent Methodists. The visit to them by Rev. Jesse Walker well illustrates the hardships of this pioneer missionary. The story of that visit is as follows: "One cold night in the fall of 1824 a voice was heard from without. Mr. Hendrix went to the door. A stranger sat upon a horse, and asked if he could stay over night. Mr. Hendrix replied, "Yes, come in." He said, "I can not; I am stiff with cold." Mr. Hendrix took him from his horse, carried him into his cabin and laid him before the big fire in the great fire place. He then went out and put up the horse; returning he helped the stranger to rise to a seat, and the visitor recovering said, "My name is Jesse Walker. I am a Methodist minister. I live in St. Louis. Having heard of a white family living up here among the Indians, I have come all the way to bring the gospel." He was gladly received, a short service was held, reading the Scriptures, prayer and a sermon. Shortly afterwards a "class" was formed with Mr. Hendrix as leader.

In the economy of the Methodist church, especially in its missionary stages, the class played an important part. The settlers were scattered, not enough to form churches. The visits of the missionary were infrequent, and that the religious fires kindled by these devoted men might not go out entirely the class was organized. A knot of Methodists would meet at some convenient cabin, some one of the members, distinguished for his intelligence, character, piety, zeal, and especially for his knowledge of the Bible was chosen leader. The classes were usually formed as in this case under the direction of the missionary or other regularly appointed minister of the church."

The above quotation is given from a paper read by Mr. Prince at the June meeting of the Society of which he is Secre-

tary, and is of interest in connection with the valuable article in the July number of the Review by Rev. Joab Spencer, of Slater, Missouri, in which number his name was incorrectly given as Joel.

ESPERANTO OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED.

The United States government has lately appointed Major Paul F. Straub, of the army medical corps, to represent this country in the fourth international Esperanto Congress, held at Dresden, Germany, August 16-22, 1908. Other countries also appointed representatives to attend this Congress.

The War Department library at Washington is accumulating a collection of Esperanto literature, and the librarian of the War Department, and the superintendent of the Naval war records and library are prominent members of the Washington Esperanto Society.

There are now about 1,000 Esperanto schools and societies in the world, and there are fifty-five periodicals published in Esperanto. The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs recommends his countrymen to study the language, which he calls the gospel of the world.

MONTANA STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

Mr. William S. Bell, librarian, is doing good work for the historical interests of the State. Bulletin No. II just issued gives a general outline for a reading list on the history of the State, followed by lists of books, manuscripts, magazine and newspaper articles under the various heads. The statement is made that "every newspaper and magazine in the State is received at the library."

HISTORY TEACHERS' SOCIETY.

The Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government adopted the Review as its official organ, and its editor, Prof. N. M. Trenholm, will conduct a department for that society. Not having returned from his vacation in time to prepare copy, the October Review unfortunately has to omit this until the next issue.

BOOK NOTES.

A Study in American Freemasonry. By Arthur Preuss, editor of the Catholic Fortnightly Review. St. Louis and Freiburg. B. Herder, 1908. 12mo., 433 p.

The above work by a valued member of this society is based upon Pike's "Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite," Mackey's works, and publications of other Masonic writers. It is written in a calm, argumentative manner, giving authorities for all the allegations that the author makes, so that no offense is felt by a Mason while reading it, though he may see the mistake of the author in the conclusion given by him.

The majority of American Masons adopt the York Rite of Masonry leading from the Blue Lodge thru the Chapter to the Commandery or Knights Templar. In the Scottish Rite leading from the same Lodge to the 33d degree, there is more of philosophic teaching, but Masons would reply to the assertions of the author, that in neither branch is there taught any concealed religion, philosophy or science, but that these are all fully set forth in the monitorial or exoteric Masonry, the esoteric Masonry being merely the forms of initiation, and not a changing or addition to the monitorial part.

Those who may be disposed to agree with the author, and those who wish to know the arguments urged against Masonry, will find the work of interest. It may be obtained of the publisher for $1.50.

Fate's a Fiddler, by Edwin George Pinkham, illustrated by Lester Ralph. Boston, Small, Maynard & Company. 1908. 417 p.

This is one of the latest publications by a Missouri writer, one who is said to be on the Kansas City Star. The story is a good one, commencing in Boston, and transferred

to Missouri, in which State the events at St. Louis and in the mining country of the Southwest are dramatically told. The style is a strong reminder of Dickens, and a brilliant literary future is promised for the writer.

Stones in a Life. By William M. Goldsmith, student in the State Normal School, Springfield, Missouri. Springfield, Jewell Publishing Co. n. d. (C. 1908). 154 p. Portrait.

This is a pleasantly written account of stories, incidents and conversations from the real life and experience of the author, a young man who was born in Northeast Arkansas, but early moved to Campbell, Dunklin County, in this State, where he still resides. The little book will be a help to any young person who reads it.

Library and Historical Archives in North Carolina, 1900-1905. Publications of the Historical Commission, vol. 1. Raleigh, 1907. 800. 623 p.

This is a work embracing many points of history relative to the State, giving accounts of the State Literary and Historical Association, the progress of education in the State, Sir Walter Raleigh, and his colonies, reports of battles of the Revolutionary War, and those of the Civil War, and the various patriotic societies of each, bibliography of the State for 1902 to 1905, biographies of prominent men of the State, and much other matter of interest to its citizens. Many of the States are going ahead of ours in the matter of historical publications made by them.

NECROLOGY.

Hon. Thomas P. Bashaw was elected to the 30th General Assembly, 1874, and reelected to the 31st and 32d, and was Speaker of the House in the 31st, serving at the regular session in 1881 and the adjourned session in 1882.

He was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, October 31, 1843, studied law at the State University, but quit his books to enter the Confederate army. He was admitted to the bar in St. Louis in 1867, and afterwards lived at Mexico, Missouri, and later at Paris, Monroe County, from which county he was elected to the Legislature, previous to which he was elected probate judge. In 1884 he was a candidate for the nomination for Governor on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated by Governor Marmaduke. He was appointed United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri by President Cleveland in 1887. He died at his home in St. Louis, July 1, 1908.

Hon. James G. Donnell, an inspector for many years in the United States customs office at St. Louis, residing at 1820 Schild avenue, was taken dangerously ill and died on August 22, 1908. He was a member of the Missouri House of Representatives from Madison County in the 33d General Assembly in 1885.

Judge Pembroke R. Flitcraft, elected Circuit Judge in St. Louis in 1894, on the Republican ticket, serving until January 1, 1901, was born in Salem County, N. J., in 1849, and came to St. Louis in 1878. He was a graduate of the University of Michigan. He died June 17, 1908.

Dr. Homer Taylor Fuller, president of Drury College, Springfield, from 1894 to 1906, died August 15 at Saranac Lake, N. Y. He was born at Lempster, N. H., November 15,

1838, graduated from Dartmouth College in 1864, and afterward received the degrees of Ph. D. and D. D. He was connected with various educational institutions before coming to Missouri, and was the author of several monographs on educational subjects.

Rev. Dr. Henry Hopkins, from 1880 to 1902 pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Kansas City, and later president of Williams College, died in Rotterdam, Holland, August 18, 1908. He was born November 30, 1837, in Williamsburg, Massachusetts, a son of Dr. Mark Hopkins, at that time president of Williams College, and in which he graduated at the age of twenty years. He was appointed chaplain in the Union army by President Lincoln, and was stationed nearly four years in the hospitals at Alexandria. He afterwards served in the field, and was at the battles of the Wilderness and Appomattox.

Rev. James E. Hughes was born in Howard County, Missouri, March, 1821. In 1837 he moved to Clinton County, which he represented in the Legislature in the 27th General Assembly in 1873 and the adjourned session of the same in the following year. In 1843 he was ordained a minister of the Baptist Church. He was a relative of John T. Hughes of Doniphan's expedition. He died at Osborn, Missouri, August 19, 1908.

William Morgan was born in Montreal, Canada, November 18, 1839, moved to Newport, Kentucky, when a boy, and to St. Louis in 1857, where he was an auctioneer till after the Civil War. In 1873 he was appointed deputy clerk of the United States District Court, and in 1887 Judge Thayer made him clerk, which position he held till 1903. He died in St. Louis, July 7, 1908.

Gov. Eugene Semple, governor of Washington Territory during President Cleveland's first administration, died in San Diego, California, August 28, 1908. He was born in Bogota, United States of Colombia, South America, in 1840,

when his father was United States Minister at that place. He was educated in the schools of St. Louis, and in the St. Louis University, and studied law in the office of Judge Chester H. Krum. In 1870 he moved to Portland, Oregon, and afterwards resided on the Pacific coast.

Capt. Eli J. Sherlock, born in Perry County, Ohio, January 4, 1840; in the Civil War enlisted in the One Hundredth Ohio Volunteers, and in 1864 became captain. After the war he settled at Pleasant Hill, Missouri, and in 1874 was admitted to the bar. In 1878 he moved to Kansas City, where he lived till his death, August 15, 1908. During the war he kept a diary, which became four volumes, dealing with the history of the regiment to which he belonged, and which the United States Government reports as the best record of regimental histories. Capt. Sherlock wrote two books, "The Marches and Battles of the One Hundredth Ohio Infantry," and "Dictionary of American Battles."

Hon. Isaac H. Sturgeon, called "The Grand Old Man," of St. Louis, resident in a historic mansion with furniture and furnishings of ante-bellum days, and waited upon by servants who were the descendents of others who lived in the Sturgeon and Allen families before the Civil War, at a ripe old age died August 22, 1908. His public life dated back to 1848 when he was elected an alderman of St. Louis, and re-elected two years later. In 1852 he was a member of the Senate in the Seventeenth General Assembly, having for fellow members James O. Broadhead, Robert M. Stewart, Benjamin W. Grover, Wyman Crow, Thomas Allen, and other prominent men of the day. In March, 1853, he was appointed United States subtreasurer by President Pierce; reappointed in 1857 by President Buchanan; from 1861 to 1875 to various special agencies; in 1875 by President Grant, United States internal revenue collector for the First Missouri district; in 1876 reappointed by President Hayes; in 1881 reappointed by President Garfield, continued by President Arthur, and in 1885 continued by President Cleveland; 1890 appointed assistant postmaster of St. Louis by President

Harrison; in March, 1893, elected comptroller of the City of St. Louis, re-elected and held the office till 1901.

Winston Churchill was married at the Sturgeon home in 1895, his wife being a niece of Mrs. Sturgeon. The Belgrade of the "Crisis" is the old Sturgeon home, some of the characters of the novel being suggested by Mr. Sturgeon. He was born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, December 10, 1821, and studied law in Louisville. In January, 1846, he removed to St. Louis, was there admitted to the bar, but entered business pursuits. In the early days of the North Missouri Railroad, he was for twelve years its president. He was also a director in the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, and in more than one bank. The eight presidents under whom he served all recognized him as a man of much ability, and of the highest integrity.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

OFFICERS FOR 1908-9.

E. M. VIOLETTE, Kirksville,
President.

H. R. TUCKER, St. Louis,
Vice President.

EUGENE FAIR, Columbia,
Secretary-Treasurer.

N. M. TRENHOLME, Columbia,
Editor.

Since the last issue of The Review Miss Anna Gilday, of the Manual Training School, has resigned as Secretary-Treasurer of the Society and Mr. Eugene Fair has kindly consented to accept the vacant office. All history teachers who wish to join the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government can send their names to Mr. Fair at Columbia who will gladly furnish any one with information in regard to the Society.

The work in History carried on during the summer of 1908 in the various state institutions was greater than ever before. At the State University both the undergraduate and the graduate courses were well filled and a large history enrollment was reported. The same is true of the Kirksville Normal and large and successful classes were reported from the other state normals. All this means more and better trained Teachers of History in the state and indicates the growth of the profession in thoroughness and specialization.

The next meeting of the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government will be held in connection with the annual meeting of the State Teachers Association at Kansas City during the coming Christmas vacation. The officers of the Society expect to provide a profitable and interesting program of papers and discussion and hope for a large attendance of history teachers from all parts of the state.

We are very glad to publish in this number of The Review an interesting discussion of Dunn's work, "The Community and the Citizen," by Mr. H. R. Tucker, of the McKinley High School. The interest that has been aroused in the teaching of Civics and in the relation of history and government has already done much to improve the character of the text-books and the teaching in both subjects. Mr. Tucker's review is, therefore, a timely contribution to a live topic.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES.

Dunn, Arthur William, "The Community and the Citizen;" D. C. Heath & Co., Boston; 1907; pp. 266, viii.

As the author says: "The book is a departure from the traditional methods of presenting the subject of civics to young people." It is primarily intended for the upper grammar grade and the first year of the high school. Mr. Dunn expressly disclaims any intention to propose it as a text for the last year of the high school, when "a scientific analysis of the machinery and powers of government" is most profitably undertaken. Here then is a book which will enable any teacher to instruct her pupils within their immediate experience. The pupil is taught to study his own social world; and to do this, Mr. Dunn clearly follows essential pedagogical principles—"observation, analysis and inference." He holds —and no doubt rightly—that it is the interest of the young pupils which must be maintained. The "point of contact"—the child's and the adult's relation to his fellows—is the central aim thruout the text. The pupil studies his own environment and comes to feel he is a vital part of it.

The author makes frequent use of local history and geography, and thus correlates the two subjects—history and government—which, more and more, are coming to be considered as different phases of the same subject. For history is but the evolving of the social and political life of the people. There is much sociological material in the book, and it is presented in such simple concept and phraseology that a child can understand it. For instance, in evolving the question of getting a livelihood, the author describes, simply, the method

used by primitive man. The book also emphasizes the importance of the ethical phase of man's life, and the citizen's obligation to the community in return for the many privileges the community accords to him. It is pleasing to find a school text like this one religious (not denominational) in its tone; that is—it recognizes the religious instinct and activities of man.

The style of the book is simple and entertaining, being less formal than the ordinary text book. The illustrations are very appropriate, being new, varied, numerous, and relevant to the object matter. There are marginal analyses, a helpful addition to a text book. The author generally adopts a broad-minded attitude; for instance, in speaking of the training for citizenship, he does not ascribe to history and civics the only disciplinary power, but also mentions other branches of the curriculum as training for citizenship.

The excellent questions for investigation at the end of each chapter are prepared so as (1) to develop the pupil's power of observation; (2) to apply the principles to one's own locality, thus stimulating the interest; and (3) to set the pupils to thinking, such questions not requiring formal preparation, but simply calling for class discussion.

The references to books and the standard magazines are complete, varied and specific. They enable expansion in the work where age and time of pupils permit it. There are also references for teachers as well as for pupils.

There is one omission, which even in an elementary text, we do not see is justifiable, and that is that there is no mention at all of the territorial possessions (continental and insular) of the United States and their government. We fail to see how such a topic would have been not in harmony wtih the general scheme of the work, nor any more difficult than other topics considered.

The book is, however, thoroughly commendable as a departure from the usual elementary text book in civics. Furthemore, it is not the result of theory alone for it has met the test of a year's experience under the direction of the author in the school of a large city. It should be in the hands of

every teacher of history and civics of the grammar grades, for use and guidance. To the teacher of the upper high school courses in history and in civics it would offer many valuable suggestions and prove useful in supplementary work. The teaching profession would gladly welcome—we feel—a book for upper high school classes, written along the same lines as this text.—H. R. Tucker, McKinley High School, St. Louis.

A skillfully abridged and well edited version of Burg's well known "History of Greece" has been prepared for the use of American schools by Dr. Everett Kimball, of Smith College. It is published by the Macmillan Co. ($1.10.)

The firm of Scott, Foresman and Co., of Chicago, have brought out two useful works in Roman history by Professor F. F. Abbott, of the University of Chicago. There are "A Short History of Rome," ($1.00) and "A Handbook for the Study of Roman History," (25 cents).

Excellent review outline of Greek and Roman history have been prepared by Messrs. C. B. Newton and E. B. Treat, of the Lawrenceville School. These are published and sold by the American Book Co. at twenty-five cents each.

A new volume in the story of the Nations series deals with "The Roman Empire, B. C. 29—A. D. 476." It is by Mr. H. Stuart-Jones and deals interestingly with the general development and final collapse of the greatest of ancient empires. The publishers are G. P. Putnam Sons. ($1.35.)

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY.

Professor Dow's "Atlas of European History" published by Holt and Co. ($1.50) is the best thing of its kind available for students in Mediaeval and Modern History. It has some fifty excellent maps and a comprehensive finding index. It should largely replace the long popular little German atlas of Putzger.

Another "Source Book of Mediaeval History" has appeared this time from the precincts of Harvard, the editor being Mr. F. A. Ogg, one of the instructors in European History in Harvard University. The extracts are well selected and prefaced by clearly written explanatory notes. Altogether, this new source book appears very serviceable for school and college use and should help in the movement towards the rational use of sources. It is published by the American Book Co. ($1.50). The Scribner's company have completed the publication of Seignobo's History of Civilization with the second volume dealing with "Mediaeval and Modern Civilization." ($1.25.) It is a most useful reference work for teacher in the field of European History.

For teachers of Modern European History and for advanced students there is much that is valuable and suggestive to be found in a new work by Archibald Weir entitled "An Introduction to the History of Modern Europe," published by Houghton, Mifflin and Co. ($2.00.) It is a book that deals with underlying tendencies and forces as well as external events and indicates a thorough understanding of the trend of modern historical development.

Note—Notices of new books in English and American History have to be omitted from this number of The Review but will appear in the January number. The editor will be glad to receive any contribution from members of the Society as to reply to questions in regard to this department of The Review.

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MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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DANIEL BOONE.

[Introductory to the more formal accounts of Daniel Boone, extracts from two letters from William S. Bryan to Prof. G. C. Broadhead are given. The photographs referred to have not been engraved and consequently are not shown. The article now given will be followed by others relating to Boone.—Editor.]

Daniel Boone married Rebecca Bryan, an aunt of Jonathan Bryan, grandfather of the writer, and after coming to Missouri the two families lived on adjoining plantations in the valley of the Femme Osage, in St. Charles county. My brother and I visited both places last summer, and I will enclose with this letter copies of photographs we took on that occasion, which may be of some interest. The old stone house built by Boone and his son, General Nathan Boone, still stands, as represented in the photograph; but every vestige of his first log cabin has disappeared. Visitors are sometimes lured into the belief that a pigsty, in the adjoining lot, is the old cabin; but it is cruel to deceive confiding humanity in that way. Yet it is quite probable that some of the logs in the pig-house may have belonged to the old cabin. The latter stood where I have made a cross on the photograph; and the spring was about as far

beyond it, and in the same direction, as the site of the cabin is from the stone house. I send you also a photograph of the spring, which flows out from under a bluff. It was this spring which induced Boone to locate there. He found it one day while hunting. The little boy looking so intently into the water is my little son, a third grand-nephew of Rebecca Bryan (Boone).

I will send you also a picture of my grandfather's old double log cabin, as it appears now. It was a famous house at the time it was built, and the largest west of St. Charles, until Boone completed his stone mansion. The two houses are about a mile apart, and during the last few years of his life Boone spent as much time at my grandfather's as he did at home. In fact, there was hardly a day that they did not visit back and forth, for a period of twenty years, from 1800 until 1820, when Boone died. It was during this time that my father knew him, as a boy and a growing young man knows his elders. In 1815 my grandmother, who was then a woman of about fifty, shot and killed an Indian in front of the Bryan cabin. The savage was running toward her with uplifted tomahawk, and was about where the tree now grows when she shot him. This tree is an offshoot of an older one that stood on the same spot at the time. She and a negro woman had just killed another Indian in the hall, he having entered, or attempted to enter, by the back door. I enclose a printed slip describing the incident. The two Indians were buried where I have drawn a cross-mark.

The Boones and Bryans were pioneers of Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and being closely related by marriage and intermarriage, they held together in all their migrations. My greatgrandfather and two of his brothers built Bryan's Station, (1) near the present site of Lexington, Ky., where they bought, or "entered," fifteen thousand acres of land, with the intention of establishing a colonial plantation; but their titles were defective, and they lost it all, just as Boone did his. After the loss of the lands, my grandfather removed to Missouri, in 1800, and

purchased a large tract adjoining Boone's, in the Femme Osage valley; and there the two families remained until they ran their course. My greatgrandfather, James Bryan, the old Revolutionary soldier, also came to Missouri, and he and my grandfather and grandmother lie buried on the hill about one hundred and fifty yards above the old log house. In the picture of the old house the little boy is sitting by the spring, which in my father's time had a house over it; and there they kept their butter and milk and honey.

This morning I received a batch of manuscript from my brother, Dr. J. D. Bryan, of Ottawa, Kansas, and I am glad to see that he has found the record of the birth of Daniel Boone. I quote a portion of my brother's manuscript, as follows:

"'George Boone, Sr., was born in Columpton, Devonshire, England, in 1662; in 1717 he migrated to America with his wife, Mary, two daughters, and nine sons. They landed at Philadelphia, October 10, 1717, O. S. The Boones were Dissenters, and members of the 'Society of Friends' (Quakers) both in England and America. Soon after Boone's arrival, he purchased a large tract of land on the east side of the Schuylkill river, and had it erected into a township, which he called Exeter. This is a short distance southeast of the present town of Reading, Pa. The records of the old '**Gwynedd Monthly Meeting**' show as follows: '10-31-1717, George Boone, Sr., produced certificate of his good life and conversation, from the Meeting at Columpton, in Great Britain. Was received and read.' Again: 'Squire Boone, son of George, of Philadelphia county, yeoman, married to Sarah, daughter of Edward Morgan, of the same county, at **Gwynedd Meeting House**, 7-13-1720, witnesses, George, Edward and Elizabeth Morgan, George and James Boone, William, John and Daniel Morgan, and 31 others.' Children of Squire and Sarah Boone, '**Exter Monthly Meeting Records**;' Sarah, b. 4-7-1724. Israel, b. 3-9-1726. Samuel, b. 3-20-1728. Jonathan, b. 10-6-1730. Elizabeth, b. 12-15-1732. **Daniel, b. 8-22-1734.** Mary, b. 9-3-1736. George, b. 11-2-1739. Edward, b. 9-9-1740.''

As stated above, the foregoing is a copy from the records of the old Gwynedd Meeting House, where the Boones were born, lived and died, and I think it settles the fact satisfactorily that Daniel Boone was born on the 22d day of August, 1734. I am very glad indeed that my brother has found this record, for it settles a question which has long been in dispute. There were two or three other Boone children born after the records ceased.

DANIEL BOONE IN MISSOURI.

The last twenty-five years of the life of Daniel Boone were spent in Missouri, and when he died he was buried there. Scenes connected with his daily life during this period seem to possess an abiding interest for the American people. The Boone farm in the upper part of St. Charles county, and the old stone mansion that stands upon it, are visited every year by numerous pilgrims, who come from distant States, and even from across the sea, to worship at the shrine of the world's greatest pioneer. Each new arrival drinks freely from the spring of sweet water that bubbles up from beneath that great ledge of rock, paints a mental picture of the adjacent scenery of hill and bluff and rolling valley, and carries away with him pleasant memories of the place and its surroundings. Others, less reverent of sentiment, chip off pieces of the stone house, or gather mementoes from the spot where the old cabin stood; while some fondly cherish photographs of the modern pigsty, which they are made to believe contains some of the logs that entered into the first Boone house west of the Mississippi. The present owner of the place, a thrifty American of German ancestry, is disposed to let all his visitors have their own way, and very rarely undeceives any of them regarding the pig house. And why should he spoil a harmless sentiment? Every vestige of the old cabin has long since disappeared, except a few faint traces of the foundation where it stood.

The spring was the inducement which led Boone to build his cabin there. Those old pioneers valued a spring more

than they did the land surrounding it; for it not only supplied them with water so cold as to require no ice, but it was sure to be a general meeting-place for deer and other game. Many a buffalo, coming to slake his thirst at this spring, yielded up his life a victim to the unerring aim of the old pioneer. Boone could sit in the door of his cabin, which stood fifty feet or more eastwardly from the spring, and lay in a winter's supply of meat for his family without the trouble of hunting. He could pick his choice of deer, elk, buffalo or bear; for all these animals came there to drink. Bear meat was preferred above all other kinds, owing to its sweet and nutty flavor; and the bacon of swine went begging when bear bacon was convenient. Wild turkeys were also abundant and so tame that they roosted in the trees and stood about the cabin, and were not regarded with special favor; for when one eats turkey every day he soon longs for something more substantial. Bees nested in the crevices of the rocks and in the hollows of adjacent trees, and came also to the spring to fill their little buckets with water. Thus Boone and his family had an abundance of honey, of the best quality and flavor, without going beyond the limits of their own yard or bothering themselves about the care of the bees. It was a genuine Arcadia, embracing an existence seemingly unreal, but it was very real and substantial when Boone built his cabin on the bank above the spring—and for some years thereafter.

Back of the spring a hill slopes gradually up to the foot of a bluff, from the top of which may be seen many miles of the level stretches of Femme Osage valley, with the creek of the same name winding its course through the corn and wheat fields and the rich meadow lands that margin its banks. There are not many finer views anywhere in the world; and for richness of soil the farms that lie spread out beneath this bluff can hold their own with the valley of the Nile. Before Boone came the French had given a name to this creek ("Woman of the Osage") to perpetuate the memory of an Osage woman, said to have been beautiful, who lost her life while attempting to cross the stream when

it was swollen by recent rains. Sometimes it becomes a torrent, sweeping over all obstacles and flooding the lower portions of the valley. It was in this condition when the Osage woman, driven doubtless by an unsympathetic husband, gained immortality by getting herself drowned.

The story of how Daniel Boone came to the valley of the Femme Osage is told in the records of Louisiana Territory. About 1790, weary and despondent over his failure to secure titles to his lands in Kentucky, and burdened with debts which he could not pay, the ruggedly honest old pioneer gave up all the acres that he possessed in the now famous bluegrass region, and removed with his family to the valley of the Kanahwa. He located in what was then the northwestern part of the State of Virginia, but now within the limits of Mason county, West Virginia, not far from the town of Point Pleasant. The Northwest Territory was already beginning to be occupied by thrifty pioneers, and it was believed that the Kanawha valley was a good place to settle and catch the drift of trade as it flowed by from the Atlantic States to the new and expanding West.

Soon after the removal to the Kanawha country, Daniel M. Boone, a favorite son, and also a pioneer of distinction, ventured into the Louisiana Territory on a hunting and trapping expedition. The fame of his father had preceded him and he was most kindly treated by the Spanish authorities at St. Louis. The Lieutenant-Governor, Senor Zenon Trudeau, suggested that if his father, the celebrated Colonel Boone, would remove to Louisiana, the king would appreciate the act and treat him handsomely. The younger Boone thereupon sent back such glowing accounts of the warmth of his welcome, the richness of the soil, the excellence of the climate, and the plentifulness of game, that the imagination of the old pioneer was inflamed; and disposing his family and his few earthly belongings on packhorses, he led the way on foot across the present States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, to the north bank of the Missouri river, in what is now the upper part of St. Charles county. This journey was made in 1795, when Boone was in his sixty-first year,

and a glance at the map will show the magnitude of the undertaking. The old man walked every foot of the way, with his rifle on his shoulder, through the trackless wilderness, a large part of which was infested by bands of bloodthirsty savages. The fact that he made the journey and brought his family through in safety attests the greatness of the man.

On their arrival in St. Louis, Colonel Boone and his family were treated by the Spanish officers as distinguished guests. The freedom of the city was extended to them. The American and Spanish flags were displayed side by side, and the garrison was paraded in honor of the distinguished pioneer of Kentucky. No function of courteous hospitality was left unperformed; and before their departure the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor presented Colonel Boone with a grant for 1,000 arpents of land, to be located where he pleased in the "District of the Femme Osage." The district then embraced everything north of the Missouri river and indefinitely westward to the "South Sea." It was large enough to satisfy a man even of Colonel Boone's expansive ideas; but he chose to locate the grant in the rich bottom lands of the Missouri river, four or five miles below the present town of Augusta. There he built his first cabin within the limits of Missouri. close by the uncertain banks of the shifting stream. The land and the cabin have long since been swallowed by the caving-in of the banks, and the river now flows where the Boone arpents lay. Here he and his son, Daniel M., undertook to build a town, which they called Missouriton in honor of the river on whose banks it stood. For a while the place flourished, and after the cession of Louisiana to the United States it was proposed to locate the capital of the Territory there. But the town, like the cabin and the land, has long since fallen into the river. Nothing remains to mark its site, and no memory of the place lingers in the neighborhood except a country postoffice called Missouriton, kept by a farmer who lives some distance from where the old town stood.

A year or two after his arrival, the Spanish authorities entered into a contract with Colonel Boone to bring one hundred American families to Upper Louisiana, for which he was to receive a grant for 10,000 arpents of land, to be laid, as the others had been, in the Femme Osage district. The contract was fully complied with by both parties, but Boone lost his land by neglecting to have his grant confirmed by the Spanish Governor at New Orleans. There were no public mails then in Louisiana Territory, and a trip to the southern capital was too great an undertaking merely to secure the signature of the Governor. Meanwhile the transfer of the Territory was made to the United States, and it was then too late for Boone to have his title confirmed. Subsequently, on the 24th of December, 1813, Congress, by special act, confirmed his title to the Spanish grant of 1,000 arpents. This tract he soon afterward sold and applied the proceeds to the payment of his Kentucky debts; so that, in the end, he died landless, for the farm and the stone mansion in the Femme Osage valley belonged to General Nathan Boone.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Femme Osage district had increased to such proportions as to require a local government, and on the 11th of June, 1800, Colonel Boone was appointed commandant of the district. It was about that time, or perhaps a little earlier, that he built the cabin near the spring in the Femme Osage valley and removed his family there. The duties of his office were both civil and military, and his decision in all cases was final, except those involving land titles, which were referred to the crown or its immediate representative. Punishment for crime or misdemeanor was of the most summary character. The accused, if proven guilty, was tied up and whipped, the number of lashes being proportioned to the nature of his offense. A hickory sapling that stood in the yard near the spring served as a whipping-post. That kind of punishment met the requirement of the age, and no thief or breaker of the law was ever known to resent a judgment rendered by Daniel Boone. He held his court under the spreading branches of a large elm tree, which still

stands on the bank a few feet above the spring, and is known as "Daniel Boone's Judgment Tree." Here, dressed in buckskin hunting-shirt and pantaloons and moccasins of the same material, and seated at the roots of the old tree, he propounded the law and dispensed justice to his assembled neighbors in a manner that never failed to win their approval. If a hog-thief, or one who had put his mark on his neighbor's shoats, pleaded guilty or was proven so, he was promptly "whipped and cleared," as they expressed it. That ended the trouble, and the culprit went about his business with no further annoyance or loss of caste in the community. Fortunately, there were no capital offenses committed in the district during Boone's administration, and he was never called upon to condemn a murderer.

The stone house, or mansion, was completed in 1813. It has been represented as the first stone house erected west of the Mississippi; but this is a probable error, for houses of that material were built in St. Louis, and doubtless also in Ste. Genevieve, at an earlier date. But they were not such houses as the Boone mansion. That was the product of the joint labors of the old Colonel and his son, General Nathan Boone, assisted by their slaves, and several years were devoted to the work. The walls were composed of blue limestone, neatly chiseled, and are about two feet thick. The size of the building, measured on the outside of the walls, is twenty-eight by forty-six feet, with a height of twenty-two feet. A hall nine feet wide runs through the center of the first and second stories, with doors opening into the rooms on either side. The rooms are large and uncomfortable in appearance, and have no closets or other conveniences known to modern architecture. Yet a great deal of work was expended in some features of their ornamentation. The entire structure is divided into seven rooms, three on the first floor, and two each on the second floor and in the attic. A portico ornaments the north front, and a double veranda the south. The marks of the hammers and chisels on the stones are as plainly visible now as they were the day the house was finished, and the plaster that the stones were laid

in was mixed in such a manner that it has become almost as hard as the stone itself. It is said that the plaster was "ripened" by being buried in the ground over winter.

Daniel Boone occupied a little diagonal room to the right of the hall, on the first floor, in the northwest corner of the building. It was partitioned off from the kitchen, which also served as the dining-room, and it is entered by a single door opening into the latter. Two small windows give light from the north. In this room the famous pioneer, hunter and Indian fighter lived during the last few years of his life, and there he died, like an infant falling asleep, on the 26th day of September, 1820. A telephone now hangs on the wall of this room. What a story the old pioneer might tell could he but connect with the other end of the wire!

WILLIAM S. BRYAN.

A GERMAN COMMUNISTIC SOCIETY IN MISSOURI.

(Concluded.)

The beautiful and abundant walnut timber of the North Valley furnished the cabinet maker and joiner splendid material with which to work. For these frugal people not only built their own houses but also made their own furniture. From their flax fields they obtained linen, and from their flocks of sheep they gained wool for their clothes. At first the spinning wheel and hand-loom performed this labor but later machinery, run by steam, took their places. The colony hatter made felt hats from the fleece of lambs and the fur of rabbits. In brief, they made everything they needed, excepting drugs and medicines, all in a small way, but sufficient for their own use. At Hebron, which was once a cluster of colony houses but which is now represented by two lone farm houses, is located the old colony cemetery. Here the resting places of the honest toilers are marked by humble limestone tombs, made by the colonists themselves. It seems to me, that of all the manifestations of skill in the colony, these memorials to the departed show least care and ability. Perhaps the concern for the living absorbed their time and energy so completely that the dead could not claim much attention.

Sharing things in common, it was but natural that common places should be provided for the protection of their live stock. For their horses a huge barn one hundred and twenty by forty-eight feet was constructed at Bethel. In style it was what is commonly known as a Pennsylvania bank-barn, with a basement-like arrangement where the animals were kept and a tremendous loft for the hay and grain. There was also a separate barn for the protection of the work-cattle, also a tremendous pigsty, and at Hebron,

a large barn for the cows and stock-cattle. Thus they took the most excellent care of their animals, and in this respect they should have been an illustrious example to the early Shelby County farmer, who left his stock in the open the year around.

For Dr. Keil, their leader, the colonists erected a large dwelling in Elim which is one and a fourth miles from Bethel. This house is still standing and seems to be in a perfect state of preservation. In the days when this structure was erected, it must have been a veritable palace among the houses of that region. It is constructed of brick and stone, fifty-two by thirty-six feet in size and two and a half stories high. Its hardwood finish would be the pride of a New York millionaire, but of course in those days it was the only timber obtainable. It is said that Keil protested against this tremendous expenditure of time and labor. But his followers who truly idolized him would not suffer him to dwell in a house as humble as their own. It is further stated that Keil, whether for effect or some other reason, lived in this palatial residence only for a short time. Against the protest of his followers, he moved into a simple brick house, and at one time even left Bethel to dwell in an humble wooden shack in Nineveh. Keil was ever a roving, restless man who always liked to play to the galleries.

Another large building at Bethel which deserves to be mentioned here is the one which the colonists called "Das grosse Haus"—the large house. In one part of it the colony store was kept. Another part represented the hotel, famed for its excellent meals. The rest of the building was designated as a dwelling place for those of the colony who had no kin with whom to reside. Most of the inhabitants of this house were unmarried men.

There remains still another form of building to be mentioned here. It is the old German bake-oven which stood out in the yard. One of them is still standing. It is a rude structure of stone and brick. To bake the bread a huge fire was built in this oven. When the brick and stone had become thoroly heated, the fire and ashes were withdrawn

and the fireplace thoroly swept. Then the dough which was contained in small baskets about a foot in diameter made of hickory shavings, was placed into the space where the fire had been, and allowed to bake in the heat which radiated from the superheated brick.

All the manufacturing at Bethel and Nineveh was carried on in a small way only. The intent was to supply the colony with everything it needed. However, of some things there was a surplus, and this was sold to outsiders. The chief support of the society was agriculture, for which the surrounding land afforded ample opportunity. At the time of dissolution the society owned 3,536 acres of land in Shelby County and 731 acres in Adair County. The land in Adair County was not as valuable as that in Shelby. Parts of it were subject to inundation. But the chief cause why this land was bought in Adair County was the presence of coal in this region. Then too it was believed that the Chariton river would furnish much needed water power.

There was apparently but little in the Bethel community to break the monotony of everyday life. An occasional dance, a picnic, a festival occasion, as described in another place, and weekly band concerts seem to have been about all the diversions for the weary workers. To be sure in their band they had a source of pleasure which their neighbors had to do without. To judge from reports, the work of this band was excellent. Under the able management and direction of Henry Finck this organization gained an enviable reputation. Their instruments are said to have been very fine. Among the curios which are shown to the inquisitive visitor is an old bass drum which was made by the colonists themselves and which is still in perfect condition. Of course we expect more from a settlement of this nature, but when it is considered how little diversion other settlements of that day had, it will be agreed that Bethel lived in pretty gay style.

In matters educational the colonists did not have very great advantages. A common school was of course established, and for years was under the management of Moses

Miller. In later years Karl Ruge—a college bred man—took charge and conducted the work till he moved to Oregon with Keil. After this some women taught, much in the manner in which the work had been begun, that is, all the work was in the English language, altho all the members were Germans. Beyond the most elementary training but few aspired. Keil himself was opposed to higher education, holding that it was non-essential in making good workers for the society. His position is made clear in the interview which Nordhoff quotes in the work above cited. (13) There it appears that a young man would be permitted to go to college, at the expense of the colony, provided he acquired some knowledge which would bring immediate benefit to the colony. If he simply chose to acquire a broader view of things by means of a liberal course of training, he was not permitted to go. On the whole Keil's attitude toward the intellectual life of his charge leaves much to be wished for. In fact his severity and his autocratic rule had a stultifying and dwarfing effect on the minds of his people. As some outsiders have told me, he did not wish his members to know too much, nor to mingle with the world too freely, for then they would have lost some of their docility. Men with considerable learning came into the society, as was shown above, but in the colony the young people did not get beyond the training in the three Rs.

The German language was neglected in the school because there seemed to be no immediate pecuniary return arising from the use of this tongue. The most natural result was that the German language lost its hold on the younger generation. When I speak of German here, I mean the classical High German. The people at Bethel still speak German and even delight in doing so when they meet among themselves. But in a great many instances it is the rather perverted speech of the Pennsylvania German. Some of the people at Bethel are descendents of Germans who came to Pennsylvania in the 18th century. To this lack of interest in German education is to be attributed the abandonment of

13. P. 317.

the German Methodist church in Bethel. In an effort to become Americanized some of the names were distinctly anglicized. Possibly the most flagrant cases of such changing are found in the cases of John Knight whose German name was Johann Knecht, and the Mileys whose German name was Maile.

Politically most of the Bethel Germans are Republicans. Bethel township is the only Republican township in Shelby County. During the Civil War these Germans maintained a strict neutrality. This was done upon the advice and strict order of Dr. Keil who, knowing that the entire adjoining country was on the side of the Confederacy, feared a devastation of their property and an annihilation of his charge. An interesting story is told in "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties." (14) A body of Confederate sympathizers under Porter and Greene came down on Bethel. The colony, being apprised of their coming, hid many of their things. Nevertheless the troops foraged some, but they did no personal injury. When later on a body of Union soldiers came through that region, they asked that the colonists should name to them their neighbors who were Confederate sympathizers, in order that they might forage among them and leave their friends unmolested. No, said they, these men are our neighbors and our friends with whom we live in harmony and peace, you shall not molest them. If you need food, we have plenty, help yourselves. If you need food for your animals, we have enough of that also, take it, but leave our friends undisturbed. It is said that neither Union or Confederate soldiers, coming near Bethel after this incident, would disturb a people so generous and peaceloving.

One of the most embarrassing things in the preparation of this study is the fact that it is absolutely impossible to obtain an accurate account of their business transactions. The fact is that only very few accounts were kept, and these few have been carelessly dealt with and have apparently been lost. Nordhoff seems to have had the same experience. He says concerning the Oregon branch of the society the

14. P. 866.

following: (15) "I asked the purchasing agent about the bookkeeping of the place; he replied, 'As there is no trading, few accounts are needed. Much of what we raise is consumed on the place, and of what the people use no account is kept. Thus if a family needs flour, it goes to the store and gets what is required. If butter, it goes to the store in the same way. We need only to keep account of what we sell of our own products, and of what we buy from abroad, and these accounts check each other. When we make money, we invest it in land." For the reasons thus given it is impossible to arrive even at a comparative estimate of the financial condition and the extent of the business transactions of the society. If the statement is true that they invested their savings in land, we shall yet have a chance of seeing something of their financial condition, when we discuss the settlement of the business affairs at the time of the dissolution of the community.

All the transactions of the society were based on confidence. The land was deeded to individuals who held it in trust for the society; the foremen of the various industries made no reports, and even after the removal of Keil to Oregon the Trustees at Bethel did not have to render him an account of their transactions. The most perfect confidence and trust existed among the members of the colony.

In some accounts of the Bethel society it is stated that the members were not allowed to marry outside of the colony. Upon an interrogation as to the truth of this statement it was most emphatically denied by the surviving members, and incidents quoted where such marriages had been contracted without any interference on the part of the superiors whatever.

At various times I have alluded to the Aurora, Oregon, Colony as a branch of the Bethel Society. For the sake of understanding the concluding part of the Bethel account it will be necessary to speak a word of the Oregon Colony also. It was already stated that Keil was a very restless man. The region around Bethel soon became too thickly

15. P. 315.

settled. He feared that his people would become contaminated by contact with the "World," as he called it. As is well known, the California gold fever made known the far distant West to all the world. Keil became very much interested in the West, and resolved to send a delegation of his men out there to investigate the Oregon country in particular, to see in how far it would suit the conditions of his colony. He entertained the hope that out there he could take his people and that there, uncontaminated by outsiders, he could continue to rule them. Accordingly, some time in 1854 the following men were sent to the Pacific coast to look up a favorable location for the colony: Christian Giesy (who also took his wife with him), Adam Schuele, Joseph Knight, John Stauffer, Sr., John Stauffer, Jr., Michael Schaefer, and John Genger. A majority of these men reported favorably on a region, not in Oregon, but in the Willapa Valley, in Washington Territory.

In the spring of 1855 serious preparations were begun for the transcontinental journey. Fortunately I am in possession of the complete account of the tedious trip across the plains. Being dictated by Keil himself, it must be taken for its full value. It teems with interesting and thrilling incidents. I shall publish it in another study which shall deal with both the Bethel and the Aurora communities. About the last part of May or the first part of June the train of seventy-five wagons left Bethel for the western coast. Other trains followed later on. One in 1863 was made up of forty wagons. Smaller groups of men went by water, crossing the continent at Panama. After five months of travel, amid the greatest difficulties, the first train of immigrants reached the region in Washington Territory which had been designated by the deputies. It was found that the place was wholly unsuited to the purpose for which it had been selected. It was mountainous, only small tracts of land could be purchased in a body and communication with the outside world was almost entirely barred. They spent a miserable winter there. The temperature was very low and the temporary houses were very bad. The suffering

was wholly beyond description. Keil who had cursed Missouri, and who in a letter from Fort Kearney, Neb., had congratulated himself that the boundary of the State of Missouri was at last passed, now wished that his charge had never left the flesh-pots of Bethel. Missouri now seemed to all a veritable Eden, and Keil charged the members at Bethel not to dispose of a single foot of land they owned there. The following spring many of the colonists went to Portland, Oregon. The first letter of Keil which bears the stamp of Portland is dated March 28th, 1856. Here Keil took up his medical practice again, and continued to be thus employed until June, 1857. He had purchased a tract of land in the Willamette Valley in Marion County, Oregon, and had named the site where the new town was to be erected Aurora. Thither he recalled all the members whom he could summon. The first letter written by him from Aurora Mills, as it was then called, was dated June 16th, 1857. All those who were not bound by agreement with some employer, for the able bodied men and women had to get out and earn some money, responded to his call. And now began once more the awful task of establishing new homes, and that in a thickly wooded country. Some of the members deserted the cause and began to shift for themselves.

After establishing the colony in Aurora, Keil wrote the most contradictory letters to his old members in Bethel. Now he urged them to sell out at once and join him in the west, while in the very next letter he pleads with them not to dispose of their belongings. In the later years of his life his letters had a uniform tone, however, namely an earnest appeal to rejoin their brethren on the Pacific coast. It seems, however, that the Missouri branch had lost confidence in Keil. They remained passive to his pleading. Despite the fact that representatives were called from Missouri to Oregon, and committees from Oregon were sent to Bethel, the transfer could not be made. Whether an attempt was made to sell the land at Bethel prior to the general division, I am not able to say. In 1877, December 30th, Dr. William Keil died. Soon the steps were taken to effect the division of the property.

Before I discuss the matter of the separation, however, I wish to refer to a strange fulfillment of a promise on the part of Keil. The latter had promised his favorite son, William, that he should go to the region which had been visited by the deputies who looked for a location. Before this trip could be made the boy took sick and died. The father wished to make good his promise. He also wished to show his people how sacred a promise should be to every one and how one should fulfill a promise even toward the dead. He decided that this boy's body should lead the train of immigrants across the plains. He therefore sent to St. Louis and a metal casket was procured. Into this the boy's body was placed. Since the art of embalming was not practiced in that region at that time, the remaining space in the casket was filled with alcohol. This casket was placed in a specially prepared wagon which was drawn by four mules, and this solemn conveyance headed the train and lead the way across the plains. Thus there took place a funeral procession the like of which has prehaps never been seen a second time in this country. After a five month's journey the young body was interred at Willapa in Washington territory.

After his departure Keil left the affairs of Bethel in the hands of deputy presidents, appointed by himself, and who scarcely dared to act contrary to his wishes. And here was a serious source of discontent. The people wished to have a voice in the selection of their superiors. These deputy presidents were really not responsible to any one, as Keil did not trouble himself with regular reports. They performed all the functions which Keil had performed. They ruled and they preached, but the members could not appeal from their decision. The first deputy president was Dr. Wolf. This man had been prepared as a Lutheran minister in Germany, and was indeed in the service of the ministry in Marietta, Ohio, when he came under the influence of Keil. Wolf was a well educated and very able man. He really looked to the good of the people. Under his rule the people were contented, at least they were satisfied that he was doing the best that could be done for them under the circumstances. Even while Keil

was yet in Bethel, Wolf counciled for the real interests of the people against the opinion of Keil himselff. Some of the old men in Bethel told me that Keil did not like Wolf on this account and tried to suppress him, but that he could not find a man more ably fitted to take charge of things when he left for the west. Wolf remained in charge at Bethel until 1863 when he led a train of forty wagons across the plains. Most of the men were young men. Keil did not wish them to take part in the war which was then raging. To escape being drafted into service they left the country.

The drawing of such large bodies of men, and especially young men, together with large numbers of the best horses, mules and cattle, and the complete equipment for the trans-continental trip was a serious drain on the Bethel Society. It was a handicap which they never entirely overcame, and which prevented them from bringing their colony to that state of perfection which they no doubt would have attained, if they had remained unhampered. Nor were they called upon only at the time of the exodus to assist their brethren, but even after they had gotten out to Washington calls came in for shoes and clothing. Nor is there any record that the immigrants had given anything in return for the contributions thus received.

But to return to the subject of the deputy presidents. After Wolf's departure, Andrew Giesy who will be remembered as one of the young men whom Keil sent out to preach in German settlements, prior to the founding of the Colony. After Giesy's term the reins went into the hands of Jacob G. Miller who still is living in Aurora, Oregon, and to whom I am indebted for many a kindness in the preparation of this account. These deputy presidents not only cared for the temporal welfare of the colonists but also for the spiritual, in so far at least that they preached once every two weeks. Besides these three persons, a fourth, namely, Jacob Findling, a papermaker by occupation, preached occasionally. Keil's defamers declare that Keil had Findling preach at times, in order to amuse himself at the poor man's ridiculous attempts to perform a task for which he was unfitted.

As there was no constitution the organization was a very loose one. There was no contract between the members except an understanding that all should labor for the common cause and all should receive their livelihood from the general supply. Everything went harmoniously until one Henry L. Hoffman sued to recover wages. Hoffman knew very well that he society did not pay any wages to its members, but he decided to sever his connection with the society, and at this juncture resolved to extort some money from the colony. Pay being refused him, he brought suit in the courts of Shelby county. The society having no legal existence, he brought suit against several members of this unincorporated body. In all he brought five suits. All of these cases were taken to Marion county, and in none of them did he recover damages. The history of the connection of the Hoffman family with the Bethel Colony is the following: (16). Hoffman's father joined the society in 1846. In 1848 he severed his connection with the society and went to Hannibal. It was a strict principle of the Bethel Society to reimburse the seceding parties with the amount they had conduced to the common stock. Hoffman having conduced nothing to the stock was paid $25, the amount which was paid to all those retiring who had brought nothing to the general funds. In 1857 Hoffman, Sr., died, leaving a widow and several dependent children, one of whom was the said Henry L. Hoffman, then aged fourteen. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Hoffman returned with her children and begged for readmission in the colony. She conduced nothing to the stock but was taken in. She and her children worked in the society, receiving therefrom the benefits of food, clothing, shelter and schooling. According to the principles of the organization no one was entitled to wages, and so Hoffman's claims were unfounded, he himself having once declared himself a member of the colony. However, in order to avoid hard feelings and to get rid of Hoffman entirely the following settlement was effected. Mrs. Maerks who was Hoffman's

16. The facts in this connection were obtained from the answer filed by Andrew Giesy to the petition of Henry L. Hoffman; Andrew Giesy being the party sued as deputy president of the society.

mother-in-law had contributed some money and it was estimated that her share in the colony was worth about $1200. Hoffman had a child who was the lawful heir to this money. So this amount was paid Hoffman to be held in trust by him for his child. This was precisely the amount which would have been paid these parties at the time of the final settlement. It was paid, however, previous to the time of the final settlement, and so far was a concession which the colony made to adjust the Hoffman affair. It was done more to deal squarely with the little girl than to appease Hoffman.

During the latter part of the colony's existence, Keil sent his son, August, to Bethel as physician and as a sort of overseer. He was in no wise fitted for these tasks. In the first place he was not well trained in medicine, in the second place he possessed no business ability, and finally he was such an inveterate drunkard that no one would intrust life or property into his hands. At first the colonists rejoiced that a Keil was again in their midst. They hoped that some of his father's ability might have been transmitted to the son. In disgrace and unattended the poor man died in a barn at Bethel. Of the large family of Dr. Keil only one son is now living, Emanual Keil, who resides at Aurora, Oregon. None of the children of Keil seem to have had that ability to deal with men in the manner which made him such a distinguished person.

When in 1877 Dr. William Keil died, the knell of the colony was sounded. There appeared no one who could rule with the iron hand of Keil. Even he had found difficulty in doing so toward the last, as is easily seen from his letters. The young people began to see that they, individually, did not possess as much property as their non-communistic neighbors. Here and there arose a longing for individualism. The older generation was not so eager for the new order of things. They were very conscious, that left alone, they, many of them at any rate, would have remained day-laborers all their lives. However, since the former conditions no longer obtained, and since no leader appeared capable to manage and control affairs, it was deemed prudent and necessary by all to effect a speedy di-

vision of the property—first between the two branches in Missouri and Oregon and finally among the respective members of each colony.

In the Recorder's office in Shelby county, Record Volume No. 28, appears the following record under the caption "Bethel Colony to J. G. Miller et al request to sell:" "Whereas there are now resident in said County of Shelby, State of Missouri many persons who are members of a community or colony known as 'Bethel Community' and whereas there are many persons, citizens and residents of the Counties of Marion and Clackamas, State of Oregon, members of and belongng to a colony known as the 'Aurora Community' and whereas both of said communities own and have an interest in common in certain real and personal property, situated in said states of Missouri and Oregon and whereas both of said colonies or communities were during the lifetime of Dr. William Keil under his direction, superintendance and control, who during his said lifetime held property in trust for both the said communities and whereas by reason of the great distance between the said states of Missouri and Oregon and the many difficulties encountered by both said communities in owning, managing and enjoying jointly and in common real and personal estates in different states," etc., therefore it was decided to effect a division of said estates at an early date. According to this same record the following attorneys in fact and agents for the Missouri society were appointed: Philip Miller, Philip Steinbach, John Schaefer, John G. Bauer and Henry Will; while the Oregon society sent the following attorneys in fact and agents: Samuel Miller, Henry Will, (a cousin to the Henry Will from Missouri) and Stephen Smith.

The Bethel colony issued its instructions under seven headings:

1. That the attorneys from both colonists should meet as soon as possible.

2. That they should effect peaceful settlement if possible.

3. That the agents should have absolute power to determine manner and mode of division. "We hereby ratify and confirm in advance all the acts of our said attorneys in fact, or

a majority of them touching and concerning the real estate and property aforesaid."

4. That they should reduce their conclusions to writing.

5. That they should have full power to incur expense legal and othewise in performing this task.

6. That they should have full power and authority to bring to court any members of the Bethel Community, either in the Federal or State Courts to assist in effecting the separation.

7. "After our aforesaid attorneys in fact shall have agreed upon and perfected the division between the two communities of property now in common held, they our said attorneys in fact are authorized and empowered to divide and partition between us according to our respective rights and interests as the same may be found and ascertained by them or a majority of them, all the property real, personal and mixed belonging to the said 'Bethel Community.'"

In testimony whereof we hereunto subscribe our names and affix our seals this the (blank) day of (blank) 1879.

her
Bachert, X Catherina
mark
Bauer, Louisa
Bronson, D.
Bronson, Susan
Ebner, Elizabeth
Erich, Dianah
her
Erich, X Emma
mark
Erich, Hermann
Erich, Peter
Erich, Wilhelmine
Gehrken, Henry
Gehrken, Adelheide
Grossman, Ausgang
Jenny, Annie
Jenny, G.
Keller, Christina
Keller, Daniel
her
Keller, X Mary
mark
Keller, Susanah
Mangold, Henry
Mangold, Margaret
Mangold, Christine
Moffett, George
Moffett, Louisa
Miller, Moses
Noll, Emily
Noll, Melchior
Pflum, Fredrick

her
Grossman, X Elizabeth
mark
her
Grossman, X Elizabeth
mark
her
Grossman, X Susana
mark
Helfenbein, Henry
Schreiver, Henry
Schreiver, Lena
Schreiver, Samuel
Stark, Christina
Stark, Joshua
her
Steinbach, X Elizabeth
mark
Steinbach, George
Steinbach, Pauline E.
Steinbach, Philip
Steinbach, William
Will, Catharina
Will, Catharina
Pflum, Rose
Pflum, Sarah
her
Roser, X Dorothy
mark
Roser, Jacob
Schadle, Matilda
Schadle, Thomas
Schreiver, Christiana
Schreiver, Hanna
Will, Elizabeth
Will, Julius E.
Will, Lorenz
Will, Nicholas
Woerther, Jacob
Ziegler, Clearrelly
Ziegler, Emma
Ziegler, George
Ziegler, Henry
Ziegler, Julia
Ziegler, Mary
Ziegler, Sophia
Ziegler, W. A.

Thus there appear in Bethel 65 signatures. The men appointed as attorneys did not sign this document.

Then follows the part that pertains to the Aurora Community. From the very outset the Aurora people assumed that the Bethel Community should pay them a certain compensation. Similar to the Bethel people they gave their representatives or in case of death or disagreement to two of them power to do the following:

1. To ascertain what if anything should be paid the Bethel Community in the division.

2. To see how the Bethel Community would pay its compensation, if any.

3. Whether payment should be made in cash or in property, when and how paid.

4. To make written, signed report of their agreement.

They too agreed to confirm and ratify in advance all the acts of their agents. "We especially desire the same to be conducted and consumated upon the strictest principles of equity, good conscience and fair dealing," they continued, "Now then trusting wholly in our said agents and attorneys to settle for us with our former friends and relations upon the principles aforesaid, whether the result to us as a community be large or small, or such in amount as we now expect and look for, we do hereby expressly covenant that in so far as we are able, we will and shall accept, agree to and abide by the same whatsoever it may be."

In witness whereof we have hereunto affixed our names and seal this 31 December 1878 and this 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 15 and 16th days of January 1879.

Signed and sealed in the presence of:

URBAN WILL
and
HENRY E. GIESY.

her
*Bachert, X Maria
mark
*Bachert, Michael
Beck, Charles, Jr.
his
*Beck, X Henry
mark
Beck, Louisa
Beck, Sarah
*Beeke, Charles
Beeke, Henry
*Beeke, Johanna
her
Behrens, X Anna
mark
Behrens, Dorothy

Fry, Henry
her
Fry, X Mary
mark
*Fry, William
*Fuchs, Catharine
*Gerken, Deborah
*Gerken, Peter
*Giesy, Anna Barbara
Giesy, A. J.
Giesy, Andrew
Giesy, August
*Giesy, Barbara
Giesy, Barbara A.
Giesy, Catharina
Giesy, Catharina
Giesy, Catharina A.

Bergman, Elizabeth
Boehringer, Catharina
*Brady, Adelhelde
*Brady, Thomas
*Burkholder, Adam
Burkholder, Catharina
Burkholder, Catharina
*Burkholder, Elias
Burkholder, Elias
Burkholder, Jacob
her
Burkholder, X Nancy
mark
Burkholder, Samuel
*Ehlen, Catharine
Ehlen, Clara
*Ehlen, Claus H.
*Ehlen, Elizabeth
Ehlen, Henry
his
*Ehlen, X J. D.
mark
Ehlen, Lorenz
*Ehlen, Maria
*Ehlen, Mary
*Ehlen, William
*Findling, Barbara
*Forstner, Elizabeth
Fry, Anny
Fry, Caroline
*Fry, George M.
*Knobel, Gertrude
*Kocher, Catharine
her
*Kocher, X Catharina
mark
*Giesy, Elizabeth
Giesy, Elizabeth
Giesy, Emily
*Giesy, Emma M.
*Giesy, Frederick
*Giesy, Helena
*Giesy, Jacob
*Giesy, John
Giesy, M.
Giesy, Martha
Giesy, Mary
Giesy, Mathilda
*Giesy, Michael
*Giesy, Rudolph
Giesy, Sarah
*Giesy, Samuel
Giesy, William
his
*Giesy, X William
mark
Gruenbaum, Aaron
*Jost, Conrad
*Jost, Johanna
Keil, Elizabeth
Keil, Emanuel
*Keil, Fredrick
*Keil, Louisa
her
*Knight, X Anna
mark
Scholl, Maria
her
Scholl, X Rebecca
mark

Kocher, Christian
Kocher, Christina
*Kocher, George
*Kocher, Mary
*Kocher, Sophia
Kraus, Christina
*Kraus, Elizabeth
*Kraus, Elizabeth
Kraus, George
*Kraus, Henry
Kraus, William
*Kraus, Wilhelmina
Link, David
*Link, John
*Link, Lavina
Link, Rose
Link, William
Maile, Fredrick
*Meyer, Henry
Miley, Cathrina
Miley, Henry
Miley, Jacob
Miley, William
Miller, Amelia
*Miller, Catharina
*Miller, Catharina
*Miller, Catharine
Miller, Elizabeth
Miller, Gertrude
Miller, George
Miller, Isaac
Miller, Jerdith
his
*Miller, X John
mark
*Miller, Joseph H.
his
*Schreiver, X John
mark
*Schuele, Christina
*Schuele, Mary
Schuette, Mary
*Schwader, Gottlob
Schwader, Jacob
*Schwader, John
Schwader, Louisa
*Schwader, William
Smith, George
her
Smith, X Rosina
mark
*Snyder, Charles
Snyder, Christian
*Snyder, Daniel
her
*Snyder, X Elizabeth
mark
*Snyder, Henry
*Snyder, Henry
*Snyder, Israel
Staps, Adam
his
*Stauffer, X Benedikt
mark
her
*Stauffer, X Caroline
mark
her
*Stauffer, X Catherine
mark
*Stauffer, Elizabeth
Stauffer, Jacob

Miller, Louisa
Miller, Louisa
Miller, Mathilda
*Miller, Salamon
*Miller, William
Miller, William H.
her
*Mohler, X Elizabeth
mark
her
*Mohler, X Mary
mark
Preutz, Louisa
her
*Rapps, X Catharine
mark
her
*Rapps, X Maragaret
mark
*Rapps, Michael
her
*Remport, X Catharine
mark
*Ruge, Karl
*Schaefer, Michael
*Schaefer, Michael, Jr.
*Scharmann, Sophia
Schmidt, Martha
Schneider, Catharine
*Scholl, A. D.
*Scholl, David
*Scholl, G. F.
Scholl, Fredrick
*Scholl, John
*Scholl, Louis
his
*Stauffer, X Jacob
mark
*Stauffer, John
Stauffer, John
*Stauffer, Maria
*Stauffer, Mary
*Stauffer, Rosina
his
Stauffer, X Theodore
mark
her
*Steinbach, X Catherine
mark
*Steinbach, Daniel
*Steinbach, David
his
Steinbach, X George
mark
Steinbach, Hannah
*Steinbach, Jacob
*Steinbach, J. Adam
Steinbach, Margareta
Ulbrand, Diedrich
*Voght, Henry
Voght, Louisa
her
Voght, X Mary
mark
*Voght, Andy
*Wagner, Catharina
Wanner, Fredrick, Sr.
*Wanner, John
Wanner, Joseph

*Webber, Mariana
her
*Weyman, X Maria
mark
*Will, Christina
Will, Christina
her
*Will, X Dorothea
mark
Will, Elizabeth
Will, Elizabeth P
Will, Emma
Will, Fredrick
Will, George
Will, Henrietta
*Will, John
Will, Louisa
her
Will, X Mary
mark
Will, Matilda
Will, Sarah
Will, Susana
her
*Will, X Susana
mark
Will, Thriphine
*Will, Urban
*Will, Wolfgang
*Woerner, Fredrick
Wolf, W. C.
Wolfer, Adelia
*Wolfer, Benjamin
her
Wolfer, X Catharine
mark
Wolfer, Christian
Wolfer, Christina
his
*Wolfer, X Davis
mark
*Wolfer, George
*Wolfer, John
*Wolfer, Margaret
*Wolfer, Marie
*Wolfer, Rudolph
Wolfer, Sarah
*Wolfer, Samuel
Wolfer, William
Ziegler, George
Zimmerman, Catharine
Zimmerman, Christine
his
*Zimmerman, X David
mark
Zimmerman, Elizabeth
her
*Zimmerman, X Elizabeth
mark
her
*Zimmerman, X Mary
mark
her
Zimmerman, X Mary
mark

From these official signatures it appears that Aurora had 236 members at the time of dissolution. As is the case of the Bethel Community the agents sent to bring about the settlement did not sign the paper. According to the statement

of some of the old members at Bethel, the names indicated with an asterisk were personally known to them as former members of the Bethel Society. I make no claim as to the accuracy of this marking, having no data by which to check it myself. Most probably it is nearly correct, and in such a case we would have at least a partial list of those who once lived in Missouri. In twenty-four years a great many of the older generation must have passed away, and a great number of the younger generation must have come into the society.

The joint committee, whose powers are officially attested in the above record, at once proceeded to business. In the Recorder's office of Shelby County, Record Vol. 31, at pp. 1 to 19 is found the extremely lengthy record of the agreement concerning the division of property between the two communities. This agreement is dated June 20th, 1879. The document is very detailed in the description of the real estate. It is shown that the society owned 3536 acres of land in Shelby County, Missouri, valued at $42447.50. Also town property in Bethel, Missouri, valued at $10728.00. Smaller tracts of land near Bethel, a corn crib, a grist mill with machinery in Bethel, valued together at $7475.00. Furthermore 731 acres of land in Adair County, Missouri, valued at $2790.00. Also the following personal property in Adair County, Missouri:. Cash from the sale of lands $683.85, Promissory notes do.$204.00, together $887.85. The estimate of the property in Oregon as to its value was $45478.00. (It should be remarked here that the Oregonians did make as careful an appraisement of their property as the Missourians had made but made a bold guess at what their property was worth.)

To recapitulate then, it is found that the society owned the following estates:

Real estate in Shelby County, Missouri.....	$ 42447.50
Town lots in Bethel, Missouri.....	10728.00
Other lots and improvements in Bethel, Mo.....	7475.00
Property in Oregon.....	45478.00
Real estate in Adair County, Missouri.....	2790.00
Cash and Notes in Adair County, Missouri.....	887.85
Total valuation.....	$109806.35

The writ continues thus: "And we the said attorneys and agents acting further in pursuance of the said power and authority, find that the total valuation of said property is $109806.35, and having fully examined the question as to the rights and interests of the two communities therein, find that the "Bethel Community" is entitled to $47214.25 part thereof and that the "Aurora Community" is entitled to $62592.10 the residue thereof. And we the said attorneys and agents do hereby allot and set apart to the "Bethel Community" the following described property, (here follows the description of the property), valued as hereinafter set forth, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of $47028.00 (?)(Here manifestly an error has occurred. The correct sum of $47214.25 which has been quoted once before, appears on a line that was manifestly erased. The erasure and corresponding correction was, by oversight, no doubt, not made in the second instance when the sum was recorded.)

The Bethel Community was allowed the following property:

Land valued at	$ 36425.00
Lots valued at	10603.00
Fractions of land near Bethel, Mo., valued at	186.25
	$ 47214.25

The share which the Aurora Community was allowed was made up in the following manner:

Property in Marion and Clackamas Counties in Oregon, valued at	$ 45478.00
Lots in Bethel, Mo., valued at	500.00
One corn crib, valued at	100.00
One grist mill and machinery valued at	7000.00
530 acres of land in Adair County, Mo., valued at	2790.00
508 acres of land in Shelby Co., Mo., valued at	5836.25
Cash and promissory notes	887.85
Total paid to Aurora	$ 62592.10

The agents subjoined the following note: "In making the division and partitions the said attorneys and agents of

said communities found certain fraction lots, adjoining and near the city of Bethel which for want of proper survey and description they were not able to inventory which said fractional parcels of land they have valued together at $186.25 and alloted the same to the Bethel Community."

Then follow the signatures of the five agents of Bethel and the three from Aurora. Moses Miller as notary public and William Haeffner and Julius E. Will, as the two witnesses, attested the signatures. The document was filed with Recorder John J. Bragg, on June 23rd, 1879.

According to the foregoing stipulations the Bethel Community was obliged to pay to the Aurora Community the sum of $17114.10 in cash, endorsement of old notes and real estate and personal property. When I asked one of the ex-members of the Bethel Society whether they did not regard this sum excessive, they said that they did think it exorbitant, in view of the fact that they had contributed so largely to the equipment of the trains that crossed the plains, and since they had to suffer the drain of the best workmen from the society. But since the Oregonians came determined to receive certain emoluments, and everybody being weary of the affair, they acquiesced in what they at that time regarded a rather presumptious demand.

Altho the agents had some very stormy meetings, and sometimes had to adjourn for several days to "cool off," all ended harmoniously. The entire settlement was made without a sign of a lawsuit. There being no written compact, no provision was made for a possible dissolution. Hence the problem before these men was a unique one. The Bethelites consulted an attorney at law at Shelbyville, who charged them $50 for—as one of the old men put it—telling them that he knew nothing about that sort of thing. Finally they consulted the noted counsellor D. P. Dyer of St. Louis, who evolved the scheme by which the division of the property among the members was made, for the trifling sum of $170; the Oregon Society took their affair to the courts of Equity and spent $6000 in effecting their final settlement.

To show in what a detailed and painstaking manner the invoice was taken at the appraisement of Bethel, I subjoin one account, it being that of Philip Steinbach, Sr. It appears under the heading Phil. Steinbach, Sr. and Company. By the term Company is meant those persons who are immediately connected with, related to or dependent upon the larger stockholder whose name leads the account.

Steinbach, Phil. Sr. & Co.	Dr.
1. Cultivator	$ 6.75
3. Horses and 1 Mare	320.00
6. Cows	124.00
1. two year old heifer	23.00
1. Graincradle	2.25
5. Plows	9.75
1. Cornplanter	30.00
1. Wagon and water cart	50.00
2. Wagon sheets	3.00
1. Grindstone	2.50
1. Crosscut saw	2.25
Blacksmith shop and tools	94.90
Saddler shop and tools	150.00
1. Harrow	1.50
1. Sled	4.00
Shoe tools	6.50
1. Hand corn planter	.45
1. Trunk	1.00
1. Cane mill	10.00
1. Drawing knife	.65
1. Wooden vice	1.00
1. Mare	15.00
5. Mules	203.00
1. Mare	30.00
1. Buck sheep	8.00
24. Wethers @ $2.75	66.00
15. Wethers @ $2.21	33.15
17. Wethers @ $2.00	34.00
15. Wethers @ $1.75	26.25
14. Ewes @ $4.00	56.00

13. Ewes @ $3.50	45.50
11. Ewes @ $2.50	27.50
11. Ewes @ $2.75	30.25
1. Two year old heifer	17.00
1. Two year old heifer	15.00
1. Post auger	1.00
1, Two year old heifer	15.00
	$1466.15
	1413.99
	$ 52.16

Steinbach, Phil. Sr. & Co.	Cr.
Steinbach, Phil. Sr.	$ 575.03
Steinbach, Phil. Jr.	283 24
Steinbach, William—wife	125.64
Gerkin, H.	355.08
Credit on mare	75.00
	$1413.99

After the general appraisement had been made and the detailed invoice of each man's holdings had been found, the problem was simplified to its lowest terms. When all items were in the form of cash the solution was simple. The first thing that was done was the setting aside of the amount each man or woman had conduced to the general stock. Then the land was divided. To determine what share each should have of the personal property, the whole number of years that all had labored for the society, after they had reached maturity was divided into the sum representing the total of personal property. Thus it was found that of this sum each man was entitled to $7.76 per year for his services and each woman was allowed half this sum, $3.88.

The following is a sample of the simple record that was kept of the account under the caption of "Sum total of Personal Property." The account which I chose again pertains to Philip Steinbach, Sr. et al.

Names.	Years.	Dollars.
Steinbach, Phil. Sr.	34	$263.84
Steinbach, Phil. Wife	34	131.92
Steinbach, William	10	77.60
Steinbach, William, Wife	9	34.92
Steinbach, George	5	38.80
Steinbach, Henry	2	15.52
Credit on land		12.43
Total credit		$575.03

The splendid colony church was sold to Jacob G. Miller for the sum of $1500. Miller was the last leader and preacher and being interested in the good of the people and even hoping to reunite them into a colony, he purchased this building. At a subsequent sale he lost a good deal of money on his investment. This church had not been considered under the general appraisement. But since all the colonists had had a share in its erection and perservation all shared in proportion to the number of years each person had been an active member in the society. It was determined that each male member was entitled to $1.12 of the church money for each year of his membership, while each woman was entitled to 56 cents per year of her membership.

The final account is condensed by the committee in family groups. The following is a sample of the final total account:

Names of Persons.	Years.	Sum Total.
Keller, Daniel	26	$ 725.92
Keller, Daniel, Wife	21	293.16
Keller, Susan	24	335.04
Keller, Christina	18	251.28
Bachert, Widon	34	474.64
Keller, Widow		348.45
Conduced by A. Keller		804.50
Conduced by Widow Bachert		15.66
Church		59.92
		$3308.57

A single glance at these figures suffices to convince one that the pecuniary gain, accruing from the society was not

great. It must be remembered, however, that these people had all their wants supplied and lived without care. Moreover a great many of them, if left to themselves, would have eked out a bare existence as day-laborers. Others, to be sure, were seriously handicapped. Being skilled artisans, they could have gained vastly more wealth if they had plied their trade in individualism.

Many of the old colonists still recall the community day with serene pleasure. 'Das war das Paradies,'' that was paradise, one of them said to me after he had talked reminiscently. ''In der Kolonie war es aber doch so shoen'' was the concluding remark of an old lady who had spent thirty-four years in the society. The association of kindred spirits, the freedom, the ease they enjoyed, the absense of care and responsibility, the fraternal feeling and the devotion to a common cause are topics which all of the old colonists like to speak about. One of the men assured me that the old bond of fellowship still existed among the former members. He said, ''When the old people get together there is still the bond of a great love and this love we believe is God.''

Community life seems not to have unfitted the members for the struggle in individualism. As far as I could learn, all of them are doing well at some trade or prefession. In many instances they are pursuing the same trade which was theirs during their membership in the colony.

After the formal dissolution of the society, Jacob G. Miller, tried to reorganize the society at Bethel. He had a small following. After a very short time, however, this scheme was abandoned and the property of these persons divided among the members concerned.

Bethel was incorporated a town in 1883. It is a small place of about 300 inhabitants. It is located off the railroad. It differs little from the towns of its size in the State except that its buildings seem odd and unusually substantially constructed. There is a general air of uniqueness about the place which is the heirloom of the old community days.

WILLIAM GODFREY BEK,
Instructor in Germanic Languages, University of Missouri.

A DECADE OF MISSOURI POLITICS—1860 TO 1870. FROM A REPUBLICAN VIEWPOINT.*

In the consideration of American political questions, it is well to bear in mind the cardinal facts that, in its travels from the Atlantic coast line westward to the Pacific, by slow and easy stages over mountain and plain for nearly three hundred years, public thought in America has unconsciously been colored and moulded by the three different political and religious schools founded by our ancestors who came to the new world under the first three Royal English grants to our colonists: Jamestown in Virginia in 1607; Plymouth in Massachusetts in 1620 and Charleston in South Carolina in 1670;

That whether descended from Cavalier, Puritan or Huguenot, the average American has inherited many of the thoughts and theories of his ancestors;

That heredity, education and environment largely determine our politics and religion, and that for neither do we deserve either praise or blame any more than we do for the color of our hair.

My present purpose is to discuss and make plain to the young only those historical and political questions, buried in the mists of years, which the old seem to have forgotten and which the young never knew. This I do, not to revive memories which may possibly be unpleasant to the few, but for the sole purpose of vindicating the truths of the history of our fair state, for the benefit of the many.

And you, I feel sure, will consider such facts, as I do, "with malice toward none, with charity for all," and will agree with me that a free people should never fear to review their past, nor fail to look with confidence and hope for the

*A paper read by Judge H. C. McDougal, of Kansas City, before the society at its third annual meeting March 8, 1904.

future; that the channel of history should never be diverted, nor its clear waters polluted, and that "to search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man! its publication a duty."

Born and reared in that part of Virginia which in June, 1863, became the State of West Virginia, I am still proud of the glory and achievements of the Old Dominion, and proud of the fact that during the Civil War I served in the Union Army as one of the 32,000 volunteers furnished by West Virginia—"the Child of the Storm."

Then, coming westward at the close of that mighty struggle, I became, and have ever since had a commendable pride in being a citizen of Missouri, identified with and a part of her growth, development, greatness and glory; working in harmony with the people in upbuilding the material interest of this great State, and during all these years I have been proud of the fact that I have been and today am a Missouri Republican, and before I get through, I'll tell you why.

EARLY HISTORY—BENTON AND ANTI-BENTON.

At the close of a political struggle, which for length, intensity and bitterness, had no parallel in the history of our country, up to that date, Missouri finally became a State of the American Union on August 10, 1821, and at the next session of Congress, in December of that year, our first two United States Senators were admitted to their seats, David Barton as a Whig and Thomas Hart Benton as a Democrat.

Up to near the close of his illustrious career as our most distinguished U. S. Senator, the great Benton ruled the Democratic party of Missouri, not as leader or boss, but as absolute master.

Although a Southern slave holder and loyal to his party in all else, yet Benton favored the gradual emancipation of the slaves, opposed the extension of slavery in the Territories and became what was then called a "Free Soiler." Among his earnest enthusiastic, active and aggressive followers were Francis P. Blair, Jr., Thomas L. Price, B. Gratz Brown, James B. Gardenhire, Samuel T. Glover, Robert W. Wells

(then U. S. District Judge), and many other stalwart Democrats of that time, most of whom were also Southern slaveholders, and the war raged between the Benton and Anti-Benton factions from the adoption of the "Jackson Resolutions" in 1849 up to the commencement of the Civil War.

With prophetic eye, Benton saw the coming storm, believed in the gradual emancipation of the slaves as the surest way to avert civil war, instilled these principles into his followers, and when he died, on April 10, 1858, his broad mantle fell upon the strong shoulders of that prince of chivalric, peerless leaders of men—Frank P. Blair.

Among the many important results of this factional fight in the Democratic party, was the election, in 1851, of Henry S. Geyer, an ardent Henry Clay Whig, as Benton's successor in the United States Senate; and another, curiously interesting, was that in 1856 Benton's Free Soil followers purchased a large tract of land at the mouth of Gray's creek, three miles above Jefferson City, on the Missouri, platted it, sold lots and erected many buildings with a view to there establishing the Free Soil city of Upper Jefferson and laid the foundation of a large university for the propagation of the doctrines of their majestic, imperious leader. His death, the changed conditions and the approaching war, caused the abandonment of this enterprise.

GOVERNOR JACKSON'S ACTION AND THE CONVENTION OF 1861-1863.

In 1860 Claiborne F. Jackson was elected Governor of Missouri as a Douglas Democrat, but early became the recognized leader of the secession wing of his party. The General Assembly elected on the ticket with him, also favored secession. Soon after the inauguration of Governor Jackson and upon his recommendation, George Graham Vest introduced a bill, which became the law by the Act of January 21, 1861, providing for the election of delegates to a State Convention, which was required to assemble at Jefferson City on February 28th, 1861, to "consider the then existing relations between the Government of the United States and

the people and government of the several States," and "to adopt such measures as should appear to be demanded for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and preserving its institutions," etc., (Laws Mo., 1861, pp. 20-21).

The open and avowed object of the Governor and the Legislature in so calling that Convention was to take Missouri out of the Union.

The result of the election, however, showed beyond question that the Governor and his secession allies had mistaken the political sentiment of the people, for the only question discussed by people and press in that short, vigorous, earnest campaign was: "Shall Missouri remain in the Union, or join the seceded States?"

The men of Missouri not only loved the Union on principle, because it was right, but there was this additional personal and financial consideration which led them to oppose secession. They knew that if Missouri joined the Confederacy, war was not only certain to result, but that, surrounded as she was on three sides by Northern States, Missouri would be what Virginia afterward was—the battle ground of that war.

Hence, upon a popular vote, the men of Missouri decided by a majority of over 80,000 to stand by the Union, and of its ninety-nine members not a single avowed Secessionist was elected as a delegate to that Convention; nor, upon the other hand, was there a single Republican elected.

This Convention first assembled at Jefferson City on the day appointed, and, upon the motion of James O. Broadhead, organized by electing as its president, General Sterling Price, the vote being seventy-five for Price, Democrat, and fifteen for Robert Wilson, Whig. Later, on March 4th, it convened at the Mercantile Library Hall in St. Louis, and continued its sessions at such times and places as the public good seemed to require, from this time on to July 1, 1863, when it adjourned **sine die.**

For brains, learning, wisdom, eloquence, courage and patriotism, this Convention outranks any body of men ever assembled within the borders of Missouri, and the student

of those troublous times will search its literature and history in vain for more earnest, fervid, eloquent and patriotic appeals for the Union than those then delivered by the Democratic members of that Convention.

"There were giants in the earth in those days;" many of them right here in Missouri, and one of my purposes is to rescue from the wide waste of oblivion the name, fame, and achievements of those great ones who in the war of the '60's were always at the fore front of the fight for the right; to rekindle the fires of patriotism; brighten fame growing dim in the flight of the years, and now slowly drifting out of sight like thistle-down from an old field in autumn. If I succeed in this, and at the same time illuminate the pages of history of the times, I shall not have thought and wrought in vain.

Among the many distinguished Democrats who were elected to and took their seats in that Convention are found the names of many who will be remembered and honored with pleasure and pride by every loyal Missourian as long as Missouri is known in history. Among others may here be mentioned Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan County, afterwards Governor of the State; William A. Hall, of Randolph; Uriel Wright, Ex-Governor Robert M. Stewart, James O. Broadhead, later minister to Switzerland; Thomas T. Gantt, afterwards judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals; Hamilton R. Gamble, later Provisional Governor of the State; John How, of St. Louis; George W. Dunn, of Ray, for many years an honored judge of the Circuit Court in Clay and Ray Counties; John F. Philips, of Pettis, now United States district judge at Kansas City; Vincent Marmaduke, Joseph Bogy, A. Comingo, afterwards member of Congress from the Kansas City district; Judge James H. Birch, the elder, of Clinton County; General A. W. Doniphan and James H. Moss, of Clay; J. Proctor Knott, later Governor of Kentucky; A. C. Marvin, of Henry; Sample Orr, of Greene; Robert D. Ray and Elijah H. Norton, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri; Samuel L. Sawyer, later circuit judge and member of Congress from the Kansas City dis-

trict; Thomas Shackelford, of Howard; Judge James McFerran, of Gallatin, then a circuit judge; Colonel J. H. Shanklin, of Trenton, member of the constitutional convention of 1875, nearly all then lifelong Democrats, and all Democrats after that date. While the only two men then in that convention, who afterwards attained prominence as Republicans were John B. Henderson and Joseph W. McClurg, and they were Democrats when elected. And standing shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, with these members of that convention were such Missourians as Frank P. Blair, Samuel T. Glover, B. Gratz Brown, John S. Phelps, James S. Rollins, Silas Woodson, Charles H. Hardin, Ex-Governor Austin A. King, Judge John F. Ryland, Thomas T. Crittenden, John P. Sebree, Robert W. Wells and Thomas L. Price—Democratic lions in the path of disunion. Four of those last named were afterwards Democratic Governors of Missouri—Woodson, Hardin, Phelps and Crittenden. All then studiously avoided any political connection or affiliation with either of the two great political parties; would as soon have been called "Secessionists" as "Black Republicans," and simply, firmly and grandly stood for the Union.

It is a now remarkable fact, here worthy of parenthetical note, that of the men whom I have named, all, excepting four (How, Phelps, Sawyer and Stewart) were of Southern blood and breeding—born, reared and educated in Southland—and, while gradual emancipationists, yet nearly, if not all, of them were then the owners of negro slaves. To me this is not strange, for in my native country, the conditions were then the same as here, and in the company of loyal Virginians, in which I enlisted in the summer of 1861, there were thirteen slaveholders, not a man in that company had any quarrel with the institution of slavery, and if there was at that time either a Republican or Abolitionist in our regiment, I did not know it. But war educates. The superb courage, lofty patriotism and sterling devotion to the Union of many Southern slaveholders, seems beyond the comprehension of, and never has been, and perhaps never will be, understood or appreciated by the people of the North. But

their record is a glorious one, and high above all others on fame's eternal roll of loyalty the recording historian of the future will yet inscribe the names of the loyal heroes of the South who loved Union more than slavery, laid their all upon their country's altar and fearlessly followed the old flag.

It is true that no member of that Convention was elected as either a Whig, Democrat or Republican, for in the public peril of 1861, neither man nor measure was here considered upon old party lines; party names were swept away, swallowed up, lost and forgotten; party organizations dissolved and intelligent public thought, wrought to highest intensity, was focused upon the one great, grave question: Union or Secession, which? Upon the one side stood the Union men of Missouri under the splendid leadership of gallant, glorious Frank P. Blair; while upon the other side stood the pronounced Secessionists under the leadership of the no less brave, intrepid Claiborne F. Jackson.

It is also true that in the fierce and bitter storm of war, some of these great men were swept from their political moorings. General Sterling Price, Vincent Marmaduke, Uriel Wright, and perhaps other strong Union men when elected, as well as during the first session of the Convention, going into the Confederate Army, whilst John B. Henderson and Joseph W. McClurg, became pronounced and distinguished Republicans—yet the great majority of that convention were lifelong Democrats.

But do not forget that during the four years' war, the great majority of the Democratic members of that Convention, acting upon and within the powers conferred, adopted and enforced such war measures as in their wisdom they deemed absolutely necessary for the good government, peace and preservation of the integrity of the State; that they then stood shoulder to shoulder with the 17,000 Republicans who in 1860 had voted for Lincoln; acted in harmony with and had the confidence and friendship of the national Republican administration, and that their hearts beat in patriotic sympathy with the great heart of the pivotal figure of the war—Abraham Lincoln. "Render therefore, unto Caesar the

things which are Caesar's," was the perpetual injunction issued long ago by the Master. Yielding obedience to that injunction, not grudgingly, but with pleasure and pride, I say to you that these Democrats and to the small band of their Republican allies, the people of this State owe a deep, lasting, yet unappreciated debt of gratitude. But for their combined wisdom, loyalty, patriotism and courage, that bright star, now of the fifth magnitude, which today glitters in our country's flag to the name of Missouri, would have been torn from its place and for years wandered in the outer darkness of secession. While the handful of Republicans then in the State, and especially the German element in and around St. Louis, under the leadership of such men as Thomas C. Fletcher, did the full measure of their duty in bringing about this result, yet the truth of history must and will accord to the then loyal Democrats of this State the high honor of saving Missouri to the Union. Of the many patriotic Missourians of that day who are here named, only half a dozen are on earth today! the others have slumbered for years and years in their graves—their great souls out in that veiled hush and voiceless desert which we call eternity—"and their works do follow them." In the years that yet shall be, generations of Missourians now unborn will study the character and achievements of these men, and then with reverence shall say: Honor to the memory, peace to the ashes, rest to the souls of those who saved Missouri to the Union.

EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS TO TAKE MISSOURI OUT OF THE UNION.

When it was apparent to all that actual civil war was on, Governor Jackson convened the General Assembly of the State in called session on May 2, 1861. The Camp Jackson affair at St. Louis occurred on May 10; an exaggerated account of the unfortunate result reached the Governor and Legislature that evening, and was the pretext for calling an "extraordinary session" of the Legislature at midnight on that night. The session was secret and only sixty-seven out of the one hundred and thirty members were present, yet

at that midnight session the Act of May 10, 1861, was passed and approved. This Act authorized the Governor "to take such measures as in his judgment he may deem necessary and proper" to repel invasion or put down rebellion.

The Union troops occupied Jefferson City on June 15, 1861; but before their arrival the Legislature had adjourned and the Governor had fled the capital.

Acting under the authority of this Act of May 10, while temporarily at New Madrid on August 5, 1861, Governor Jackson issued his famous "Declaration of Independence," wherein he solemnly declared that the political connection between the United States "and the people and government of Missouri is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that the State of Missouri, as a sovereign, free and independent Republic, has full power to levy war," etc. Later he again called the Legislature in session—this time at Neosho, on October 21, 1861—and there, on October 28th, they made their third and last ineffectual attempt to take Missouri out of the Union by first passing an Act of Secession, next one of union with the Confederacy, and then adjourned to meet at New Madrid on the first Monday in March, 1862. As there was no quorum of either house present at this session, the acts of the "Neosho Legislature" were practically treated as null and void by all parties. No attempt was made to hold the adjourned session at New Madrid in March, for the reason that the Union forces were then in possession of that part of the State.

Governor Jackson's long years of relentless, stormy struggle for state supremacy ceased only with his frail body, his restless, courageous, yet implacable spirit, both worn and weary from the conflict, finally found rest near Little Rock, Arkansas, on December 2, 1862.

THE LONG CONVENTION AGAIN.

Meanwhile the long convention was holding its sessions, and by the ordinance of July 30, 1861, had declared the offices of governor, lieutenant governor and secretary of state vacant on account of the disloyalty of these officers; created

a provisional State government, and had filled the respective vacancies by the election of Hamilton R. Gamble as Provisional Governor, Willard P. Hall as Provisional Lieutenant Governor and Mordecai Oliver as Secretary of State, to hold their respective offices until the first Monday of the November following. This ordinance further provided that a State election be held on said first Monday of November, 1861, for the election of these three State officers, as well as for members of the General Assembly; but by the ordinance of October 12, 1861, this election was postponed to the first Monday in August, 1862, and later, by the ordinance of June 11, 1862, the convention continued the three officers named in their respective offices "until the first Monday in August, 1864, and until their successors are duly elected and qualified." Under this authority Governor Gamble continued in office until his death in January, 1864, and from that time on Willard P. Hall was the Governor until the inauguration of Governor Fletcher on January 2d, 1865.

Upon the formal expulsion of Waldo P. Johnson and Trusten Polk from the U. S. Senate on January 10, 1862, upon charges of disloyalty, Provisional Lieutenant Governor Willard P. Hall, in the absence of Governor Gamble, appointed Robert Wilson, of Andrew County, and John B. Henderson, of Pike, as their respective successors. Wilson had been an old line Whig and Henderson a Douglas Democrat.

By resolution of June 6, 1862, "unanimously adopted," General Sterling Price and five other members were "expelled from their seats in this convention" upon charges of disloyalty and the seats of three other members were "declared vacant" for like tendencies.

Early in its sessions, and on October 16, 1861, by the decisive vote of 37 to 15, the convention by ordinance provided for the first test oath ever required in Missouri, by saying, "That each civil officer in this State * * * take and prescribe an oath * * * that he will not take up arms against the Government of the United States nor the Provisional Government of this State, nor give aid or comfort to the enemies of either during the present civil war." Fail-

ure to take this oath forfeited the office, and it was made a felony to either falsely take it, or violate it.

At its next session, and on June 10, 1862, the Convention adopted the famous ordinance entitled, "An Ordinance defining the qualifications of voters and civil officers in this State." (Ordinances of the Missouri State Convention, pages 13-14; Laws of Missouri, 1863, pages 687-689.) The material features of this ordinance were as follows:

Section 1 provided that no person should vote at any election in this State, who should not first take an oath to "support, protect and defend" the Constitution of the United States and of this State "against all enemies and opposers, whether domestic or foreign;" that he would "bear true faith, loyalty and allegiance to the United States," and would "not directly, or indirectly, give aid, comfort or countenance to the enemies or opposers thereof, or to the Provisional Government of the State of Missouri;" and further, that he had not "since the 17th day of December, 1861, willfully taken up arms or levied war against the United States, or against the Provisional Government of the State of Missouri."

Section 2 provided that before any person should "be elected or appointed to any civil office within this State" he should take, subscribe and file a somewhat similar oath, the precise form of which was given in that section.

Section 3 provided that any person who should falsely take, or, having taken "any oath prescribed by this ordinance," should violate the same, should be adjudged guilty of the crime of perjury and it was made the special duty of courts to enforce the provisions of this ordinance. The next section is as follows:

"Section 4. The courts of the State shall require all jurymen and attorneys to take and subscribe the following oath:" (which is there set out in full) and then further provides that: "The same oath shall also be taken and subscribed by the President, Professors and Curators of the University of the State of Missouri, by all bank officers, common school teachers who are paid in whole or in part out of funds provided by law, and common school trustees, by all officers of all incorporated companies of this State and by all licensed or ordained preachers of the Gospel before

performing the ceremony of marriage in this State, and filed in any county clerk's office in this State; and every licensed or ordained preacher of the Gospel who shall perform the ceremony of marriage in this State before taking said oath, and every other person aforesaid assuming to discharge the duties pertaining to his avocation under the laws of this State, without complying with the provisions of this section, shall be liable to prosecution in any court of competent jurisdiction in this State, by indictment, and upon conviction shall be punished for each offense by a fine not less than ten nor more than two hundred dollars."

Section 5 provided that judges and clerks of election "shall, in addition to taking the oath required by existing laws, take the further oath that they will not record, nor permit to be recorded, the name of any voter who has not first taken the oath required to be taken by the first section of this ordinance."

No man in Missouri could therefore either vote, or hold office or discharge any of the duties of the several avocations named, without first taking the prescribed oath.

The fact then is that this system of disfranchisement and test oaths were established and required in this state long before the Republican party as a political organization had more than a mere nominal existence in Missouri, and the record of that convention shows that this ordinance providing such disfranchisement and oaths of loyalty was introduced, supported and voted for by Democrats. By turning to the official printed proceedings of that convention (pages 27 to 171) it will be found that the following well known Democrats, in speeches of great power, ability, patriotism and zeal, urged the adoption of the ordinance, speaking in favor of both disfranchisement and oaths of loyalty. On June 5, 1862, Willard P. Hall, a man of lofty character and powerful intellect, spoke. On June 6, James O. Broadhead, a conspicuous, able and fearless torch bearer of patriotism, made his speech, and on June 9 Judge John F. Philips, whose thrilling words of wisdom, wit, pathos and eloquence are still heard in the land, made one of his most powerful and eloquent appeals for the adoption of the disfranchising ordinance, in which, among other truths, he said: "There was not a man who entered the rebel service who did

not stake all upon the success of that cause, and who did not expect to be dealt with as a traitor in the even he failed." Other distinguished Democrats of the state were quite as emphatic in their support of this ordinance as were the gentlemen just named; while the member perhaps most earnest and zealous in his support of the ordinance was Judge James McFerran, of Gallatin, an earnest man of splendid ability and high standing. Indeed, Judge McFerran drew the report of "the committee on elections and elective franchise," embracing the original ordinance and from the fact that this ordinance, drawn and reported by so distinguished a Democrat, was adopted by that convention, it is safe to assume that upon the questions raised, Judge McFerran not only uttered his own convictions, but voiced those of a majority of that convention when he said (page 163):

"The question now is, whether ministers of the Gospel and school teachers shall take this oath.

"I think if there is any class in the State that ought to be put under the solemnity of an oath, it is the ministers of the Gospel. Of all the men in the State who have contributed to bring about the evils now on us, I think there is no class that is so responsible as ministers of the Gospel. The minister always does his work effectually; and whenever he gets to be a politician and gets among his flock, he instills poison into their minds, and all the arguments of politicians and orators can never remove it. If there is any class of men in this State who should be put under obligations of loyalty, the experiences of the year show it should be the ministers of the Gospel. * * * I do not think disloyal men should be permitted to preach in this State. Not that I have any disrespect for ministers of the Gospel, but because I have a high respect for the public safety and the peace of the State, and because I consider them more important than any considerations appertaining to individuals."

The final vote upon this ordinance stood, ayes 42, nays 27 (Journal 29). That is how, when and by whom the disloyal element was disfranchised and test oaths established by which preachers, teachers, lawyers, jurymen, school directors and officers, and directors of all sorts of corporations, public and private, were deprived of the right to perform the duties of

their respective avocations without first taking the test oath, and oath of loyalty required by this ordinance.

Even prior to the passage of the ordinance in question and on April 24, 1862, Colonel Walter King, a Ray County Democrat, who was as distinguished for his services in the Union army as after the war he was conspicuous in his opposition to the Republican party, suspended the Rev. William M. Rush, of Chillicothe, Mo., from his "duties as a minister or preacher within this military district," and on the appeal of the preacher from this suspension, it was General, afterward Governor, Willard P. Hall, who not only refused to interfere, but confirmed the suspension upon the ground that "a religious congregation that cannot endure prayers for its Government is disloyal; and a minister that encourages such a congregation in its course is also disloyal."

The general elections of 1862 and 1864 were held under this ordinance, while those of 1866, 1868 and 1870 were held under the Constitution of 1865. The State militia and home guards, organized under the authority of the Convention and then subject to the orders of the Provisional Governor as their commander-in-chief, seem to have been quite active in preserving order, as well as in doing other things, at the polls in the elections of '62 and '64; but this was not so as to the elections of '66, '68 and '70 for the reason that before the election of '66 the war was over, the militia had been disbanded, and there was not, nor could there have been anywhere in this State, any military interference at either of the elections last named.

From the official printed proceedings of the last session of the Convention—from June 15 to July 1, 1863—and especially from the memorable speech of Judge Birch (Journal of Proceedings pages 374-380) it is quite certain that numerous and gross outrages were perpetrated upon the rights of many citizens by the militia, as well as by election officers, in the election held in the fall of 1862. Like conditions prevailed and like things were done at the election of 1864, but not thereafter for the reasons given. From the facts disclosed by the debates at that session of the Convention, it is certain that

one class of our people then complained with as much bitterness, as well as with far more reason, of the manner of executing the ordinance of 1862, as afterward they complained of the execution of the Constitution of 1865.

A fact of special interest to those who either charge or credit test oaths and disfranchisement to the account of Charles D. Drake, is that Mr. Drake did not become a member of the Convention first named until June 15, 1863—more than a year after the passage of the ordinance of June 10, 1862.

Another interesting fact, well nigh forgotten now, is that on July 1, 1863, this Convention ordinance provided for the emancipation of the slaves of Missouri on July 4, 1870—"and all slaves within the State at that day are hereby declared to be free."

In this connection, these facts may be recalled with local pride and pleasure: President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, issued January 1, 1863, declared freedom only to " persons held as slaves" in certain "designated States and parts of States" then " in rebellion against the United States." It did not affect the legal status of any slave in either Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware or Tennessee, nor of slaves in certain designated parts of Louisiana and Virginia, including that part of the latter which is now West Virginia, for the reason that they were not then "in rebellion against the United States." As to all these the President then declared that the institution of slavery was "for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued."

The Convention called to frame the Constitution of 1865, however, without waiting for the Federal Government to act, passed an ordinance on January 11, 1865, abolishing slavery in Missouri on that day—"and all persons held to service or labor, as slaves are hereby declared free." This was reiterated in that Constitution, while the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, abolishing slavery, did not become effective until December 18, 1865. Hence, Missouri, had and has the honor of having abolished the curse and crime of human slavery in this State more than eleven months before that result was accomplished

throughout the entire South by the ratification of the thirteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Let us now take a hasty glance through the history of

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN MISSOURI.

The Republican party was organized and assumed that name as the name least offensive to Whigs and Democrats, soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and first became a national party in 1856, with John C. Fremont as its first candidate for President.

The first movement of the few Missouri Republicans was made in the campaign of 1860. Early in that year a conference of leading Republicans of the State was held at St. Louis, at which delegates to the Republican National Convention at Chicago were named. These delegates at that Convention placed Edward Bates, of St. Louis, in nomination for the Presidency. Lincoln being nominated and elected, he made Bates Attorney General of the United States. Bates served with distinction until 1864, and was Missouri's first cabinet officer. After that Convention adjourned, the Missouri delegates named the Lincoln electors for that campaign and made the gifted James B. Gardenhire, former Democratic Attorney General of the State, the Republican candidate for Governor, against his will. At the election of 1860 the Lincoln electors received about 17,000 votes and Gardenhire about 6,000.

The next movement tending toward the organization of the Republican party in Missouri was the "Emancipation Convention," held at Jefferson City on June 19, 1862, of which Judge Robert W. Wells was the president and Major John L. Bittinger and William Cuddy were secretaries. This convention declared for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, for the earnest support of the Union cause and of Lincoln's administration; but seems to have done little else. In that year a General Assembly was elected, the majority of its members being for the Union and for the gradual emancipation of the slaves.

The first distinctively Republican State Convention ever

held in Missouri met at Jefferson City on May 25, 1864, selected delegates to the Republican National Convention which was held in June and renominated Lincoln; adopted a stalwart Republican platform and nominated a full Republican State ticket, with Thomas C. Fletcher at its head as the candidate for Governor. This ticket was elected, as was also a Republican majority of both House and Senate; that General Assembly convened at Jefferson City on December 26, 1864, and Governor Fletcher was inaugurated January 2, 1865. Then, and not till then, was the Government of Missouri in the full control of the Republican party.

In 1863 the Legislature elected John B. Henderson and B. Gratz Brown as U. S. Senators and they were the first to represent Missouri in that body as Republicans. Charles D. Drake was elected U. S. Senator as a Republican in 1867, and Carl Schurz in 1869. When Senator Drake resigned to accept the office of Chief Justice of the United States Court of Claims in 1870, Daniel T. Jewett was appointed to succeed him until the next session of the Legislature, and since then our representatives in the Senate of the United States have been Democrats; and for the past third of a century every State election has been carried by Democrats, save and except that of 1894, which was an "off year" victory won by Republicans.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS.

Missouri has had but two straight Republican Governors —Thomas C. Fletcher, elected in 1864, served a term of four years under our first Constitution, and Joseph W. McClurg, elected in 1868, and served a term of two years under the Constitution of 1865. In 1870 the Republican State Convention was divided upon the adoption of the pending constitutional amendments; the one wing, called "Straight Republicans," renominated McClurg for Governor, while the other, known as "Liberal Republicans," nominated B. Gratz Brown for Governor. The Democrats made no nomination and by the combined votes of Liberal Republicans and Democrats Brown was elected by a majority of over 41,000.

CONSTITUTION OF 1865—REPUBLICAN CONTINUANCE OF DEMOCRATIC TEST OATHS AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.

It has often been charged, and many of the present generation believe, that disfranchisement and test oaths were products of Republican hatred and first became a law in this state in and by the Constitution of 1865, and that this Constitution was formulated and ratified by the Republican party after the war was over. This is not true.

The Constitution of 1865 was provided for by "An Act to provide for a State Convention," approved February 13, 1864, by Willard P. Hall, then Democratic Governor of the State, which Act called that Constitutional Convention into existence. (Laws of Mo., 1864, pages 24-26). The delegates to this convention were elected in November, 1864, assembled at St. Louis on January 6, 1865, and Section 5 of the Act gave to the convention the express power to consider, among other things, "such amendments to the Constitution of the State as may be by them deemed necessary to preserve in purity the elective franchise to loyal citizens." The time, as will be seen by the dates given, was a time of war and not of peace, and the war spirit found expression in the language quoted from section 5.

When the candidates for that constitutional convention were before the people for election, the Democratic national convention of 1864 at Chicago was declaring in its platform that the war had been a failure; battles were being fought throughout the South; and the historic "Price's raid" into and through this state was being made. Sweeping away all opposition, on the conquering Confederate veterans came, with the avowed purpose of capturing Kansas City, marching on and taking the rich spoil of government supplies then at Fort Leavenworth and burning the city of Leavenworth. On their way at various points they met the Union troops in open field; fought the battles of Pilot Knob, of Lexington, of the Little Blue, of Independence and of the Big Blue, in each of which the Confederates were victorious.

Flushed with success, on they came to meet their Waterloo at Westport. There, on October 23, 1864, they fought the splendid and decisive battle of Westport, which turned the tide

and sent the Confederates in full retreat to the land of Dixie.

Among many well known Federal and Confederate soldiers, whose services for their respective causes in one or more of these battles were both gallant and conspicuous, I now recall the names of Colonels R. T. Van Horn, Robert H. Hunt and John F. Philips on the Union side, and Colonel John C. Moore, Richard Gentry and Captain (now Judge) Turner A. Gill on the Confederate side. Young man, go ask any soldier of either army, who in these battles heard the rattle of musketry, the cannon's roar, the shriek and scream of the death-dealing shell, and there looked down into the dying eyes of his comrade, and you will be told that that was a time of war and that there was not then the faintest glimmer of the dawn of peace.

All these battles were fought while the constitutional convention of 1865 was being assembled, and marauding bands of guerillas were then carrying death and destruction to Union men in many parts of the state.

The members of that convention completed and signed the Constitution on April 8, 1865.

On April 10, 1865, after the constitution was completed and signed and sent out to the people, that convention was still in session upon some minor ordinances, when the telegraphic wires announced the surrender of Lee at Appomatox. The members of that convention went wild with joy and before any other business was transacted, a resolution was unanimously adopted in which thanks were returned to Almighty God and President Lincoln for their work in breaking the power of the rebellion "and especially for the noble and humane disposition which has been manifested by our authorities to our conquered enemy."

In this connection it is well to recall the additional historic facts: That the President's peace proclamation was issued on May 9, 1865; that the last reported battle of the war, in which about 120 Union soldiers were killed, was fought at Palmetto Ranche in Texas on May 13th; that the last Confederate force in the field, about 20,000 soldiers under the command of General Kirby Smith, surrendered on May 26th; that

the election at which the constitution was adopted was held on the very day the order was issued by the Government for the release of all Confederate prisoners of war—June 6th, and that the constitution went into effect on July 4, 1865. Under these facts it is clear that this constitution was not only authorized, its framers elected, its provisions formulated and sent to the people for adoption or rejection in times of actual war; but that it was ratified at the polls only eleven days after the surrender of the last Confederate force.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

The close of the Civil War marked the parting of the ways of the men of Missouri who for four long years had done and dared all for the Union. The Union or War Democrats and the newly organized Republicans of the State differed as to the time when the test oath should be abolished and the disfranchised should be enfranchised. The former insisted that the restrictions imposed in 1862 by the convention and continued in the Constitution of 1865 were mere war measures and that peace having been restored such restrictions should be removed at once; while the latter insisted that the time for this was not yet ripe. The issue was squarely presented, sharply drawn, and its discussion provoked almost as much bitterness as had the question of secession. The Union Democrats whom I have named resumed their old places in the Democratic party of the Nation; while the more radical members of the Republican party, flushed with success at arms and with the ballot, and then under the leadership of Charles D. Drake, were at first disposed to hold fast the party advantages given them by the fortunes of war and politics.

But the ever softening and mellowing influences of time, charity and conservatism were at work; the nightmare of war passed, the sweet dream of peace became a glorious reality and partisanship merged into patriotism and fraternity.

REPUBLICAN MAGNANIMITY.

The Constitution of 1865 had been adopted and the general election of 1866 had been held under its provisions. The

Confederate soldiers had returned to their homes; when before the second election had been held in this State under that Constitution, the Republican National Convention met at Chicago in May, 1868. In that Convention, at the unanimous request of the Missouri delegation, General Carl Schurz presented a resolution to be adopted as a plank in the platform of the national Republican party, which, among other things, declared: "And we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out and as may be consistent with the safety and loyalty of the people." This resolution was unanimously adopted at the request of the Missouri delegation and became the thirteenth plank in the national platform of the Republican party in 1868.

Later on and in July, 1868, the Missouri Republican State Convention, in the very first plank of its platform, reaffirmed everything contained in the Chicago platform named, and, among other things, declared that "We cherish no revengeful feeling toward those who fought in fair and open battle, though for an unjust cause, and stand ready to restore every political privilege at the earliest moment consistent with state and national safety."

REPUBLICANS ABOLISH TEST OATH AND RESTORE THE FRANCHISE.

The Republican party elected a Republican Legislature in the fall of 1868, and when that general assembly met, the Republican State Senate brought forward as Republican measures the constitutional amendments which repealed all test oaths, restored the franchise to every Confederate soldier and made him again eligible to every office in the gift of the people.

There were three of these amendments, all of which were prepared by the Republican judiciary committee of the Republican Senate. The first restored to the Confederates the right of suffrage; the second restored to them the right to hold office, and the third abolished the oath of loyalty.

On February 23, 1869, the suffrage amendment was adopted by a vote of 18 Republicans and 7 Democrats.

On February 24 the amendment restoring the right to hold office was adopted by a vote of 20 Republicans and 4 Democrats; 3 Democrats and 1 Republican voting in the negative.

On the same day the amendment repealing the oath of loyalty was adopted by a vote of 21 Republicans and 7 Democrats. Every Republican Senator voting for these constitutional amendments declared that he was in favor of submitting them to the people and that as one of the people he would vote for their adoption. My friend, Col. Wells H. Blodgett, of St. Louis, a member of that Senate, is authority for this statement, and the record fully sustains him.

After these three constitutional amendments had been thus submitted to the people, the Republican State Convention met at Jefferson City, in August, 1870, and commended the course of the Repblican Legislature in submitting them to the people, but could not agree as to when all this should be done, and the Convention divided. The regular wing, which then nominated Governor McClurg for re-election, upon this question declared that "We recognize the right of every member of the party to vote his honest convictions," while the liberal wing, which then nominated B. Gratz Brown for Governor, declared as to these amendments, that "We earnestly recommend them to the people for their approval and adoption."

Upon these two plaforms, the Republicans of Missouri went to the polls in November, 1870, and out of 144,000 votes cast, more than 127,000 were in favor of the re-enfranchisement of those whom a Democratic Convention had first disfranchised. Or to be exact, the vote of the State in favor of that amendment was 127,643, while there were only 16,288 votes against it.

SOME FIGURES AND REFLECTIONS.

The vote of Missouri on the Presidency in 1860 was as follows:

Douglas (Union Democrat)	58,801
Bell (Whig)	58,372
Breckenridge (Disunion Democrat)	31,317
Lincoln (Republican)	17,028
Total	165,518

Although many of them afterwards changed front, yet this vote would indicate that in the fall of 1860, only about nineteen per cent of the men of Missouri then countenanced a dissolution of the Union, and that only about twelve per cent. of them were then Republicans.

Another thing: Missouri sent to the Union Army over 109,000 volunteers and to the Confederate Army more than half that number of volunteers, aggregating the total voting population of the State in 1860. While the draft was enforced in every Northern State, as well as in all the seceding States, and while a draft was at one time ordered and in part enforced in this state, yet to the everlasting honor of the people of the State it should be remembered that to Missouri belongs the unique distinction of having kept its quota full in each of the contending armies, without a single Missourian serving as a drafted man under either the Stars and Stripes or the Stars and Bars. Such is the proud fighting record of Missouri in the Civil War—a record without precedent or parallel in the history of the world.

The total votes for Governor of Missouri, in the four presidential election years which tell the story, were as follows:

In 1860	156,575
In 1864	101,977
In 1868	144,987
In 1872	278,986

The lowest of these was 101,977 in 1864. when the Democratic ordinance of 1862 was in full force and before the Republican pary obtained the control of our State Government.

This total was increased in 1868, during the nearly four years of Republican rule, over 43,000 votes.

Then came Republican enfranchisement in 1870, and at the next election thereafter, held in 1872, this total of 1868 was increased by 133,999 votes.

Years ago, when this was a living issue (it is a dead one now, thank heaven,) Democratic speakers and papers often charged that this increase in the vote of 1872 over that of 1868 was made up of disfranchised Missouri Democrats. Personally, I never believed that charge, yet if true, then the Republicans

who in 1870 enfranchised all of these 133,999 Democrats, conferred a colossal, yet wholly unappreciated favor upon the Democratic party!

The injunction—"Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days" may have been accepted and relied upon as written to stimulate the political hope of Missouri Republicans who in casting their ballots for enfranchisement also cast their bread upon the waters political; but, if so, the "many days" wherein they were to "find it" have been marvelously lengthened! For in the long generation which has intervened since 1870, the Republicans of Missouri have wandered in the wilderness as did the chosen of the Lord in time of old, subsisting on the manna of defeat, crying out "Who shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers and the melons, and the leeks and the onions and the garlic, but now our soul is dried away;" yet we, too, have become "as the stars of heaven for multitude," and are still looking hopefully for a new Moses to lead us out of the wilderness and into the Promised Land of success.

Nearly four decades have elapsed since the curtain was rung down on the wild tragedy of the Civil War, and during all these years Democrats and Republicans, as well as veterans of the Union and Confederate armies, have dwelt together in such peace, unity and good will, that the young man of today can not fully appreciate the acts and doings of the two Conventions in question without a most careful and unprejudiced study of the times and conditions.

CONCLUSIONS.

Any Doubting Thomas, however, may readily verify the controlling facts here stated by an examination of the public records of our State and upon such facts, I submit that the following conclusions, here summed up for convenient reference, are irresistible, viz:

1. That the Democrats of this State and their 17,000 Republican allies saved Missouri to the Union in 1861;

2. That the Democrats of the Convention of 1861-1863, then being in supreme control of all branches of our State government and two years before the Republican party had any State organization in Missouri, not only disfranchised the disloyal and barred them from holding office, but adopted and enforced test oaths and oaths of loyalty for preachers, teachers and others by the authority of the Ordinance of June 10, 1862.;

3. That the Constitution of 1865 was authorized, formulated and sent to the people by the Republican party in times of actual war and was adopted only a few days after the surrender of the last armed Confederate force;

4. That a Republican Legislature drew, adopted and submitted to the people in 1870, the amendments to the Constitution of 1865, whereby the disloyal were re-enfranchised and permitted to hold office, and repealed the Democratic test oaths of 1862; and,

5. That it was the Republicans of the State who by a vote of 9 to 1 restored all these rights to ex-Confederates.

Whether the Democrats in first imposing the restrictive measures now under consideration in 1862 did that which was for the best interests of the people; whether in continuing such restrictions in the Constitution of 1865 the Republicans did right; whether these restrictions should at the close of the great war have at once been removed, present questions upon which the good people of Missouri then honestly differed and still differ.

After a careful study of the official records of the State; of time and environment, my own judgment is—and I believe the impartial historian of the future will concur in this judgment—that the Democrats who adopted and executed the Ordinance of 1862, did so from a high and patriotic sense of public duty. That the Republicans who three years later enlarged and re-enacted such restrictive measures, did so from like motives, no one has the right to deny.

It is as difficult for those who have grown up since the Civil War to understand the motives which then actuated the Union men of Missouri, as it is always difficult, often impossi-

ble, to "put yourself in his place." Hence the youth of to-day can at best only approximately comprehend the situation as those men then saw it.

While the dawn of peace was in fact near at hand on the day the Constitution of 1865 was signed and sent to the people, yet the most prophetic could not then fix the day when the hopes of four years should be realized. Railways and telegraph were then few and far between in Missouri, news traveled but slowly, and it is doubtful if on the day of election half the voters of the State knew that peace had been declared.

In reducing to the last analysis the powers, objects, duties and purposes the Conventions of '61-'63, and of '65, it should be remembered: That the former was charged with the duty of "vindicating the sovereignty of the State and preserving its institutions," while the latter was charged with the duty to "preserve in purity the elective franchise to loyal citizens."

Missouri remained in the Union; the work of each of these Conventions was done in times of actual war; the members of each were in good faith executing their respective trusts; battling to preserve the life of both Nation and State, while Missouri Confederates were in open rebellion against and striving to destroy the governments of both State and Nation.

But aside from all this, there is an additional consideration, which has been recognized and enforced in and by all human governments of earth from "the beginning." In this: That the political party in power in any State or Nation not only has the right to, and is charged with the duty of, but is justified in, adopting and enforcing such measures as in the candid judgement of that party are best calculated to protect, preserve and perpetuate its principles and policies in governmental affairs. Such rights inhere in and such duties devolve upon the party in power in peace and in war. The manner of exercising the right and of performing the duty, may be, and often are, criticised by the opposition; but both remain just the same. And in time of war, when the passions and prejudices of men are at flood tide, more drastic measures are employed than are expected or necessary in times of peace. War legislates.

Again, the axiom that "Self preservation is the first law of nature" applies with equal practical force to political parties and to individuals. Hence, the fact that the Democrats, being in full power and control in Missouri in 1862, and the Republicans, being in power in 1865, alike applied these principles to Missouri politics, is not strange; on the contrary, it would have been strange had either party failed to do so; and in the fading light of these later years who now has the right to say that, the times and circumstances considered, either of those conventions perpetrated a political wrong upon the people?

But conceding for the argument, if you please, that the Democrats in 1862 and that the Republicans in 1865, each in their turn, did in fact inflict a political injury upon certain of our fellow citizens; yet in the darkness of the decade from 1860 to 1870 there still stands out like a glorious beacon light on the hill top of the history of our State, one act of high courage and unselfish patriotism about which there can be no question; and that is that the Republican party of Missouri made no mistake when, in 1870, with a patriotic generosity for which in all history there was no Democratic precedent, it restored to ex-Confederate soldiers and their political allies all the rights of citizenship. Out of political power in Missouri for a third of a century, just as each Republican is casting his ballot then knew his party might be, yet the Republicans of this State have never regretted their wise, just and fair treatment of their political foes.

When to this splendid record of the Republican party in Missouri—now the fifth State in the Union, filled with a prosperous and happy people; with the wealth of the Indias in and beneath her soil; with a future that promises glory, peace and plenty—is added the glorious record of the Republican party in national affairs, to me it seems that a Missouri Republican, whether he voted for Lincoln and fought with Grant, or whether on the eve of casting his first ballot, may well stand up anywhere on God's green earth and with pride proclaim the fact that he is a Missouri Republican.

When the youth of Missouri shall study, know, understand and appreciate the true history of this State and of our common country leading up to and through the Big War; fully comprehend the then existing conditions and the motives and purposes of the men of Missouri in the troublous times from 1860 to 1870, then the wisdom and the patriotism of the men of that day will shine as clearly as the sweet sunlight of heaven at midday; sneers at their acts will give way to cheers, and their memories will be blessed, not cured.

Remember, young man of Missouri, that when the immortal Washington first unfurled the glorious stars and stripes —that banner which exquisite taste and loving patriotism combine to make the most beautiful in all the world—he said it should wave a thousand years; that that flag has now waved for more than a century and everywhere in beauty, strength and triumph; that if you and those who come after you shall be as true and do your duty to your State and country as wisely and as courageously as did the men of Missouri in that decade, 1860-1870, then Missouri will yet rank as the empire state of our Union; that standing shoulder to shoulder with other young men of the Nation in noble, manly effort to perpetuate the liberties which we now enjoy, will ensure to posterity all the blessings of free, enlightened and stable government; and that this done, the name of Missouri and of the government will endure and the flag of Washington will continue to wave as long as rivers flow out to the sea and old ocean lifts her waves to the storm; aye,

"Till the sun grows cold
And the stars are old,
And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold."

H. C. McDOUGAL.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has in the Sampson Collection a copy of the record of the above society:

ANNALS

of the

MISSOURI
HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL
SOCIETY.

No. 1.

Metropolitan Print, Jefferson City.
1848.

This pamphlet of twenty-nine pages is not common, and was not succeeded by any later number. The act of incorporation was passed by the general assembly and approved by the Governor, February 27, 1845. The trustees named in it were George W. Hough, William Claude Jones, William M. Campbell, James L. Minor, Hiram P. Goodrich, George W. Waters, John I. Campbell, John H. Watson, Adam B. Chambers, John McNeil,, Samuel Treat, Robert I. Boas, Erich Plump, John G. Walker, George W. Huston, Hiram H. Baber, John C. Edwards, Benjamin F. Stringfellow, Bela M. Hughes, Trusten Polk, Robert Wilson, John D. Coalter, William Carson, George A. Carrel, Thomas G. Allen, William E. Elliott, William G. Minor, R. G. Smart, Mann Butler, S. H. Whipple, Robert T. Brown, and Harrison Hough. Two years afterwards the legislature assigned a room in the Capitol for the use of the Society, and appropriated ninety dollars to fit up the room for such use.

The introduction to the pamphlet rehearses the history of the Society. The following quotations are as applicable to

this Society today as they were to the other more than sixty years ago: "All editors and publishers of weekly newspapers and periodicals are solicited to present to the Society regular files thereof;" "the authors of all books, pamphlets and publications of every kind, are requested to donate a copy of the same for the use of the library;" "a copy of every book and pamphlet that was ever published in the State, is desired;—no publication should be considered too unimportant to enter into such a collection." "The Society also desires that the early and local history of the State may be written by persons competent to the task, and furnished for its use. The history of the early French and Spanish settlements at New Madrid, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, Portage des Sioux, Mine Breton, Cote sans Dessein, and other places would be interesting,—as would also an account of the emigration that came from New Orleans, Canada and elsewhere; and of the location and condition of the various Indian tribes when the first white settlements were made. Accounts of the early voyages, travels, trading expeditions, adventures, exploits and escapes of the early settlers, would be read with pleasure. Accurate details of the Indian wars, conflicts, alarms, and treaties, would form interesting chapters in the history of the state. A description and history of the various posts and forts that existed at early times, is desired. The biography of the pioneers.... would be a valuable addition to our history. The number and extent of the early French and Spanish settlements, and the date of their formation, should be ascertained and perpetuated in an authentic form. The history of the territory immediately before, at and after the treaty of cession, should be carefully written. The provincial form of government, the mode of granting lands, and laying out villages, and the system of government and police before the cession, are worthy of investigation. The biography of the prominent men who came into office when this territory was transferred to the Americans, should be preserved. The conduct, character and history of Stoddard, Clarke, Lucas, Penrose, Bates, McNair, Ashley, Hempstead, Easton, Gray, Callaway, Cooper, Cole and many others, should be written out. The events of the war of 1812

and the accompanying Indian troubles, the adventures of the ranging service, the border conflicts with the savages, such as those that occurred at Loutre, Cote sans Dessein and Chain of Rocks, ought to be minutely given as a part of the history of the country. The territorial history of the country deserves attention—the territorial legislation and executive and judicial action under all the successive forms and grades of government, will be interesting--the gradual progress from the civil to the common law should be traced out, and the men and measures of the territory properly described. Such men as Cousins, the Bartons and Rectors, Strother, Giddings, Emmons, McGirk, Tompkins, Pettibone are entitled to a place in our territorial history. The task of tracing the progress of settlement and improvement in each section of the State will be full of interest; and the early efforts at mining, smelting and manufacturing would not be devoid of interest. The history of the Regulators may receive a passing notice. The transition from the territorial into a State government—the formation and adoption of the State constitution—the conflicts of opinion that existed in the Convention--the anecdotes and incidents of its session and the circumstances that attended the admission of the State into the Union, and the organization of the State government, constitute an important chapter of our history. The early legislation of the State, the choice of officers, the selection of U. S. Senators, the constitutional amendments, the stop laws, and the loan office, are subjects worthy of notice.

The history of the early trade and commerce of the territory—the Indian trade—the navigation by perogues and keel boats—the changes effected by the introduction of steam boats —the system of barter and exchange—the peltry currency—the Bank of St. Louis, and the old Bank of Missouri, are subjects that could be properly woven into the history of the State. The origin, growth and progress of the Rocky Mountain and Santa Fe trade, are fair subjects for historical research. The foundation and progress of the various towns and cities of the State, are parts of our local history. Biographies of all our former Governors, Judges and prominent officials, are desired. All this mass of general and local history can easily be obtained, if

the persons who possess the information will take the trouble to write it down and furnish it to the Society, so that it may be arranged in proper form for publication. A large number of books, pamphlets, letters, manuscripts and files of newspapers are in the possession of individuals and are nearly useless to them, but if contributed to the Society they would form a valuable addition to its collection."

Had the Society survived to the present it might have accomplished many of these objects. How many of them are still neglected and passing into oblivion!.

RECORD OF MEETINGS.

A meeting was held in the Senate chambers, December 18, 1844, for the purpose of forming the Society, George W. Hough being chairman and James L. Minor secretary and the meeting was addressed by the chairman, William M. Campbell, H. P. Goodrich, John I. Campbell and others, and at the same meeting a Constitution was adopted. The objects of the Society were declared to be "to collect, embody and preserve all papers, memorials and documents connected with the early history of Missouri, and all statistics in any way pertaining to the population, mineral, navigable and agricultural resources of the state; and the Society shall, from time to time, make such publication thereof as it may deem useful and interesting." The meetings were to be held in Jefferson City on the third Monday in January in each year. Publishers of books and pamphlets were invited to contribute their publications, and editors of newspapers and periodicals were asked to send their papers to be preserved by the Society. The annual fee of each member was fixed at one dollar.

A committee consisting of W. M. Campbell, Dr. H. P. Goodrich, George W. Waters, W. C. Jones, and A. B. Chambers, was appointed to memorialize the legislature for an act of incorporation.

The first annual meeting was held January 20, 1845, with George W. Hough, as president. The following officers were elected: President, William M. Campbell, of St. Louis; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, William G. Minor, Hiram P.

Goodrich, and Robert W. Wells, all of Cole County, John I. Campbell, of Marion County, Bela M. Hughes, of Platte County, Mann Butler, of St. Louis, and Wm. Claude Jones, of Newton County; secretary James L. Minor, of Cole County; and Treasurer, George W. Hough, of Cole County.

The following were elected honorary members: Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts; Albert Gallatin, of New York; Jared Sparks, of Massachusetts; P. A. Brown, of Philadelphia; Judge Hall, of Cincinnati; W. Gilmore Sims, of S. Carolina; Thos. Gilpin, of Phil., and Lewis Cass, of Michigan.

Resolutions were passed asking the members of the legislature to collect books, manuscripts, minerals and fossils from their counties; and the medical profession to prepare and donate skeletons of wild and domestic animals, for a museum of anatomy.

The second annual meeting was held January 10, 1846, and January 22 of the same year. The following officers were elected: President, William M. Campbell; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, Robert W. Wells, James L. Minor and William Z. Angney, of Cole county; James H. Relfe, of Washington county; John I. Campbell, of Marion county; Mann Butler, of St. Louis; and James Young, of Lafayette county; secretary, Falkland H. Martin; treasurer, George W. Hough; executive committee, Wm. G. Minor, John G. Walker and Enos B. Cordell The executive committee was directed to make an effort with the general assembly to get suitable rooms and cases for the collections, and all editors and publishers were again requested to donate books and papers. Among the donations reported was one which would now be almost priceless—"an unbroken series of the Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives of Missouri, from the first session of the Legislature to the session of 1838-39, bound, presented by W. M. Campbell, of St. Louis." These volumes of the first ten regular general assemblies and of the special assemblies are probably in existence somewhere. Who has them?

A called meeting was held January 11, 1847, at which Mann Butler, of St. Louis, was to have delivered an address, but in

consequence of sickness, and of the difficulty of getting to Jefferson City it was not given.

The third annual meeting was held January 19, 1847. The following officers were elected: President, Wm. M. Campbell, of St. Louis; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, R. W. Wells, and J. L. Minor, of Cole county; S. D. Caruthers, of Madison county; J. H. Relfe, of Washington county; Mann Butler, of St. Louis; and James Young, of Lafayette county; secretary, Falkland H. Martin; treasurer, George W. Hough; executive committee, W. G. Minor, E. B. Cordell and E. L. Edwards. The legislature had given a room for the use of the Society, and the secretary was directed to move the collections of the Society to it. Mann Butler was requested to give the Society the manuscript of his intended address before the Society on the "Life and times of Gen. George Rogers Clark."

February 15, 1847, a meeting was held at which Dr. Mullowny gave an address on the "Destiny of America." Isaac W. Taylor and Willis L. Williams, of St. Louis, made excellent speeches in regard to the objects and purposes of the Society, and a copy of Dr. Mullowny's address was asked for publication.

The fourth annual meeting was held January 17, 1848, Hon. David Todd, of Boone county, acting as president. Two flags which had been carried in the Mexican war were presented to the Society. A committee consisting of F. H. Martin, of Jefferson City, S. T. Glover, of Marion county, Edward Bates, of St. Louis; D. C. Ballow, of Benton county; S. D. Caruthers, of Madison county; John F. Ryland, of Lafayette county; and W. G. Minor, of Jefferson City was appointed to present a petition to the next legislature asking for the State to provide for a geological survey of the State. The secretary made a full report of the year and this is given in full. The following officers were elected: President, William M. Campbell, of St. Louis; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, R. W. Wells, J. L. Minor, S. D. Caruthers, Edward Bates, S. T. Glover, M. M. Maughas, of Callaway county; and P. H. McBride, of Monroe county; secretary, Falkland H. Martin;

treasurer, George W. Hough; executive committee, W. G. Minor, E. B. Cordell, E. L. Edwards, F. A. Kounslar and W. B. Starke.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The following was the list of members:

George W. Hough, James L. Minor, Hiram P. Goodrich, Erich Plump, John G. Walker, Statius Eggers, Enos B. Cordell, W. G. Minor, William Z. Angney, Robert Walker, R. W. Wells, E. L. Edwards, James Luck, Jason Harrison, D. J. Lisle, John C. Burch, F. Hereford, A. Kennedy, James B. McHenry, R. Winter, F. A. Kownslar, Jesse B. Baber, W. B. Starke, John S. McCracken, Ben F. Hickman and H. L. Boon, all of Cole county.

William Massillon Campbell, John H. Watson, A. B. Chambers, Samuel Trent, Willis L. Williams, Edmund Flagg, Uriel Wright, A. W. Scharit, Isaac W. Taylor, Samuel Conway, J. B. Colt, G. H. C. Melody, Samuel H. Lowry, Bates and Robert Campbell, of the city of St. Louis.

George E. Pratt, John F. Stone, David M. Hickman, David Todd, James S. Rollins, and Wm. F. Switzler, of Boone county.

John I. Campbell, William Carson, Samuel T. Glover, and Carty Wells, of Marion county.

George W. Waters, Falkland H. Martin, and James L. Dunklin, of Jefferson county.

William B. Baskett, M. M. Maughas and Wm. H. Dyer, of Callaway coutny.

John Orrick and Andrew King, of St. Charles county.

Robert I. Boas and Thomas M. Horine, of Ste. Genevieve.

John A. Powell and Abiel Leonard of Howard county.

James Young and T. M. Ewing, of Lafayette county.

A. W. Reid and Priestly H. McBride, of Monroe county.

Harvey Wellman and William Priest, of Ralls county.

Thomas P. Rubey and Robert Wilson, of Randolph county.

James H. Relfe, Wm. A. Jones and G. Mullowny, of Washington county.

Dewitt C. Ballou, Benton county.

T. P. Bell, Cooper county.
A. W. Daggett, Clark county.
Kindred G. Pearson, Cedar county.
Lisbon Applegate, Chariton county.
Aaron Finch, Dade county.
R. B. Ellis, Daviess county.
Gideon P. Wyatt, Gasconade county.
James Livingston, Grundy county.
Stephen Cooper, Holt county.
William Calhoun, Johnson county.
M. L. Thomas, Lincoln county.
E. M. C. Morelock, Linn county.
W. Y. Slack, Livingston county.
A. O. Forshey, Montgomery county.
John H. Bean, Macon county.
Sol. D. Caruthers, Madison county.
John C. McCoy, Morgan county.
Wm. Claude Jones, Newton county.
John H. Walker, New Madrid county.
James O. Broadhead, Pike county.
Thomson Ward, Platte county.
E. B. Ewing, Ray county.
Wm. O. Applebee, Warren county.

MUSTER ROLL OF COMPANY B, FIRST MISSOURI CAVALRY, TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT, C. S. A.*

J. A. Boarman, Captain, wounded at Newtonia, Mo., 1862. Discharged. Dead.
B. M. Neale, Captain, Greenfield, Mo.
1st Lt. J. B. Dysart, discharged; dead.
1st Lt. J. E. McDougal, dead.
2d Lt. Wyatt Webb, Nevada, Mo.
3d Lt. Chas. O'Hara, killed 1863, Lafayette county, Mo.
3d Lt. C. W. Neale, killed 1864, Union county, Arkansas.
3d Lt. C. J. Lewis, Corder, Mo.
Alstadt, Chas., dead.
Agnew, A. W., Texas.
Anderson, J. R., dead,
Allison, Robert, dead.
Beck, W. S., Dover, Mo.
Banks, John, dead.
Banks, Sam, died in army, 1863.
Burnham, A. C., dead.
Bell, Rem., dead.
Betts, unknown.
Belt, John, dead.
Belt, Thomas, dead.

*List furnished by John T. Warth, Nevada, Mo.

Bickerstaff, Sam, dead.
Buford, J. A., dead.
Buford, William, dead.
Burton, P. G., missing at Helena, Arkansas.
Bonds, William, killed in 1863.
Barnett, Robinson, dead.
Barnett, Boyd, died in army, 1863.
Barnett, John, dead.
Barnett, James, dead.
Caldwell, James, Odessa, Mo.
Carney, William, unknown.
Cross, William, unknown.
Crow, James, unknown.
Chinn, Joe, Lexington, Mo.
Cochran, Lilburn, dead.
Carter, Dr. R. C., Higginsville, Mo.
Carter, William, Shelby county, Mo.
Carter, Ed, Independence, Mo.
Craig, William, unknown.
Cooper, William, dead.
Cather, James, dead.
Duncan, Albert, Nevada, Mo.
Dolan, Martin, unknown.
Davis, N. S., dead.
Darnall, James, killed at Newtonia, Mo.
Dysart, William, Dover, Mo.
Elliott, Columbus, killed at Cape Girardeau Mo.
Edwards, Thomas, Oklahoma.
Fox, Nelson, dead.
Fox, Elias, dead.
Fox, C. R., dead.
Fox, John, Texas.
Grindstaff, Julius, dead.
Gaston, Isaac, unknown.
Grigsby, Richard, dead.
Grigsby, Wirten, Texas.
Groves, L. W., dead.
Groves, Thomas, Waverly, Mo.
Groves, J. F., Corder, Mo.
Garr, G. W., Lexington, Mo.
Greene, George, Mayview, Mo.
Greene, Russell, Higginsville, Mo.
Gilliam, William, unknown.
Howard, James, dead.
Hill, Green, dead.
Hinsen, Bush, dead.
Keithley, G. A., unknown.
Lay, Marion, dead.
Love, Joe, dead.
Lewis, B. M., Corder, Mo.
Lewis, Jonas, Corder, Mo.
Lewis, W. D., Kansas City, Mo.
Long, Frank, dead.
Mitchell, Charles, dead.
Myers, Elias, dead.
Meng, John, Lexington, Mo.
McGentry, Pat, killed at Newtonia, Mo., 1862.
McCausland, Ed, dead.
McReynolds, Joe, Grand Pass, Mo.
Murphy, Tim, dead.
McFadden, Forch, Lexington, Mo.
McQueen, Pen, Hardin ,Mo.
McQueen, George, dead.
McDavitt, James, unknown.
Ninemire, J. T., dead.
Neale, Isaac, dead.
Neale, David, dead.
Neale, Lewis, dead.
Neale, Samp, died in army in 1863.
Neale, Joe, Higginsville, Mo.
New, Lewis, dead.
Oliver, John, dead.
Oliver, W. G.
Oliver, M. V. B., Dover, Mo.
Persinger, At, Texas.
Page, H. C., unknown.
Page, John, dead.
Page, A. J., Denver, Colo.
Preston, William, dead.
Plattenburg, J. Q., Lexington, Mo.
Plattenburg, H. W., Dover, Mo.
Rutledge, David, dead.
Shaul, J. V., Bronaugh, Mo.
Shaul, G. A., Bronaugh, Mo.
Slusher, D. A., Lexington, Mo.
Slusher, J. A., dead.
Stark, Thomas, dead.
Stark, Ed., Dover, Mo.
Schooler. Cole, dead.
Staley, Marion, unknown.
Stelle, Charles, killed 1864, Union county, Arkansas.
Thompson, John, Boonville, Mo.
Thompson, Joe, Boonville, Mo.
Ustick, Thomas, dead.
Warren, J. B., dead.
Winn. James, Dover, Mo.
White, L. E., dead.
White, Herbert, died in army in 1863.

White, Everett, Kansas.
Warth, S. V., Nevada, Mo.
Webb, T. V., Dover, Mo.
Webb, John G., dead.
Webb, James G., died in prison 1865.
Young, Evan, dead.
Young, T. C., dead.

NOTES.

Autograph Letters.

Prof. G. C. Broadhead has presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri a valuable collection of 139 autograph letters. It includes many of the prominent State Geologists of the different states and of foreign countries, and many well known scientists. There is also a large number of officials of Missouri and others, among the latter being letters from Presidents Grant and Roosevelt.

Grand Orator.

J. West Goodwin, the veteran editor, of Sedalia, one of the trustees of the State Historical Society of Missouri, was appointed Grand Orator of the Masonic Grand Lodge of the state of Missouri at the Grand Lodge annual meeting in October, 1908. The State Historical Society elected him an honorary member, December 14, 1908.

Cedar Rapids Libraries.

The "Occasional Bulletin" of the Iowa Masonic Library for October, 1908, issued by the most complete library of Masonic and kindred works, and books relative to secret societies has interesting accounts of that library and of other libraries of Cedar Rapids. There is perhaps not another city of its size that equals it in the number and character of the private libraries containing rare and interesting works.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Story of a Border City during the Civil War, by Galusha Anderson, LL. D., (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1908. 14 portraits and views, 12 mo. cl. $1.50 net.)

The author of this work, former President of the University of Chicago, was the pastor of a prominent church in the city of Saint Louis from 1858 to 1866, and his personal observations made at that time throw a new light on one phase of the Civil War. During this period, the State of Missouri was disputed ground. Its citizens were divided between secession and the Union, between slavery and emancipation, and the battles fought within its limits were no less bitter, in that they were comparatively bloodless.

Saint Louis naturally bore the brunt of the struggle, and Dr. Anderson's account of the strenuous life there during the Rebellion opens up a comparatively unworked field. The work is colored by the introduction of many interesting personal experiences which befell Dr. Anderson as a staunch supporter of emancipation and an active worker against secession.

The Leader, by Mary Dillon, author of "The Rose of Old St. Louis" and "In Old Bellaire." Illustrated by Ruth M. Hallock. New York, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907. (c. 1906.) 8 vo. 362 pp.

While the authoress is a native of Pennsylvania, she is a resident of St. Louis and is consequently in the list of Missouri authors. In an earlier work by her she made a claim for historical accuracy, but in this, while some of the story will remind the reader of actual events, the authoress disclaims any intention of recording any historical or biograpical occurrences. She also disclaims having produced a "novel with a purpose," but simply tells the story of two lives very pleasantly, and to the edification of the reader.

NECROLOGY.

Gen. John Acoming Halderman died at Atlantic City September 21, 1908, seventy-two years of age, and was buried at Arlington cemetery, near Washington. He was born in Missouri but when young the family moved to Kansas, where he embraced the legal profession. He was mayor of Leavenworth, regent of the Kansas State University and served in both houses of the legislature. During the Civil War he was a member of the First Kansas infantry, holding positions from major to major-general. He was minister to Siam in 1880, and did effective and valuable service in that country.

William Maynard was born in London, England, March 9, 1830, and came to American when a boy. During the Civil War he served in a New York regiment. Afterwards he was editor of the Chariton County Union, the Warrenton Banner, and for thirty years editor and proprietor of the Moberly daily and weekly Headlight. He died at Moberly November 12, 1908.

Hon. J. O. Morrison was a member of Thirty-fifth General Assembly, 1889, from Pulaski county. During 1890, he moved to Vernon county to a farm near Walker, and eight years ago moved to Nevada. At the last election he was elected a member of the legislature from Vernon county, but on November 16, he died after an illness of eighteen months. He was born at Fountain Run, Kentucky, May 26, 1836, and came to Missouri in 1867.

Judge Jackson L. Smith was born in Callaway county, Missouri, January 31, 1837, attended the State University, and was admitted to the bar in 1860. In 1877 he was elected attorney general of the state, and served four years. In 1888 he was elected to the Kansas City Court of Appeals, and served sixteen years, the later years as presiding judge. He died at Kansas City November 13, 1908.

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MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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THE SETTLEMENT OF COLUMBIA, MO.—A TYPE STUDY

To ascertain the relative part taken by the North and the South respectively in the early settlement and development of Missouri; to determine the center, or centers, from which the immigrants came; to place on record a roster of these early settlers while the sources are yet available; to discover and indicate the nature of such source material was the purpose of this investigation.

Until many, and often the most vital, sources of history have been lost through the destructive elements of time, the research worker is seriously hampered by its apparent complexity. Yet these apparently chaotic masses group themselves about certain simple and direct lines of development. Instead of being due to sporadic efforts, the early settlers of Missouri followed lines clearly and distinctly pointed out to them by the Marquettes and the La Salles, or by the Boones and the Clarks, their worthy successors in blazing the paths of civilization.

The broad highway of these early pioneers was the Ohio-Mississippi-Missouri waterway. There were, however, many by-ways. The Cumberland road was early extended to Vincennes, and to the French posts on the Mississippi. By this

route came many settlers to Central Missouri. St. Genevieve, St. Louis, and St. Charles became, as it were, distributing points for immigrants. From these towns some took their way either up the Missouri River, or by an overland trail along its northern border to Old Franklin, Fayette, Rocheport, Columbia, or some other settlement in the "Boone's Lick District." Others ascended the river to follow the course of the Gasconade and of the Osage. Still others, from the headwaters of the Meramec, went to the Southwest over the old "Kickapoo Indian Trail." Many settlers also reached the latter territory via the Ohio-Mississippi-Arkansas system, ascending the northern tributaries of the latter stream.

To determine the native heath of the "primitive" Missourian it is necessary to follow each of these streams of immigrants to its source. As a rule the emigrants from a given district clustered about certain well-defined points in comparatively contiguous territory in Missouri. The settlement of either Old Franklin, Fayette, Rocheport, Columbia or Boonville typifies that of the entire "Boone's Lick District." The same is true in other sections. A study of any one of the various settlements suffices for the whole. It is this reason, furthered by the hope that a friend in another section of the state may be induced thereby to work along similar lines, that has moved me to devote quite as much of this paper to pointing out the sources from which information has been drawn as to recording data resulting therefrom.

The first, and what proved to be the most valuable single source for our purpose, was a file of "The Missouri Intelligencer," found on the shelves of the State Historical Society of Missouri Library. This paper was established at Old Franklin in 1819 and covered practically the entire period under consideration. In 1826 it was removed to Fayette and from there, in 1830, to Columbia, where it has since had a continuous publication, being known from 1835 to 1842 as "The Patriot" and from that date as "The Statesman."

(There are only a year and nine months' issues of the former Columbia publication in this file.) Even before its removal to Columbia the paper contained many interesting items about the town and community. To the student of local history its value after 1830 is incalculable. Its pages furnish not only the names but also, in many instances, the nativity of the more prominent early settlers. Later issues are rich in the information sought.

"The Stevens Articles" that appeared during 1869 and 1870 deserve special mention. Mr. E. W. Stevens, then on the editorial staff of "The Statesman," spent more than a year among the sources of Boone County's history, and the results that he obtained are worthy of careful consideration. His statements are conservative, and accurate to a degree seldom met with in county histories.

Other papers examined were "The Daily Statesman," from August 6th to December 13, 1879; "The Columbia Daily Tribune," from 1901 to 1906, and "The Columbia Herald," from 1878 to 1906. A valuable feature of the latter is the "Official Register of Old Settlers," published August 13, 1897, and each succeeding year at the time of the Old Settlers' Reunion.

On the Shelves of the Historical Society are to be found also a number of books valuable in research work of this nature. Among these are "The History of Boone County," compiled largely from the Stephens' articles mentioned above; "The Encyclopedic History of Missouri," a work of six volumes, containing biographies of a few men identified with the early history of Columbia; "The Encyclopedic History of St. Louis," in four volumes, and "The Rollins' Memorial Volume."

While everything found in our society rooms is worth its weight in gold to the Missouri antiquarian, its value to the student of Boone County's history is but as chaff when compared to the contents of that historic structure the Boone County court house, now guarding the north entrance to the "Street of Columns." Every stone in its walls is satu-

rated with information relative to an important event connected with the development of the Boone's Lick District.

Space permits no more than a mention, incidentally, of the deed, mortgage, marriage and commission records, and the circuit, county, and probate files and records to be found there—all of which date back to 1821, and furnish valuable data. The most complete files of the County Clerk's office where one finds a number of petitions to the County Court asking for the appointment of additional justices of the peace in Columbia township. One set of these petitions contains the names of more than three hundred persons. A reference to the statute laws at that time governing these petitions discloses the fact that only adult male residents of the township could sign them. The Journal of the House of Representatives for the Eleventh General Assembly gives the population of Columbia, in 1840, six years after these petitions were filed, as males 291; females 231; total 522; white males over twenty-one, 150. A note book found among the effects of J. Kirkbride and bearing the date, 1828, says the population of Boone County, at that time, was 4,268 white and 888 black. These sources would indicate that a very large per cent of the adult male residents of Columbia township must have petitioned the County Court in 1834.

There is also on file in the County Clerk's office (December, 1835) the poll-book of a special election for a justice of the peace, held in Columbia on December 26th, of that year. It contains the names of 147 voters. The petition for the incorporation of Columbia, 1826, bears the signatures of 46 residents. In various out of the way places in its vaults one finds records of proceedings in justice courts, including judgment and execution books.

While hardly so rich as this office, every nook and corner of the entire building contains something of interest and value to the research worker. Even the attic, from its three large chests of miscellaneous papers, and the grand jury room from its hundred, or more, odd volumes contribute their quota.

There were three church organizations in Columbia prior to 1836: Christian, Presbyterian and Baptist. Only the records of the latter, kept in the vaults of the Boone County Trust Company, could be reached. They date from 1823, and the fact that they were kept by William Jewell is guarantee of their accuracy. The records of the Christian Church have been destroyed. Those of the Presbyterian Church are in the vaults of the Exchange Bank, but just where could not be determined.

While the Masonic Lodge was organized about 1830, its charter was surrendered and, apparently, all records were destroyed at the outbreak of the Civil War, the lodge being reorganized in 1866. The city records date back to 1850. No inconsiderable amount of information was gleaned from the tombstones in the cemetery. Other valuable sources were the late Col. Switzler's "Manuscript History of the University of Missouri," now in the vaults of the University, and two large scrap-books, examined through the courtesy of his son, Irvin Switzler.

Such in general has been the scope of this research and such are the sources from which the following conclusions have been drawn. In presenting them it would be the height of folly to relate the story of the founding of Columbia and the growth and development of the surrounding districts. To attempt it would be only to paraphrase what has already come from the more fruitful pens of the late Col. Switzler and his able co-worker, Mr. Stephens.

According to the Statesman of September 30, 1870, John Lampton was the pioneer settler of Columbia township, coming here in 1813. Whether it was he, Moses U. Payne, the following year, or the Caves and their friends in 1815, matters little. Suffice it to say that between the former date and 1836, it has been possible to identify 660 of the male residents of Columbia township. An additional 107 were intimately connected with its history and were probably residents, the identification not being positive, they have not been included in this summary.

The place from whence 240 of the 660 residents came could be definitely located. Of these 237, or 98¾% were from south of the Mason and Dixon Line, the exceptions being Oliver Parker, of New Hampshire, who was here in 1821; J. Kirkbride, of Pennsylvania, 1828; and Thomas Miller, of Indiana, 1834. The latter was a native of Washington County, Pa.

The quotas from the Southern States were:

Kentucky - - - - - -	209, or	87 per cent
Virginia - - - - - - - -	18, or	7½ per cent
Tennessee - - - - - - - -	6, or	2½ per cent
North Carolina - - - -	3, or	1¼ per cent
Maryland - - - - - - - -	1, or	1 per cent

The popular notion that a very large majority of the early settlers of Missouri were from Kentucky is evidently well-founded, so far, at least, as the "Boone's Lick" settlements are concerned. But the belief that most of these emigrated from Madison County is not so well established, as the following table indicates:

Madison sent	36, or	31 per cent
Scott	25, or	21 per cent
Bourbon	14, or	12 per cent
Fayette	8, or	7 per cent
Woodford	8, or	7 per cent
Clark	6, or	5 per cent
Fleming	4, or	3 per cent
Lincoln	3, or	2 per cent
Mason	3, or	2 per cent
Franklin	3, or	2 per cent
Owen	2, or	1 per cent
Montgomery	2, or	1 per cent
Trimble	2, or	1 per cent
Bath	1, or	1 per cent
Christian	1, or	1 per cent
Warren	3, or	2 per cent
Casey	1, or	1 per cent
Henry	1, or	1 per cent
Harrison	1, or	1 per cent
Barren	1, or	1 per cent

With three exceptions, Christian, Warren, and Barren, these counties are in the valleys of the Kentucky and Licking

Rivers, or contiguous thereto. This means that while Madison County can claim but 31 per cent of the emigrants to the Boone's Lick country, the district of which she formed no inconsiderable part furnished 96 per cent of them.

Those directly from Madison County were Henry Cave, Richard Cave, Reuben Cave, Richard Gentry, David Gordon, J. M. Gordon, John B. Gordon, Boyle Gordon, John Guitar, a native of France; Odon Guitar, Overton Harris, John W. Harris, Joel Hume, Thomas C. Maupin, John Maupin, Garland D. Maupin, Dr. A. W. Rollins, James S. Rollins, James Smith, Caleb S. Stone, Robert H. Stone, Madison D. Stone, Thomas Turner, A. N. Turner, William Turner, J. H. Woods, Anderson Woods, Audley Campbell, Thomas Campbell, William Grayham, John Grayham, William Read, Joshua Lampton, William Roberts, Elliot Roberts, Hezekiah Speaks.

Scott County sent Stephen R. Bedford, Reuben D. Black, Robert F. Gibbs, Joel H. Haden, Turner R. Haden, William Johnston, James Johnston, Thomas Johnston, Samuel Johnston, Robert Lemon, Warren Phillips, J. B. Phillips, Levi T. Smith, Loudon Snell, John Snell, John Spence, S. B. Spence, Samuel L. Henry, John Todd Henry, Matthew O. Keene, Mason Mars, John Mars, James Mars, Gilpin Tuttle, Jefferson Garth.

Bourbon County furnished David M. Hickman, W. T. Hickman, David M. Hickman, Jr.; Capt. William Johnston, David Robnett, John Robnett, Sr.; John Robnett, Jr.; Pleasant Robnett, Joseph Robnett, Moses Robnett, Wm. C. Robnett, Richard H. Robinson, J. Kelley Wright, William Pearson.

From Fayette County came Rev. T. M. Allen, Dr. Matthew Arnold, Robert Greening, Thomas E. Powers, James Rogers, Kirtley Rogers, David Todd, R. N. Todd.

Woodford was represented by John Hughes, Willis Hughes, James Hughes, John N. Hughes, Joseph Hughes, Dr. William McClure, Moses U. Payne, Adam C. Reyburn.

Clark by Moses Batterton, William Berry, Lewis G. Berry, James Palmer, Sr.; H. W. Pemberton, Zechariah Ridgeway;—

Fleming by James J. Boyce, Samuel Kennan, John Kennan, Thomas Kennan:—

Lincoln by William Cornelius, Milton Cornelius, James Riggs;—

Mason by James W. Moss, John Thornton, James H. Thornton;—

Franklin by Samuel Mars, Eli Mars, Cumberland Snell;—

Warren by Willis Boyce, William Boyce, Jesse Boyce;—

Owen by Benjamin Stephens, Washington Stephens:—

Montgomery by Major James B. Nichols, Jeremiah O'Rear;—

Trimble by Charles Hardin and Charles H Hardin—late Governor of Missouri;—

Bath by Samuel Wheeler;—

Christian by Philander Finley;—

Casey by Nathan McBride;—

Henry by Rev. Allen McGuire;—

Harrison by D. S. Lamme;—

Barren by John Garnett.

The county from which many of the emigrants from Kentucky hailed could not be positively determined. These were James Arnold, Samuel L. Ashlock, Samuel Beatie, James H. Bennett, James H. Benson, Rolly Asbury, Robert S. Barr, Samuel Batterton, Capt. Samuel Berry, Christopher C. Branham, R. C. Branham, Jacob Bruner, William Callaway, William Cave, Thomas Collins, Bartlett Collins, Benjamin Connelly, John J. Cotton, Samuel Crockett, Dr. Wm. H. Duncan, James Duncan, Rev. J. Greenalgh, born in Lancashire, England; Franklin Hart, John B. Hill, Washington Jenkins, George Jewell, William Jewell, Henry Keene, John G. Keene, John W. Keiser, James King, William Lamme, John Lampton, James Lampton, John H. Lynch, Jacob March, John March, Absolom March, Clifton Maupin, William Maupin, P. H. McBride, Levi McGuire, Allen McGuire, Jr.; Charles McLain, Mason Moss, James T. Moss, Robert Nelson, George Northcut, William Northcut, Wm. B. Oldham, Martin E. Oldham, Daniel O'Rear, John O'Rear, John Parker, William Parks, Willis

Parks, Price E. Parks, Hiram Phillips, Louis Pemberton, Alex Persinger, Moss Prewitt, William Provines, Frederick Read, Major Henry Ready, John N. Ridgeway, Benjamin F. Robinson, Gerard Robinson, William M. Robinson, Richard Samuel, David Shock, Robert Snell, Andrew Spence, Wilford Stephens, Robert Thomas, Thomas Thompson, John G. Vivion, Benjamin F. White, Dr. J. W. Wilson, N. W. Wilson, Josiah Wilson, Warren Woodson, W. E. Wright.

In such men as these Kentucky did not send us the dregs of her population. Rather she shared with us her richest blood. This section of our state, at least, was settled as the result of a well-defined movement centering about the famed bluegrass regions of Kentucky. Men who were accustomed to the best that Kentucky afforded preferred a wilderness of equal fertility to the inferior lands nearer home. Sturdy, sober-minded in all their dealings, men whose word was as good as their bond, they have left a mark upon their posterity that can be detected in even the cosmopolitan Columbia of today.

No less can be said of those coming in smaller numbers from other states. Virginia sent Benjamin Anderson, James Bowling, Joseph Burch, Edward Camplin, Thomas W. Conyers, John S. Conyers, William Donaho, Jesse Donaho, R. M. Grayham, Ezekiel C. Hickman, John Hickman, Joseph Hickman, John M. Kelley, J. L. Matthews, Milton S. Matthews, A. G. Newman, James Gordon Turner, John Vanhorn.

Those from Tennessee were James Crockett, Austin A. King, later Governor of the State; Wm. Shields, Peter Wright, Riley Slocumb, Meshach Smith.

From North Carolina were David Doyle, Walter L. Lenoir, James Payne.

Maryland sent Wm. S. Truitt.

Barring the names of more than 400 persons, who were residents of Columbia township but whose native heath could not be accurately determined, and an additional 100 probable residents, the foregoing is a summary of the facts developed by this investigation. In its earlier stages the North was

little concerned in the development of Central Missouri. A vast majority of the southern emigrants were from Kentucky, a plurality of these being from Madison County.

While it can not be the province of this paper to determine **why** this early emigration took place, nor **why** these particular emigrants should have come to Boone and surrounding counties, it cannot be amis to say that some ascribe it to the similarity of soil formation. One old gentleman called my attention to the "fact that the Boone's Lick counties produce more and better bluegrass than do the richest soils of Kentucky." Another in explaining the exodus from Kentucky said, "The better lands had all been entered. It was therefore impossible for us to secure new tracts for our large families of children and we had to look elsewhere. At one time this movement became so general that some communities in Kentucky were almost deserted." However this may have been an overwhelming majority of Kentucky emigrants, as we have seen, were from a district of practically contiguous counties in the bluegrass region.

JAMES M. WOOD.

SLAVERY IN MISSOURI TERRITORY.

It is my intention in this paper to give a sketch of slavery conditions in Missouri in its territorial days, attempting to give a background for the Missouri Compromise rather than a discussion of the national and constitutional questions involved in Missouri's struggle for statehood.

I. Numbers and Value.

Most of the data on the population of Louisiana apply to the entire province or to the New Orleans country, the statistics referring to the district about St. Louis being quite limited. We have this indefinite statement of Jefferson, "..... it may be taken for a general rule, that in proportion to the distance from the capital (New Orleans) the number of blacks diminishes below that of the whites...." (1) According to Gayarre in 1745 there were 10 slaves in each Missouri and Arkansas and 600 in Illinois. (2) The same authority claims there were 31,433 slaves in all Louisiana in 1785 and 42,346 three years later. (3) It seems somewhat doubtful that the Louisiana of that day could increase its slave population by eleven thousand in three years, and hence we should perhaps be somewhat skeptical as to the veracity of the census statistics of the Mississippi valley. Delassus in his census of 1799 vouched that there were 883 negro slaves

1. American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. 1, 346. Jefferson in his report on Louisiana to Congress at the time of the Cession claimed there were in 1785 16,544 slaves and 1,303 "free people of color" in Louisiana including Pensacola and Natchez. He mentioned that "the latest documents" gave 12,820 slaves and 1,768 free blacks. He also quotes an estimate of slaves on the isle of New Orleans "on the west side of the river and some settlements on the east side" to be 51,250. Ibid. p. 348.

2. Gayarre, Charles, "Lectures on the Hist. of La." (N. Y., 1852) Vol. II, 28.

3. Do, Vol. III, 215.

in the twelve districts which now practically comprise eastern Missouri. (4)

In 1712 twenty black slaves were introduced into Louisiana. In June 1719 the "Western Company" began to make importations. From 300 to 500 are said to have been supplied to the settlers annually, the men bringing about $150 and the women $120 each, (5) being often paid for within three years with colonial produce. (6)

At the time of the Cession, according to one authority, there were 10,340 souls in Missouri, of whom 1,320 were blacks. (7) A traveler who visited St. Louis in 1806 states that there were then 200 black slaves in the town (8) Breckenridge gives the population of Missouri for about the year 1810 as 21,840, of which 8,011 were blacks, (9) while the United States Census for that year was 20,845, the number of these who were negroes not being specified. (10) From that date the territory developed rapidly and, with perhaps the exception of the years 1811-15, when British and Indian ravages were feared, the stream of settlers crossing the Mississippi increased till about 1818, when the constitutional questions which arose over the agitation for statehood caused a veritable tidal wave of slave state settlers to enter the Territory.

4. Am. State Papers, Misc., Vol. I, 383. Quoted also in Scharf, I, 309.

5. French, B. F., Historical Collections of Louisiana. (N. Y. 1815) Vol. III, 64.

6. French, Vol. V, 119. In the memoirs of M. Dumont we also read, "When a slave vessel arrived it was visited by the surgeons who separated the healthy from the sick, and put the latter under treatment. The former were divided in this way: such settlers as were named to have negroes went to the commissary-ordinator, and drew from a bag a ticket whose number denoted the negro or negroes that fell to them, each negro having a number around his neck. As for the sick, they were sold at auction as there were always settlers who could not get healthy ones, the bidding ran so high that the sick brought as much as the others."

7. Rev. T. Hill in "American Presbyterian Rev." X, 94.

8. Ashe Thomas, "Travels in America Performed in 1806." (Newberryport, 1808), p. 290.

9. Brackenridge, H. M., "Views of Louisiana." (Baltimore, 1817) p. 215.

10. U. S. Census Reports, 1900, Population I, p. 3.

The Missouri Gazette of June 9, 1819, states that 107,000 acres of public lands were disposed of in March of that year at $2.91 per acre. In the same issue a report from St. Charles declares, "....never has such an influx of people.... been so considerable, ... flowing through our town with their maid servants and men servants....the throng of hogs and cattle, the white-headed children, and curly-headed Africans...." Another item in the same issue states: "....170 emigrants were at the Portage des Sioux at one time last week." The papers for nearly every week from the above date are filled with similar statements. That the newcomers were of the kind to make Missouri a slave State we have no trouble in discovering. The St. Louis Inquirer of November 10, 1819, informs us that a citizen of St. Charles counted for nine or ten weeks an average of one hudred and twenty settlers' vehicles per week with an average of eighteen persons per vehicle. "They came almost exclusively from the States south of the Potomac and the Ohio bringing slaves and large herds of cattle...." The Gazette of January 26, 1820, states that "Our population is daily more heterogenious (sic)....scarcely a Yankee has moved into the country this year. At the same time Virginians, Carolinians, Tennesseeans, and Kentuckians are moving in great force...." The St. Louis Inquirer of November 10, 1819, informs us that in October of that year 271 four-wheeled and 55 two-wheeled vehicles passed "Mrs. Griffith's in the point of the Missouri," bound for Boone's Lick, and speculates that from ten to fifteen thousand people would settle in Missouri during the autumn. Timothy Flint, a New England clergyman, counted a hundred persons passing through St. Charles in one day. "I have seen....nine wagons," he said, "harnessed with from four to six horses. We may allow one hundred cattle ....and from three or four to twenty slaves" to each wagon.(11)

The St. Louis Inquirer of October 20, 1819, actually puts the population of Boone's Lick at 10,000. The same paper

11. Goodspeed, W. A., "The Province and the States." (Madison, 1904) Vol. on Missouri, p. 23.

on December 25 of that year states that from four to five hundred souls were crossing the Mississippi daily.(12) In the State election of 1820 Niles claims 9,232 votes were cast.(13) The census of 1820 authorized by the Legislature was 52,000,(14) while the Federal census of that year fixed the total population at 66,586.(15) The population of the State in 1824, when the General Assembly authorized a census to be taken, was 80,677, of whom 13,725 were slaves and 382 free colored.(16)

There can be no doubt that there was a considerable slave population in the Territory in the days when the question of Missouri's statehood was before the country. Perhaps Taylor of New York was inclined to exaggerate when he said: "....a negro man is bought in Africa for a few gew-gaws or a bottle of whisky, and sold in New Orleans for twelve to fifteen hundred dollars,"(17) but nevertheless the slaveholders of Missouri who contended for statehood in 1820 were fighting not for a mere political principle, but actually for property and a considerable amount of it. If Missouri in 1820 was simply a battle ground for selfish southern purposes, there would be some evidence of loose economic conditions or at least stray hints that the system was ill-adapted to so northern a country. But business seems to have been sound and the tone of all papers gives the impression that these were "booming" times for Missouri.

12. In Niles' Register of Jan. 2, 1819, we read—"The emigration to Missouri is so great as to furnish a home market at very high prices for all provisions raised in the territory....." In the issue of Sept. 11 we read: "Chariton, a new town somewhere in Missouri, contains about eighty houses, and several brick buildings are now being erected. A year ago the town only had five or six unchinked cabins on the town plot."

13. Vol. 19, p. 112. The population of St. Louis was reported to be 4,598 in that year. Ibid. 312.

14. Annals of Congress, Sixteenth Congress, First Session, p. 375.

15. U. S. Census Reports, 1900. Pop. I, 3.

16. Journal of Senate, Third General Assembly, p. 42.

17. Annals of Congress, Vol. 33, p. 1175.

The Slave Codes.

In this paper I shall refer more or less frequently to the slave codes. For sake of clearness a few words should perhaps be said of them. The first was the "Black Code" of Bienville issued in 1724. The second of importance was that of O'Reilley promulgated in November, 1769, during the Spanish occupation. The church had a sort of canon law called "The Laws of Las Seite Partidas" which, according to the translation, had legal force in Louisiana as late as 1820.(18) In 1804 Missouri was placed in that portion of Louisiana called the district of Louisiana and was for a time subject to the Governor and judges of Indiana. On October 1, 1804, the Indiana judges issued a fairly extensive slave code. Other slave regulations of less importance were passed by the territorial authorities.

II. Taxation.

The only mention of a tax on slaves before 1804 is the provision in the Code of 1724, that if the master of a slave convicted of crime gave up his slave to execution he was to be reimbursed by a tax levied on all slaves in the colony.(19)

A law of 1804 provided that "All houses in town.... horses....all bond servants and slaves except such as the court of quarter sessions shall exempt for infirmities, between the ages of sixteen and forty years of age....are hereby declared to be chargable, for defraying the county expense...."(20) We do not gain much light from this provision, because it was of a local nature, as only a portion of the slaves were included in the taxing list, and as the rate of taxation is not given. We find a more definite statement in the Act of July 8, 1806: "....on every bond

18. "The Laws of Las Seite Partidas," Two Vols. Trans. by H. Carleton and H. M. Lislet. (New Orleans, 1820.)

19. In French, Vol. III, p. 89, Section 36. Also in Gayarre, Vol. I, appendix.

20. "Laws of the Territory of Missouri." (Jefferson City, 1842). Vol. I, 34. Repealed July 8, 1806. Ibid. 69, Sec. 29.

servant and slave a sum not exceeding one dollar'' shall be levied.(21) It is interesting to learn that the same provision fixes the rate of tax on a horse or mule at a maximum of one-third that amount, and that on cattle at one-tenth. It was not likely that the tax ratio was in proportion to the valuation, especially in a sparsely settled country where grass was abundant and cattle consequently cheap. This doubt is strengthened when we learn that the Act of March 19, 1814, fixed the slave tax at forty cents.(22) This rate was changed by a law of January 21 of the year following which provided: "....There shall be levied and collected for every slave owned or possessed by any person in this Territory, above the age of ten years, except such as the county court shall exempt for sickness or disability, a tax of sixty-two and a half cents annually....,'' and then in the next sentence: "And there shall be levied and collected in like manner, for every carriage kept for pleasure the sum of one dollar and fifty cents for every one hundred dollars according to its valuation,'' and in the following section thirty cents was levied on every one hundred dollars of town real estate. (23) From these provisions it is not difficult to conclude that the slave was taxed arbitrarily with no thought of valuation. Why was this slave tax so low? Was this a policy to induce the importation of slaves or the settlement of the Territory by slavemasters? And why were so many slaves exempt from taxation? Was it to reduce the tax in general and thus make the system more profitable? The sequel proves it must have been mere carelessness rather than a system.

When Missouri became a State the slave tax was adjusted to valuation similar to other forms of property. On December 12, 1820, the General Assembly enacted that a tax be levied: "....on all lands....dwelling houses....and

21. Ibid. 69, Sec. 12. Repealed Nov. 11 of the same year. Ibid. 226, Sec. 11, in which it is provided that horses and mules should be assessed at $.37 each and cattle at $.10, slaves still at $1.00.
22. Ibid. 329, Sec. 4.
23. Ibid. 384, Sec. 2 and 3.

improvements, at the rate of twenty-five cents on every one hundred dollars of value thereof,, on all slaves above the age of three years and live stock at the same rate."(24) This seems to prove that the slave was considered as productive as other forms of property. If the over-taxation of the slave was a ruse to make the slave appear ultra profitable in Missouri, it seems more probable this deception would have been resorted to in the days when many claimed the system would prove unprofitable rather than after the struggle was over.

III. Civil Rights—In Court.

Compared with the negro of the Atlantic coast the slave of the Mississippi Valley seems to have been treated less harshly and to have had more rights before the law. The code of 1724 gave him the right to prosecute his master if he was improperly fed and clad, but just how or in whose name the suit was to be brought is not stated.(25) Section twenty-four of the same code debars the slave from witnessing for or against his master. However, he could witness against other whites than his master, as a trial is recorded at Cahokia in 1782 in which a slave testified against a white defendant who had struck him.(26) In all civil and criminal cases his master was to act for him.(27) Although the master was not to be criminally responsible for his slave, we have a decision noted by Billon in which a master was to be responsible for the appearance of his slave accused of attacking another negro, and if the wound so inflicted caused death or if the victim recovered, the said master was to pay doctor's bills and cost of prosecution. (28)

We find a very liberal provision in this code which granted the slave the privilege of appealing to the Su-

24. Ibid. 731, Sec. 1.
25. French III, 89, Sec. 20.
26. Alvord, C. W., Coll. III, State Hist. Soc. (Springfield, 1907.) Vol. II, 143.
27. French III, 89, Sec. 25.
28. Annals of St. Louis, (St. Louis, 1886). Vol. I, 158.

perior Court of the province if a death sentence had been passed, or one in which hamstringing was the penalty. Any magistrate taking money from a slave who was under a charge was to be guilty of extortion.(29)

The first section of the law of 1804 provided that no negro or mulatto was to be a witness except in cases of the United States against a negro or a mulatto, or in a civil suit where negroes were alone parties.(30) The court records of the period after the Cession throw some light on the position of the slave before the law. Several cases are on record in which "....the court direct that an action of assault and battery and false imprisonment be instituted...." against the master after the negro had been declared illegally enslaved.(31) The Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser of September 4, 1818, gives accounts of two cases then before the courts. One was that of a black boy named Elijah charged with conspiracy to poison his master's family. He was given a new trial after argument by his three counsel. (32) The other is that of a negro girl who was defended on a murder charge by two attorneys.

Thus the slave in Missouri Territory had rights that perhaps were not nearly equal to that of his white contemporary, but were certainly liberal. The records do not mention who paid these counsel or who retained them.

The slave's life was not absolutely in the hands of his master as he had the right of redress before the law. The Law of 1724 provided that the slave if mutilated was to be confiscated. (33) The laws of O'Reilley forbade a slave receiving more than thirty lashes at one time and subjected to the law any master wilfully taking the life of his slave without just cause, "no one being permitted to dispose of the life of a man at his pleasure." (34)

29. French III, Sec. 26, 33, 37.
30. Terr. Laws I, 27.
31. Matilda V. Van Ribber, Mar. 1817, Records St. Louis Supreme Court of Record, or General Court. Vol. II, 144. Also Layburn V. Rice, ibid. 164, also Whinney V. Phebe Rewitt, ibid. 172.
32. Also in ibid. 180, 186.
33. French III, 89, Sec. 22.
34. American State Papers. Misc. I, 380.

Although not stated in the laws, the slave was protected in his life after the Cession. In the case of the United States against Le Blond (1814) the defendant was fined five hundred dollars and costs and sentenced to imprisonment in the "common Gail" for "two calendar months" for killing his slave, but the decision does not state what provocation, if any, Le Blond had. (35) In 1820 one William Prinne was tried for the murder of his slave, Walter, the charge being that Walter had been confined "in a Dungeon or cell dangerous to his health." Prinne was found not guilty. (36) The continual fear of insurrection, in Missouri as elsewhere, caused somewhat drastic laws to be passed restricting the slaves' right to bear arms or to go hunting. The Law of 1724 provided that no slave should carry a weapon or even a heavy stick unless sent to hunt game by his master who must supply him with a written permission. (37) The laws of O'Reilley condemned a slave to thirty lashes for bearing firearms, and he could be shot when found armed if he could not otherwise be captured. (38) These provisions were included in the Laws of 1804. For a slave or a mulatto to carry a "club or other weapon whatsoever" any number of lashes not exceeding thirty could be given "on his or her bare back well laid on." But as Missouri was in the territorial period a frontier community, and as Indian incursions were often feared, a slave in the outlying districts might bear weapons if so licensed by a justice of the peace. (39)

Right to Leave the Plantation.

The overshadowing fear of insurrection and of property loss caused the enactment of stringent provisions against the slave who was found off his master's plantation. The Code of 1724 forbade slaves assembling in crowds for any purpose; the first offense being punished by whipping, the second by

35. Records St. Louis Court II, 86, 96.
36. Ibid. p. 226, 230, 234, 236.
37. French III, 89, Sec. 12.
38. Am. State Papers, Misc. I, 380.
39. Terr. Laws I, 27, Sec. 4, 5.

branding, while capital punishment could be exercised under "aggravating circumstances." Any master permitting such meetings was to be fined thirty livres for the first offense and double that amount if repeated. If his neighbors were injured by such assemblies of slaves he was to pay damages. (40) The Laws of O'Reilley condemned a slave to twenty lashes for leaving the plantation without permission, but one master could not punish the slaves of another. (41)

According to the Laws of 1804, no slave was to leave his master's "tenements" without a pass or other token of authority. A justice was to punish such slave "with stripes" and it was "lawful for the owner or overseer of such plantation [on which the slave had trespassed] to give or order such slave ten lashes on his or her bare back for every such offense." Riots, unlawful assemblies, and seditious speeches by slaves were to be punished with stripes at the discretion of a justice of the peace." Any slave "conspiring to rebel or murder" was to be executed after conviction without benefit of clergy. Any master or mistress of slaves knowingly permitting slaves or others to remain upon their property for more than four hours without consent of the owners was to be fined three dollars and costs, and for permitting more than five slaves to assemble "at any other time" was fined one dollar per slave so assembled. Negroes with passes could meet for worship or on "any other lawful occasion." Any white, free negro, or mulato meeting with a seditious slave or aiding such was fined three dollars if such seditious slave was not exposed, and on failure to pay this should "receive on his or her bare back twenty lashes well laid on." Any justice failing to act within ten days when informed of an unlawful meeting of slaves was to be fined eight dollars and costs, and a sheriff four dollars and costs for the same offense. (42.) A statute of 1817 required slaves without passes to be taken before a justice, the sheriff serving notice on the owner who was to pay the usual summons fee. (43)

40. French III, 89, Sec. 13, 14.
41. Am. State Papers. Misc. I, 380.
42. Terr. Laws I, 27, Sec. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14.
43. Ibid. p. 501, Sec. 1.

Subsequent to the Cession there seems to have been some reason for stringent laws to prevent slave insurrections. The Louisiana Gazette of February 29, 1812, states that the militia of that territory had been ordered out to "quell a meditated rising of the negroes."

The Missouri Gazette of March 22, 1817, in a way admits the possibility of slave risings: "The existence of that race among us is contemplated by all who have reflected profoundly on the subject, with dread; not from any fears of insurrections which may perhaps be occasionally expected [but from race fusion]." In October, 1819, one Humphrey Smith was accused by the Howard County grand jury of exciting the slaves to revolt. (44)

The Law of 1724 condemned a slave to branding and loss of ears for the first offense in being away from the plantation for more than a month; the second and third offences being punished by hamstringing and death respectively. Free negroes were reduced to slavery for aiding the escape of a slave. The master could by legal means search in "other lands than this colony" for his escaped property." (45)

In the section on insurrection the laws relative to the penalties against a slave leaving his master's plantation include some clauses regarding escape as well as trespass. Two justices could give a warrant to the sheriff, and the owners of the escaped slaves if same were "killing hogs and committing other injuries." (46) A Law of January, 1817, provided that any slave found without a pass was to be taken before a justice. The sheriff was to serve notice on the owner who was to pay the usual summons fee. In case the owner refused to pay this fee the justice "may issue execution for the same as in ordinary cases." Non-resident owners were to have names of escaped slaves published for ninety days in a Territorial paper. (47) If the owner or overseer appeared

44. St. Louis Inquirer, Oct. 20, 1819.
45. French, III, 89, Sec. 32, 34, 35.
46. Terr. Laws, I, 27, Sec. 13.
47. Terr. Laws, I, 501, Sec. 1, 2. In the Mo. Gazette of Aug. 8, 1812, we find twenty-five dollars being offered for the apprehension

within ten days and claimed such slave was doing his owner's business, he was to pay costs before receiving the same. After ninety days' notice the slave was to be sold to the highest bidder "for ready money." After deducting the jail fees and five dollars for the apprehension of the slave, the remainder was to be deposited in the treasury to satisfy the future claims of the owner. There appears to have been no cruel punishments inflicted publicly upon the captured slave, the matter evidently being left to the master.

Right to Buy and Sell.

The Code of 1724 forbade a slave to buy or sell without a written permission from his master, and fixed a fine of fifteen hundred livres upon any one so dealing with a slave without permission. When the master gave his slave such permission he was responsible for the commercial acts of such slave. (48) The Laws of O'Reilley forbade, under penalty of twenty-five lashes, a slave to sell without his master's consent even the products of the waste land given him for his own use. (49) The Laws of Las Seite Partidas bound the master to all commercial acts of the slave if he commissioned said slave to "exercise any trade or commerce." (50)

A stringent provision of the Law of 1804 implies that the master was at times deeply wronged by persons having commercial relations with his slaves. The penalty for buying or selling to a slave without the master's consent was a fine of four times the amount of the consideration involved, and costs. The informer of such transaction was given twenty dollars. Any free negro who had so bought from or sold to a slave, was given thirty stripes "well laid on" in default of the payment of this fine. (51)

of a mulatto boy. The issue of July 31, 1813, offers two hundred and fifty dollars reward for two negroes who could read and write. Nearly every issue in this and following years contains similar notices.

48. French III, 89, Sec. 15, 23.
49. Am. State Papers. Misc. I, 380.
50. Vol. I, 485.
51. Terr. Laws. I, 27, Sec. 11. Repealed Dec. 9, 1822. Ibid. p. 958.

Criminal Laws.

According to the Code of 1724 death was to be the penalty for "bruising or shedding the blood" of the master's family and violence against any free person was punished by "severity, and even.....death should the case require it." The sentence for the stealing of horses, cattle and other large animals was to be "corporal" and "even by death." The penalty for pilfering smaller animals and produce was whipping and branding. The master was either to indemnify the loser or to turn the slave over "to suffer" after he himself had punished the thief. The slave was to be branded and his ears severed if he escaped and failed to return within a month and to be hamstrung and executed for the second and third offenses respectively. (52) This law really seems severe considering the limited number of slaves that could have been in the Mississippi Valley in 1724. When we consider that the Laws of O'Reilley subjected a white man to death for stealing church property, villifying the king, or rape; and to confiscation of property and loss of tongue for blasphemy, these slave laws seem less rigorous. (53)

At Cahokia in 1779 a negro was sentenced to twenty lashes "since he used very bad language and threatened to revenge himself on those who should undertake to seize him." (54) The same year two negroes were sentenced, one to be hanged and the other to be burned alive for sorcery. There is said to have been no evidence of the execution of this sentence. (55)

The Law of 1804 provided that any negro, bond or free, was to be subjected to a maximum of thirty stripes for lifting a hand against whites "Proved by oath of the party unless such negro or mulatto was wantonly assaulted and lifted his or her hand in his or her defence" Death was the penalty only for conspiracy to rebel, for murder, and for the adminis-

52. French III, 89, Sec. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.
53. Am. State Papers. Misc. I. p. 373, Sec. 1, 2, 5, 15.
54. Alvord, Coll. III, Hist. Soc. Vol. II, 43.
55. Thwaites, R. G., "The Colonies." (New York, 1906), 192.

tering of poison. (56) When compared with the general criminal law of four years later these punishments do not seem at all severe. Rape was punished by castration burglary by thirty-nine lashes; perjury by disfranchisement and an hour in the pillory, while for the stealing and branding of horses and cattle forty-five lashes on the bare back "well laid on" were given. Any one stealing slaves, or convicted of enslaving a negro whom he knew to be free was to suffer death. All death penalties were without benefit of clergy. (57)

From the criminal legislation against the blacks we can decide that there was more fear of the slave selling his master's goods or of running away than of his committing private crimes.

IV. Social Customs.

Old Louisiana being a province in which the church was very powerful and the priest influential, we should naturally expect religious provisions regarding the slave. The Law of 1724 required the master to impart religious instruction to the slave, this instruction to be Roman Catholic under penalty of the slave's confiscation. The same penalty was suffered if the slave was forced to work on Sundays and holidays. Every Christian slave was to be buried in consecrated ground. (58)

The laws subsequent to the Cession make no provisions for the religious life of the slave except that no one was to prevent slaves meeting for worship. (59)

In Louisiana as elsewhere the fusion of the races was deplored. Section six of the Code of 1724 states that there was to be no intermarriage between the races; that no priest was to perform such a marriage; that there was to be no concubinage with negresses; that the negress' master and the one causing issue were each to be fined three hundred livres,

56. Terr. Laws, I, Sec. 12, 14, 15.
57. Ibid, 210, Sec. 8 11, 16, 18, 21, 22' 39, 45.
58. French, Vol. III, 89, Sec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 11.
59. Terr. Laws, I, 27, Sec. 8.

the master also to be deprived of the negress and the issue "never to be free."

The slaves appear to have been regularly married. A free black having issue with a slave was to marry same and the issue was never to be free. In case of issue of the slaves of two masters, the said issue was to belong to the mother's master. The master's consent was necessary for a slave to marry, but he could not force his slaves to marry. (60)

After the Cession, legislation on the subject seems to have been dropped. But in the Law of 1804 we find the following provision drawing definitely the line between the races: "Every person other than a negro whose grandfather or grandmother any one is, or shall have been a negro.....and so every such person who shall have one-fourth part or more of negro blood, shall in like manner be deemed a mulatto.'." (61) As there were strict laws against the slave leaving the plantation, and as the negro population was relatively small, and consequently less thickly massed, it is not likely that the morals were so low as farther to the east and south.

In considering a subject like slavery there are always some questions which are uppermost in the mind. How were the slaves treated? Were they underfed and poorly clad? Were these domestic matters solely in the hands of the slave masters? Despite the fact that the Code of 1724 was very severe in some respects it appears to have been very humane in others. For not properly feeding and clothing his slave the master could be prosecuted; aged and maimed slaves were to be supported; and if the owner refused, he was charged eight cents per day for each slave, and his property attached if the tax was not paid. (62) The Laws of O'Reilley provided that

60. French, III, 89, Sec. 6, 7, 8, 9. We find the following provisions in the Laws of Las Seite Partidas: A slave may marry a free woman if she knew at the time that he was a slave, and so could a negress marry a free man, but both must be Christians. Such a marriage was valid despite the wishes of the master. The issue of a free man and a slave followed the condition of the mother, etc. Vol. I, 470.

61. Terr. Laws, I, 27, Sec. 6.

62. French III, 89, Sec. 20, 21.

every slave was to "receive the barrel of corn provided by the usage of the colony; and was also to be given the use of waste lands. "The slave who has not a portion of waste land shall receive punctually from his master a shirt and trousers of linen in the summer, and a great coat and trousers of wool for the winter." It was also provided that "Every slave shall be allowed one-half hour for breakfast, two hours for dinner; their labor shall commence at break of day, and shall cease at the approach of night. Sundays shall be the privilege of the slaves, but their masters may require their labor at harvest.....on paying them four escalins per diem."(63)

The records extant largely refer to the New Orleans country. The negro seems to have been well treated, as the Church took a great interest in him, the soil was abundant and rich and the climate not severe. M. Dumont in his memoirs states that "sometimes a confidential negro.....carries a whip as a mark of distinction [as overseer]. The negresses go to work like the rest; and when nursing children, carry them on their backs, and follow the rest." M. Dumont does not imply that these slaves were badly treated although he admits that runaways were severely handled. (64) Another picture is given by Stoddard who traveled through the country shortly before the Cession: "When we pass into Louisiana [from Mississippi Territory] we behold a different and more disgusting picture. The French and Spanish planters in particular treat their slaves with great rigor; and this has been uniformily the case from the first of the colony.....The labor imposed on the slaves is equal to the powers of the most robust men, and yet for their subsistence they are tantalized with a small pittance of corn.....and also with the hard choice of a little waste land, which they have not time to cultivate, or a few rags to hide their nakedness, or to guard them against the severities of the weather." (65) That there was a difference of opinion as to the treatment of the Missouri slave is evident from the following statements of contemporaries. A corre-

63. Am. State Papers, Misc. I, 380.
64. French, Vol. V, 121.
65. "Sketches of Louisiana." (Phila., 1812) p. 332-5 passim.

spondent of Niles Register thus pictures the state of the institution in the St. Louis country: "The condition of their slaves, when compared with most countries, where slavery is tolerated, is not hard or severe. Their labor is not great, or painful, they are allowed many privileges, and are well clothed and fed." The editor, however, seems suspicious of the veracity of this statement and adds in parenthesis: "Better information satisfies me that this encomium is unmerited." (66)

The laws after the Cession make no mention of the domestic obligations of the master to his slave, and hence it is difficult to understand the ideals of the period.

V. Manumission.

Most of the slave states and colonies discouraged the freeing of the blacks. The Code of 1724 permitted a master who had reached the age of twenty-five years to manumit his slaves by legal procedings, but before the Superior court only. Such freedmen were to have "all the rights and privileges inherent in our subjects born in our kingdom." The freedman was to treat his late master's family with respect. If a slave was appointed a tutor to his master's children "said slaves shall be held and be regarded as being set free to all intents and purposes." (67)

Billon gives the first negro manumission of St. Louis as taking place in 1763. (68)

The Laws of 1804 provided that a slave might be formally freed by writing, but if such slave was not of sound mind, or was a male under twenty-one or over forty-five, or was a female under eighteen, the master was to support the same, and his goods could be attached for that purpose. If an executor did not obtain freedom papers according to testament he was fined thirty dollars. Emancipated slaves were to be hired out or have their goods attached for not paying taxes. (69)

66. Vol. I, 245.
67. French III, 89, Sec. 50, 51, 52. Section 54 reads: "We grant to manumitted slaves the same rights, privileges, and immunities which are enjoyed by free born persons."
68. Vol. I, 39.
69. Terr. Laws I, 27, Sec. 23, 24, 25.

VI. Opinions in 1820.

Some have expressed the opinion that the people of Missouri were not much concerned with the question of slavery till the constitutional questions involved in the fight for statehood began. We have good proof that the Missourians of the Compromise period did not conceive of the institution as a "positive good." In July, 1819, John Scott, the Territorial delegate, thus expressed his views: "I regret as much as any person can do the existence of Slavery in the United States. I think it wrong in itself, nor on principle would I be understood as advocating it; but I trust I shall always be the advocate of the people's rights to decide on this question .....for themselves.....I consider it not only unfriendly to the slaves themselves to confine them to the south, but wholly incompetent for Congress to interfere." (70) It is not likely that a native of Virginia, a man of growing influence who might expect much at the hands of the new state, and one who attacked Tallmadge's motion in the House, would thus condemn slavery in the abstract if his constituency was not similarly minded. Mr. Henry Carroll on presenting an anti-Congressional resolution from Howard county said: "..there are none within my view, none it might be said in Boon's Lick country.....who would not lend efficient co-operation to achieve all the good within their compass, and wipe from the white cheek the foul stain which soils it.....[but] a rejection of slavery can not fail to shut out of our country those disposed to migrate hither from the southern states, under a repugnance to separate from the labor useful to them." (71) On September 11, 1819, the Baptist Association in session at Mount Pleasant Meeting House in Howard County adopted a petition to Congress in which we read: "....although with Washington and Jefferson.....we regret the existence of slavery at all.....and look forward to a time when a happy emancipation can be effected, consistent with the principles of .....Justice.....the constitution does not admit slaves to

70. Mo. Gazette and Boon's Lick Advertiser, July 16, 1819.
71. Mo. Intelligencer, July 9, 1819.

be freemen; it does admit them to be property.....we have all the means necessary for a state government, and believe that the question of slavery is one which belongs exclusively to the state to decide on.." (72)

These expressions are at least evidence that the Missourians were opposed to slavery theoretically, or pretended to be, in order to mollify Congress and the country, and thus make their fight for non-Congressional interference seem unselfish, and themselves conscientiously constitutional.

Political bodies and religious organizations were even joined by the courts in demanding "Squatter Sovereignty" in 1820. The Grand Jurors of St. Louis in April, 1819, thus put themselves on record: "They believe that all the slaveholding states are virtually menaced and threatened with eventual destruction [if slavery is prohibited]...." (73) The Grand Jury of Montgomery County in July, 1819, declared: "They view the restriction attempted to be imposed on the people of Missouri Territory in the formation of a State Constitution as unlawful, unconstitutional, and oppressive." (74) Besides the opinons quoted there are public letters and editorials by the score in the Territorial papers of 1819-20. (75) Many are anti- but most of them pro-slavery, or in more precise terms many of them pro-restriction, but most of them advancing anti-Congressional interference. That there was a considerable anti-slavery element in the Territory can be inferred from the various resolutions passed and the number of candidates supporting that issue. (76) There is little doubt, however, that the state was largely pro-slavery.

We may conclude that slavery as it existed in Missouri in 1820 was a fairly well organized system. It is true there were but a few thousand negro slaves in the Territory, but were chiefly massed along the Mississippi and the Missouri

72. St. Louis Inquirer, Oct. 20, 1819.
73. Mo. Gazette, May 12, 1819.
74. Miles, Vol. 17, 71.
75. See Mo. Gaz. Mar. 24th, and April 7, 1819, Mo. Intelligencer, June 25th and July 9, 1819. Miles, Vol. 16, 288.
76. St. Louis Inquirer, Apr. 12, 1820, etc.

rivers, the only portions of the Territory then well settled. We have seen that special slave codes were enacted, and special slave taxes levied, and as the ratio between the races was about five to one, the negro population must have been sufficient to influence the society and institution of the territorial period.

Hardin College. HARRISON A. TREXLER.

DANIEL BOONE.

Second Paper.

Daniel Boone's Western "Palatinate."

When Daniel Boone made an agreement with the Spanish government to bring one hundred American families to Upper Louisiana, or New Spain, as the territory was sometimes called, it was in furtherance of a scheme to establish beyond the Mississippi a community of manorial lords of the soil. He expected to surround himself with a hundred families or more of his personal friends and acquaintances, each of whom should own not less than one thousand acres, and be a baron or "patroon" by right of "eminent domain." Like all intelligent North Carolinians, Boone was familiar with the early efforts to found a Palatinate in the Carolinas, and he dreamed of a similar aristocratic organization in the sylvan shades of the Spanish possessions. Slavery was a necessary feature of such a system, and consequently all the families that came to Upper Louisiana at Boone's solicitation were slave holders; but usually in a small way. None of the great slave lords of the South ventured west of the Mississippi at that early date. Boone himself owned a few slaves, but he was opposed to the system; and yet, regarding it as a permanent evil, to be endured because it could not be put

away, he sought to ameliorate its harsher conditions. He believed that a community of independent landlords, actuated by liberal and humane sentiments, would be willing and able, in their affluent circumstances, to institute and carry out measures of reform better and more thoroughly than such a work could be done by the small farmers of the older States. It was an impracticable dream, but it demonstarted the benevolence of his disposition, as well as the breadth of his statesmanship; and if the plan could have succeeded, even measurably, it might have made an interesting page in American history.

Meanwhile, the settlements on the Femme Osage grew and flourished. There came not only the "patroons" and the barons, the great landlords and the slave holders, but many of the "under-crust" also found their way into the thriving community. The idea of an exclusive landed aristocracy had to be abandoned, for many rough and tough specimens of society began to make their appearance, who had no drop of aristocratic blood in their veins. These people could not be transformed into owners of baronies and benevolent instructors of slaves, any more than the proverbial silk purse could be manufactured out of a sow's ear. They had none of the refining elements in them. They were the mudsills of the older settlements; and in some instances, desperate criminals who had come west for their own and their country's good. The sittings of the court under the "judgment tree" became more and more frequent; and the whipping-post was found to be not always an effectual instrument of reform; for some of the criminals who were "whipped and cleared" harbored vicious resentments and sought opportunities to gratify their vengeance.

The first murder within the limits of Boone's "Palatinate" was committed on the 13th day of December, 1804, and the criminal was indicted by the first grand jury that assembled north of the Missouri river after the cession of the territory to the United States. The preliminary hearing was held before Commandant Boone, who remanded the accused to the "cala-

bazo'' at St. Charles to await the action of the grand jury. When that body assembled it developed that eleven of the twelve members could not write their names. Accordingly, the one whose scholastic attainments had progressed to that point was chosen foreman, and the others signed their conclusions with a cross mark. In framing their indictment they endeavored to make up for their lack of erudition by solemnity of sound and particularly of statement, and the instrument which they laboriously brought forth is one of the curiosities of literature. It likewise possesses a special interest as the first indictment drawn in Louisiana Territory under the American government. In words and figures it reads as follows:

''That one James Davis, late of the District of St. Charles, in the Territory of Louisiana, Laborer, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil, on the 13th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four (1804), at a place called Femme Osage, in the said district of St. Charles, with force of arms, in and upon William Hays, in the peace of God and the United States, there and then Feloniously, willfully and with malice aforethought, did make an assault, and that the said James Davis, with a certain rifle gun, four feet long, and of the value of five dollars, then and there loaded and charged with gun powder and one leaden bullet, with said rifle gun the said James Davis, then and there in his hands had and held, fired and killed William Hays.''

But notwithstanding the fact that William Hays had been ''feloniously fired and killed'' with a ''certain rifle gun'' four feet in length and worth five dollars, while said gun was ''had and held'' by James Davis, there were apparently extenuating circumstances; for when the grand jury found a true bill and bound Davis over to appear for trial in the penal sum of $3,000, Daniel Boone signed the bond, and at the subsequent trial Davis was cleared.

As early as 1804 the settlements in Femme Osage district had grown to such proportions as to arouse the apprehensions

and excite the jealousies of the Indian tribes whose hunting grounds had been invaded. The great Tecumseh heard the complaints of his western brethren, and that year he and the Prophet began their efforts to effect a union of all the northern and northwestern tribes against the whites. They were ably seconded by agents of the British government, who hoped with the assistance of the red men to check the spread of the settlements and drive the Americans back to the tide-water States. In pursuance of their general plan, Tecumseh and the Prophet visited the tribes from the lakes to the Gulf, haranguing their councils and preparing the way for the opening of hostilities. "The sun is my father," boastingly exclaimed the Shawnee chieftain, "and the earth is my mother, and on her bosom will I repose." He represented in his own person the concentrated hatred of his race for the palefaces, and he sacrificed his life in an effort to clear the way for his people to occupy the land which he believed had been assigned to them by a power higher than human. All the western territory had been fairly purchased from one tribe or another, but Tecumseh claimed that the land was owned in common by all the Indians, and that no tribe could dispose of any more than its individual rights. This was the ground of his contention against the white settlers.

But no overt acts were committed until after the declaration of war by Congress on the 18th of June, 1812. Eight days thereafter a grand council of the northwestern tribes convened at Tecumseh's home, near the present site of Springfield, Ohio, and it was then decided to unite with the English in an effort to drive the American settlers beyond the Ohio river. The tribes represented on this occasion were the Shawnees, the Miamis, the Winnebagoes, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Sioux, Otoes, Iowas, and the Sacs and Foxes. The two last named were the only ones that gave the Missouri settlements any trouble. They were kindred nations of the Algonquin family, and usually acted together; but in this instance they were divided. The larger part dwelt on the upper waters of the Mississippi and in the vicinity of the present

site of Rock Island, Illinois. These were the hostiles. Another band, living south of the Missouri river, in territory now embraced in Franklin county, remained friendly to the whites. During the progress of the war the hostiles sent a number of embassies across the country to their southern relatives, hoping to induce them to take up the hatchet; and it was these prowling bands, passing to and fro, that committed the murders in Femme Osage district.

When it became known that war had been declared, the settlers west of the Mississippi realized their danger, and preparations were made to meet the emergency. A number of primitive forts, fourteen in all, were constructed, and companies of rangers organized. These men wore buckskin hunting shirts and trousers, with moccasins of the same material, while their heads were covered with coonskin caps from which the ringed tails depended down upon their shoulders. It was a picturesque uniform, and well suited to the work they had to do. Their arms were the rifle, tomahawk and scalping-knife. The rifle was a familiar instrument in their hands, and an absolutely deadly weapon anywhere within range; while many of them could hurl the tomahawk thirty feet or more with an accuracy that was keenly dreaded by the savage foe. Some of these rangers were as sanguinary in disposition as their Indian antagonists, and the latter knew they had no mercy to expect if they fell into the hands of the white men, for the rangers carried into practice the theory that there are no good Indians but dead ones. Each family in the settlements was supplied with a trumpet, to be blown as a signal in case of danger; and a blast from one of these instruments never failed to put the savages to flight.

The council at Tecumseh's home had scarcely closed its deliberations when the settlers in Boone's Palatinate began to feel its effects. Horses were stolen and driven away, and exposed cabins were burned and their occupants murdered. During the course of three years, from 1812 to 1815, a hundred battles were fought in the region of country now embraced by the counties of St. Charles, Lincoln, Warren and Montgomery.

Only one tragedy, however, was enacted within the immediate limits of the Boone settlement. This occurred at the house of Jonathan Bryan, a nephew of Daniel Boone, who had come with his family to Upper Louisiana at "Uncle Daniel's" solicitation. He arrived in 1800, and the following year he selected a body of land in Femme Osage valley, adjoining what subsequently became the Boone farm. Here he drove his stakes and laid the foundations of a future home. The house was built in 1801, of hewed walnut logs, in conformity with a belief that pestiferous insects would not infest a building composed of that aromatic timber. It stood, and still stands, on the summit of a hill that slopes abruptly down to the valley of the Femme Osage, a little more than a mile west of the spring where Boone afterward built his cabin and held his courts, and where the stone mansion was erected. The roofs and outlines of the two houses can be seen, the one from the other, through the vistas of intervening trees. The Bryan house was a double-log cabin with a hall or passageway between the rooms, and was regarded in its day as an imposing mansion.

Here in 1803 Lewis and Clerk and their party of explorers stopped for several days, enjoying the hospitality of the family and consulting Daniel Boone about the conditions of the western country, for the old pioneer lived as much with the family of his favorite nephew as he did at his own home.

On the morning of May 20, 1815, a band of six Fox Indians attacked the family of Robert Ramsey, whose cabin was situated about two miles northwest of the present site of Marthasville, in Warren county. That was then the extreme limit of the Boone settlements, and the place was regarded as so dangerous that the rangers had advised Ramsey to move his family back to a safer location. He disregarded the injunction, and in due time became the victim of his own rashness. Ramsey and his wife were both wounded at the first fire, but the former, as he fell, grasped the trumpet which hung over the cabin door and blew a blast that frightened the savages away from their murderous work. They did not de-

part, however, until they had tomahawked three children who crouched affrighted in the yard, and one of them was scalped. The scene of this tragedy is still pointed out, the corner of the yard remaining the same as it was then, the spot where the little one fell being marked by the stump of a locust tree that stood there at the time. Mrs. Ramsey died the following day, but the husband recovered.

The sound of the firing and the trumpet blast were heard by a young man who was hunting in the vicinity, and the rangers were at once notified. So rapidly was the news carried by scouts and runners, and from house to house, that by midday the entire country was warned, and armed men hurried to the scene of the massacre. Daniel Boone was among the number, and as his experience in border warfare had given him some knowledge of surgery, he dressed the wounds of Ramsey and his wife.

It was not supposed that the Indians would attempt to penetrate any further into the settlements, and accordingly all the boys and men capable of bearing arms repaired to the Ramsey place, where parties were organized and sent out in every direction to seek the trail of the savages. The women and children were thus left unprotected at home. The Indians separated into parties of two each, and fled in different directions, in order to evade the pursuit of the rangers.

The next morning at daylight one of these parties attacked the Bryan home on the Femme Osage, fifteen miles from the Ramsey place. Mrs. Bryan and a negro woman were in the back yard at the time, attending to some domestic duties, when they were startled by the screams of a little negro boy. On looking up they discovered an Indian warrior who had crossed the fence into the yard, and was running toward them with uplifted tomahawk. He carried his loaded gun in the other hand, but was evidently afraid to use it lest its sound should alarm the neighborhood. The women fled into the hallway, reaching and closing the door just as the Indian came upon them. They caught his head and right arm, the hand still grasping the tomahawk, between the door and the wooden

facing, and thus held him fast. As he struggled to free himself, the negro woman, by her companion's direction, wrenched the hatchet from his hand, and slew him at a blow. The savage sank to the floor and his gun fell into the hall. At that instant another scream from the little boy, who had remained in the yard, warned them of a new danger, and turning toward the south entrance they saw another Indian, armed like the first, and of a peculiarly savage and brutal appearance, running toward the house and distant but a few feet. Mrs. Bryan instantly seized the gun of the fallen Indian and shot the new intruder dead. He fell at the foot of a black locust tree, long since uprooted, but another of the same species stands in the same place, so that a photograph taken of the old house, represents the scene as it was at the time of the tragedy. The Indians were buried in the horse-lot, back of the house, near a great boulder of sandstone, which still marks the spot; and as the family regarded the event with feelings of horror, the dead warriors were ever afterward spoken of with some degree of gentleness, as "strangers who died while traveling that way." Visitors have the graves of the Indians pointed out to them, and are told this legend by the farmer's family who inhabit a new house near-by, and who still drink from the spring that flows on forever.

W. S. BRYAN.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.*

Herculaneum.

The first postoffice established in what is now Jefferson county was at Herculaneum October 1, 1811, and Charles A. Austin was made the first postmaster. He was a son of Moses Austin, who obtained a grant of land, a league square, covering the site of Potosi, under the Spanish government in 1783. The site of the first post office, which was in a store kept by Austin, has long since been washed away by the Mississippi river. There was a shot tower at this place in 1811 and it was one of the shipping points for the lead from Washington county.

Rush Tower.

The next postoffice in the county was at Rush Tower, which was opened May 23, 1813, by Andrew Fight, as postmaster. Fight was quite a character in his day. There was also a shot tower at this place in 1813 and it was a shipping point for lead. Herculaneum and Rush Tower were the only postoffices in this county till 1827. The mails reached Herculaneum once in two weeks from St. Louis by the old King's Terrace road to the old Joshua Herrington place, and thence by what is now Pevely; and this route was continued to Potosi. The mails to Rush Tower were carried from Potosi via Blackwell's farm on Big River and Tarpley's Mill (now Avoca). Fight was postmaster at this place in 1845.

Selma.

Selma became a postoffice March 13, 1827, and Luther M. Kennett was the first postmaster. Kennett and his

*Report of committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association of Jefferson County.

brother, Ferdinand B., had a shot tower at this place at the time and it became quite a shipping point for lead. Mr. Kennett was afterward mayor of St. Louis and as mayor he delivered the principal address on the occasion of breaking dirt for the first railroad (the Missouri Pacific) in Missouri, July 4, 1851, near St. Louis. Kennett, as a "Know Nothing," defeated Thomas H. Benton for Congress in the St. Louis district in 1854.

Ferdinand B. Kennett, simply to please his wife, erected Kennett Castle at Selma, which is an ideal place for a home.

The mails were carried to Selma and Rush Tower by steamboat in 1827 and from Potosi overland.

Valley Mines.

This office was established March 13, 1830, and Thomas Tarpley was appointed first postmaster. This office was on the mail route from Rush Tower to Potosi, which crossed Big River at the old Blackwell farm-house and thence ran by Bellefontaine and Old Mines. The name of the office should have been Valle, but the Government officials spelled it as it was pronounced, Valley. Valle's mines were discovered by Joseph Schutz in 1824. The name of the postoffice was subsequently changed to Perry and Tarpley's mine, which was south of Valle's mine.

Thomas Tarpley, in time, built a grist mill at what is now known as Avoca. The people called it "Tapley's Mill," leaving out the "r" in his name.

DEFUNCT POSTOFFICES.

Selina.

This office was established May 23, 1828, and John Simpson was postmaster. We do not know where this was located, but it may have been at Boli's Mill at the mouth of Saline creek on the Meramec River, nor do we know anything about Mr. Simpson. If any one knows anything about this office or Mr. Simpson the committee would

be pleased to get into correspondence with him. There is no such office now nor has there been for over seventy years.

Sunville.

This office was established April 4, 1838, and John Pence, a blacksmith, was made postmaster. The office was kept at the old Wideman Mill on U. S. survey No. 872, about three-quarters of a mile above Morse Mill. Francis Wideman was granted this land by the Spanish Government, and he erected a mill there in 1802 about the first in the country. Pence had a blacksmith shop at the mill and kept the postoffice until September 14, 1840, when Joseph McKee succeeded him. McKee kept the office in the store of McBurnett, a merchant, till May 16, 1845, when the store was closed, the mill abandoned and the postoffice abolished. The erection of Gherke's Mill, called by the people "Yerkey" and the Maddox Mill (now Cedar Hill) caused the downfall of the Wideman mill with all its business interests. The site of this office has been in corn and wheat for over half a century. Its exact place can not be located, but soon the last vestige of the old mill will be gone, and those who remember it will be called to their long homes and then it will be too late to find the exact place, which was the business center for many years of the Wideman neighborhood.

Osceola.

This office was established May 27, 1837, and was kept by Stephen Senter, postmaster, at his residence near what is now Frumet bridge on the wayside of Big River on U. S. survey No. 3166. It was supplied with mail, what little it had, from St. Louis via House Springs, the route leading up Big River by way of Sunville. This office was discontinued October 11, 1838. It did not pay. The old Senter residence disappeared over thirty years ago. Its site has been in cultivation, in corn, etc.

Glenfinlas.

This office was established September 6, 1838, and Louis Bolduc was made postmaster, and he continued in the office until it was moved to Tyro, May 11, 1850. This office was kept in the residence of Bolduc, which was near the present residence of Mr. Harness on Big River, just below Mammoth cave. It was on the old stage route from St. Louis via Potosi and Caledonia. Dennis Armstrong, a citizen of Hillsboro, drove the coach over this route many years. That part of the old stage route lying between Dry creek and Vivretts' home on Big River has long been abandoned.

Tyro.

This office was moved from Glenfinlas May 10, 1850, and David Wilson was made postmaster. The office was kept at the residence of Wilson at what is now Big River bridge. It was moved March 19, 1867, to Vineland. Walter Slawson was made postmaster at the latter point.

There are other defunct postoffices in this county, but we will reserve them for some future report.

All of which is respectfully sumbitted.

JOHN L. THOMAS,
Chairman of Committee.

SOME HISTORIC LINES IN MISSOURI.

Second Paper.

The Sac and Fox Indian Line of 1804.
The Osage Indian Lines of 1808.
The Fifth Principal Meridian.
The Missouri-Iowa Line.

We will study these lines together, because we cannot well understand the history of one without knowing the history of the others. The history of the Missouri Compromise Line is a tragedy, while that of the above is a drama with comic and tragic sidelights and incidents.

The Sac and Fox Indian Line. November 3, 1804.

This day ought to be memorable in the history of our State. It marks the commencement of our policy in the treatment of the Indians, inhabiting or claiming the country, west of the Mississippi. The Sacs and Foxes claimed, as hunting grounds, all the territory lying north of the Missouri River, extending into what is now Iowa; and the first treaty with any tribe of Indians, west of the Mississippi River, was made at St. Louis, November 3, 1804, by Gov. Harrison, "Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Commissioner and Plenipotentiary of the United States for concluding any treaty or treaties which may be found necessary with any of the Northwestern tribes of Indians, of the one part, and the Chiefs and Head men of the Sac and Fox tribes, of the other part." This treaty provided that these tribes should be under the protection of the United States and that "the boundary line between the lands of the United States and the said Indian tribes" should be as follows: Beginning on the Missouri River,

opposite the mouth of the Gasconade River, thence in a direct course so as to strike the river Jeffreon at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the Jeffreon to the Mississippi; thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ouisconsin River, and up the same to a point thirty-six miles in a direct line from its mouth; thence to the point where the Fox River (a branch of the Illinois) leaves the small lake called Sokaegon; thence down the Fox and Illinois Rivers to the Mississippi.

By this treaty it was stipulated that the United States would never interrupt these tribes in the possession of the land they rightfully claimed, but would, on the contrary, protect them in the quiet enjoyment of the same against their own citizens and against all other white persons, who might intrude upon them, and that "if any citizen of the United States should form a settlement upon lands which are the property of the Sac & Fox tribes," such intruder should be forthwith removed. The treaty also stipulated for an annuity to these tribes, and that peace should be made between them and the Great and Little Osages. This treaty was ratified by the Senate, February 25, 1805. The Indian chiefs who execcuted this treaty were Layowvois, Pashepaho (the Stabber), Quashquame, (the Jumping Fish), Outchequaha (the Sun Fish) and Hashegharhiqua (the Bear). Black Hawk, a Sac brave, born at Rock Island in 1767, who was the head of a faction of the tribe on Rock River, refused to recognize this treaty and attributed to it all the troubles he and his party had with the whites in after years. Black Hawk, whose Indian name was Makatoishekiakiok, claimed that the above chiefs were not sent to St. Louis to make a treaty of any kind, but were deputed to intercede for the release of any Indian who was in prison there then on a charge of murder of a white man, and after being gone a long time, they returned dressed "in fine coates and had medals." They reported that when they made known their mission the American father told them they (the whites) wanted land and they agreed to give them some on the west

side of the Mississippi and some on the Illinois side, opposite the Jeffreon. Black Hawk added that these chiefs "had been drunk the greater part of the time they were in St. Louis." The cession of the land west of the Mississippi, made by the treaty of 1804, was evidently intended to cover substantially all the settlements at that time west of that river, and it included the territory now embraced in the counties of St. Charles, Lincoln, Pike, Ralls, Warren and parts of Montgomery, Callaway, Audrain, Monroe, Madison and Marion.

By the Act of Congress of June 4, 1812, the name of our territory was changed from Louisiana to Missouri, and for the first time it was given a legislative assembly to be chosen by the people. By that act, the Governor was authorized "to lay off the parts of the said territory to which the Indian title has been extinguished, into convenient counties," and accordingly, Gov. Benjamin Howard, October 1, 1812, divided the new territory into five counties, St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. He defined the boundaries of St. Charles county, thus: "All that portion of the territory north of the Missouri River and usually known by the name of the Forks, lying between that river and the Mississippi." This substantially covered the Sac and Fox Indian Cession of 1804, west of the Mississippi. By the Act of December 31, 1813, of the first territorial legislature, the boundaries of St. Charles county were made to coincide with the boundaries fixed by the treaty of 1804, with this proviso: "that if the Indian title shall be extinguished to any land bordering on the north and west of the county of St. Charles in the recess of the General Assembly, it shall be the duty of the Governor for the time being, by proclamation, to annex the same to the said county." Prior to this treaty, a few settlers had penetrated the North Missouri region beyond the mouth of the Gasconade, and as far up as Old Franklin, but owing to the hostilities of the Indians they were unable to remain and had to retire.

About 1806-7, the Boones and some others, made salt at Boone's Lick, but they did not go there to make a permanent settlement. Benjamin Cooper, with his family, about the year 1808, undertook to make his home there, but symptoms of a hostile and warlike spirit among the Indians became manifest, and Governor Meriweather Lewis ordered him to return below the mouth of the Gasconade, as he was too far advanced into the Indian country for the Government to afford him protection, and he accordingly retired to L'Oute Island, below the mouth of that river, where he remained two years. But Boone's Lick country was too rich not to be coveted by the whites, and in 1810 Benjamin Cooper and one hundred and fifty Kentuckians and Tennesseenans, mostly men, settled on both sides of the Missouri, and laid the foundations of Booneville and Old Franklin, the larger number of the immigrants locating north of the river. During the next two years, 1811 and 1812, the families of those already there and large numbers of others of wealth, culture and refinement, came to this "Land of Promise," as those who had seen it, called it. The settlers were without the pale of civil government, and knowing the country was full of Indians, they erected, along with their cabins, forts in every neighborhood, for their protection. About this time there were wars and rumors of war with England. Emissaries of England had been sent among the Indians of the Northwest, to enlist them against us, in which design they too well succeded, and Black Hawk and his faction of the Sac and Fox tribes engaged to make war on us. The Indians, mostly Sacs and Foxes, began hostilities against the Boone's Lick settlement before the war between the United States and England was declared. June 18, 1812, Congress passed an act declaring that a state of war already existed between the two countries, and from that time to May 24, 1815, a predatory Indian war upon the settlements north of the Missouri was kept up. Forts were erected in every neighborhood, and many whites,—men, women and children—lost their lives. Much property was

stolen and much destroyed. The settlers west of the mouth of the Gasconade being without civil government, organized military companies of their own, and at their forts, into which they all, with their stock, retired, the sentinels stood guard day and night. Thus, for three years, these pioneer men and women waited and suffered, either agitated by fear and anxiety, or meeting death in its most horrid form.

Time went on and the war went on. Black Hawk, with two hundred braves, joined the British forces near Lake Erie and left some of his tribe and other Indians to keep the settlers in Missouri in a constant state of dread, fear and anxiety, and to make a desultory war on them. During this disturbed period but few settlers went to North Missouri, and some, already there retired to safer places. The war closed by the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, though a treaty had been executed by the parties at Ghent, December 24, 1814, but being without cable communication, news of it did not reach us until after that bloody battle which made a hero of Andrew Jackson and sent him, in after years, to the Presidency.

The Indians did not cease fighting, however, and as late as May 24, 1815, quite a battle between the Indians under Black Hawk and the whites was fought in Lincoln county, Missouri Territory. That fight is known in history as the battle of "Sink Hole." The friendly Sacs, in order to avoid trouble during the war, moved to the Missouri River, and September 13, 1815, at Portage des Sioux, St. Charles county, Wm. Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau, on behalf of the United States, made a treaty with them, re-establishing and confirming the treaty of November 3, 1804, and on the next day, at the same place the same parties made a treaty with the Fox tribe, also confirming the treaty of 1804. And on May 16, 1816, at St. Louis, the same parties made a treaty with the Sacs of Rock River, "the British Band," by which the treaty of 1804 was ratified and confirmed. Black Hawk himself signed this treaty. At Washington City, August 4, 1824, Wm. Clark, on behalf of the

United States, made a treaty with the Sac and Fox tribes by which they ceded to the United States all their lands North of the Missouri, lying within the lines surveyed by Sullivan in 1816.

I find it stated in a history of Clark and other counties in the northeast part of the State, that the Sac and Fox Indian line, of 1804, was surveyed in 1818, and the surveyors extended it northwestwardly to the Des Moines, but while I have no reason to doubt the truth of this statement, I have not been able to verify it by the records at Washington or Jefferson City, or otherwise.

The Osage Treaty of 1808.

November 10, 1808, Peter (Pierre) Chouteau, acting under a special commission of Meriweather Lewis, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the District of Louisiana, on behalf of the United States, entered into a treaty with the Chiefs and Warriors of the Great and Little Osage Indians at Fort Clark, afterwards Fort Osage, now Sibley, on the Missouri River. By this treaty the line between the Great and Little Osage Indians and the United States was defined as follows: Beginning at Fort Clark on the South bank of the Missouri river and running South to the Arkansas river, and down the same to the Mississippi, and the Indians ceded to the United States all the lands which lie East of this line and North of the Southwardly bank of the river Arkansas, and all lands situated Northwardly of the river Missouri. The United States granted to the Indians an annuity and agreed to erect a fort at Fort Clark to protect them from other Indians.

The boundary lines established by this treaty were to be run and marked as the circumstances and convenience of the parties would permit, and the Indians offered to depute two chiefs from each of their respective nations to accompany the commissioner or commissioners who might be appointed by the United States to settle and adjust "the said boundary line."

For some cause, unknown to the writer, this treaty was not ratified by the Senate until April 28, 1810, and the annuity stipulated for had not been paid, nor had any steps been taken to carry out its other provisions. After the ratification of the treaty these Indians were informed that the first payment under it was ready, and accordingly, thirty or forty of the chiefs went to St. Louis to protest against the enforcement of the treaty which they said had been forgotten by them and they supposed had been forgotten by their great father. They informed Gov. Howard that the treaty was made without anthority—that "the Osage Nation had no right to all its country," which "belongs to our posterity as well as ourselves." Le Sonneus was the orator for the Indians, and it is said he spoke "with great art and some eloquence." The Indians also claimed they had not ceded the lands but only given the Whites the right to hunt there. Gov. Howard told them the treaty would be enforced and the Indians finally took what was coming to them under the treaty.

Wm. Clark informed the President, February 10. 1810, that Gov. Lewis had, prior to 1808, given the Shawnees and Delawares permission to make war on the Osages, who had been stealing horses from the former, and could not be restrained. It seems the Osages were kleptomaniacs. Clark also wrote, at the same time, that he had selected the site for the fort in Missouri, provided for by the Osage Treaty of 1808. That fort was built on the site of Fort Clark and was called Fort Osage.

Survey of the Osage Indian Line, South of the Missouri.

Joseph C. Brown, deputy surveyor, under instructions from William C. Rector, Surveyor General of Missouri and Illinois, surveyed the Osage Indian line of 1808 from Fort Clark to the Arkansas River. He had Archibald Gamble assigned him as an assistant surveyor. Brown and Gamble, with John A. Taylor, Reuben M. Hatton, Wm. Hatton, Jahoyda Martin, David Briggs, Andrew Hunter, Solomon Wells,

Owen Wingfield and Andrew Harrison, as chainmen, markers, pack-horsemen and hunters, at one dollar per day each, commenced the survey at Fort Clark, on the 15th day of August, and reached the Arkansas River October 16, 1816. While the Osage Treaty of 1808 provided that the Indians should furnish four of their chiefs to aid the surveyors in locating the lines of the cession, I have not been able to find that they did this, or were even asked to do it.

The Osage Indian Lines, North of the River.

As the Osages ceded all their lands North of the Missouri River, it would seem that, so far as they were concerned, no survey of those lands was necessary, but in the process of time, conditions arose which caused the officials and people to desire the fixing of lines bounding the Osage cession North of the river as will fully appear later on.

William Clark, who became Governor of Missouri Territory in 1813, and remained such until the State Government was organized in September, 1820, issued a proclamation March 9, 1815, defining the boundary of the Osage cession North of the Missouri River as follows: Beginning at the mouth of Kansas River; thence North 140 miles; thence Eastwardly to the river Atcata (which empties into the Mississippi); thence to a point on the Missouri River opposite the mouth of the Gasconade; and thence up the Missouri River to the beginning. Gov. Clark, in that proclamation, made this astounding statement: "The pretensions of other nations of Indians to lands lying within these limits (the limits he then defined), being of very recent date, are utterly unsupported by those usages and that possession and prescription accustomed to found their territorial claims."

The Northern line of the Osage Purchase, as fixed by Clark in this proclamation, would be about the middle of Township 73, and would strike the Des Moines River (if he meant by the Attata the Des Moines) about ten miles above Ottumwa.

This proclamation of Governor Clark is the first suggestion history affords that the Osage cession North of the Missouri River had any definite boundaries, whatever.

The Territorial Legislature, January 23, 1816, about ten and one-half months after this proclamation, established Howard county, bounded on the South by the Osage River; on the West, South of the Missouri, by the Osage Parthore line and North of the river, substantially by the lines fixed by Clark in his proclamation of March 9, 1815, and a county government under the laws of the Territory was at once organized, with the county seat at Old Franklin, for the people then there who had absolute local self-government, with no civil power above them, from 1810 to March 9, 1815, when Gov. Clark annexed that territory to St. Charles county, the county seat of which was then, as now, at St. Charles City.

This brings us to the consideration of the FIFTH PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN, the history of which is intimately connected with the history of the Sac and Fox and Osage Indian lines, which will receive further attention later on.

THE FIFTH PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN.

This line was surveyed in 1815-1816, and as it was the initial movement towards the survey and sale of the public domain West of the Mississippi, it is appropriate, before going into its history, to briefly take a general survey of the public land system of the United States.

Public Lands.

The question of the distribution of public lands among the people is as old as human history. Thirty-four centuries ago, Moses, the great Jewish Lawgiver, in the plains of Moab by the Jordan, near Jericho, gave this land law from God to the people: "Ye shall dispossess the inhabitants of the land and dwell therein; for I have given you the land to possess it. And ye shall divide the land by lot for an in-

heritance among your families, and to the more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer the less inheritance." And thirty-five years afterwards, Joshua, after having driven out the inhabitants carried this law of Moses into effect. This is the earliest record of free homesteading we can find. And so on down through subsequent ages, the disposal of the public domain was always a burning question.

In Rome, agrarianism became a battle cry of parties, but Roman Agrarianism meant simply the distribution of the public lands as free homesteads to the people and had no reference to the division of private estates among the people as some have supposed.

During the first seventeen centuries of the Christian Era, colossal wrongs became so ingrained in the land systems of England and Continental Europe, that the masses became virtually slaves to the land owners; and these wrongs, buttressed, as they were, by law and prescription, for a long time, defied the efforts of statesmen and philanthropists, and they have not wholly disappeared yet.

The governments found no way to eradicate these wrongs, except to buy the lands from those who had, in one way and another, become owners of them, and turn them over to the tenants on such terms as they could easily comply with.

Russia, in 1842, freed her crown serfs, numbering 22,-851,000, and March 2, 1861, Alexander II, by an Imperial Edict,, freed 21,755,000 serfs of the nobles, and the Government paid the nobles $253,150,000 for 65,500,000 acres of land held by them, and in 1879 the freed serfs owned 186,340,000 acres of land, being 65,500,000 acres bought of the nobles, 114,400,000 acres donated by the Government, and 6,440,000 acres donated by the nobles, the serfs agreeing to pay six per cent per annum on the amount the Government had paid the nobles for fifty years, and assuming some other obligations.

In 1848, in Germany, the state took 60,000,000 acres from the nobles and transferred them to the peasants for $15

per annum land tax and four per cent. interest per annum on the cost of each allotment for 47 years. The State paid the nobles $900 for each serf family.

In England the burdens of the land system were abolished in 1666, but in Ireland the old wrongs still inhere to a large extent, but lately the English Parliament resorted to the Russian and German methods of getting the lands into the hands of the tenants by buying them and turning them over to them on easy terms, though her legislative measures were not as sweeping as they were in those countries and at this moment new measures are proposed, which, it is hoped, will enable the tenants, in that unhappy Island, at no distant day, to own the soil they till without wronging the present landlords or violating their vested rights.

Permit me to ask you to compare the course of despotic Russia in devising a plan to put the lands into the hands of the people as early as 1861, over twenty years before England, free England, took energetic steps to get Irish lands into the hands of Irish peasants by Russian methods much modified. Alexander II, Autocrat of all the Russias, in opposition to the wishes of the nobles, by his own Edict, dated March 3, 1861, set the serfs free and then the Government gave the serfs its own serf lands and bought the lands from the nobles and sold them to the serfs on easy terms.

I sometimes fear we, in our wholesale denunciation of Russian tyranny, forget her nobler and more disinterested measures.

In our own country we find that Virginia and other colonies, possessing public lands, offered liberal homesteads to actual settlers, which induced large numbers of emigrants to settle west of the mountains in the latter part of the 18th century.

But, when our Government dispossessed the inhabitants of the land, though I believe it has never been claimed, at least officially, that such dispossession was done by Divine Command, those in control of public affairs were imbued with the idea that the National Domain would be a source

of immense revenue to the treasury, and from the start a very narrow land policy was pursued. The Government not only refused to grant free homesteads to settlers, but at first it restricted sales to large tracts only, thus giving speculators the power to oppress the people. The Government, however, in the beginning, was liberal with its public lands in two respects: One was in bounties to soldiers, and the other in granting lands for education.

Prior to 1784, private land claims had been described by natural boundaries, and those claims, in this country and in the Old World, had assumed all sorts of fantastic shapes, and were hard to describe. Our Government obviated this evil by the adoption of the rectangular system of surveys. The first instance of rectangular surveying was in Georgia, when, after the Revolution, she laid off eleven tracts of twenty square miles each and divided these into fifty acre lots.

In 1784, our Government, finding itself in possession of the Great Northwestern Territory, determined to adopt a system of surveys which would simplify the description. A Committee of Congress, composed of Thomas Jefferson, Chairman; Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, David Howell of Rhode Island, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts and Jacob Reed of South Carolina, was raised to devise a plan of survey of the public domain. This Committee reported, May 7, 1784, an ordinance for this purpose. By this ordinance the lands were to be divided into tracts ten miles square and these into lots one mile square, to be numbered from 1 to 100 beginning in the Northwest corner and running from West to East and from East to West consecutively. This ordinance was amended and reported to Congress April 26, 1785. As amended it required the lands to be surveyed into townships of seven miles square, each township to contain forty-nine sections and each section to be divided into lots of 320 acres each. This is the first mention in our history of "Townships and Sections" in our public surveys. The ordinance was further amended and as finally passed May 20, 1785, it pro-

vided that the townships should be six miles square, divided into thirty-six sections each, numbered from 1 to 36, beginning with No. 1 in the Southeast corner of the township, running North to No. 6, then back to the South line with 7, and so on, ending with 36 in the Northwest corner. By Act May 18, 1796, our present system of numbering the sections, beginning in the Northeast corner of the township and running from East to West and from West to East consecutively, ending in the Southeast corner, was adopted. The townships were to be made by lines running East and West and North and South, six miles apart. Base lines running East and West and Principal Meridians running North and South were either run or adopted. The Ohio River from the Pennsylvania line down to a point four or five miles from Jeffersonville, Indiana, was adopted as the first base line for the public surveys; and a surveyed base line extending to the Mississippi, began on the Ohio River, a short distance above Jeffersonville and reached the Mississippi River just below St. Louis. The first public land surveyed into townships and ranges was the Eastern part of the State of Ohio, constituting what became known as "The Seven Ranges." These ranges were East of a guide meridian running from the Ohio River north about a half mile East of Canton, Ohio. Other guide meridians were surveyed in Ohio but the first Principal Meridian, that was numbered, co-incided with the West line of the State of Ohio. The surveys continued westeward, and the second Principal Meridian starts on the Ohio River at the mouth of Little Blue and co-incides with the line 86 degrees and 28 minutes West Longitude. The third starts at the mouth of the Ohio and the fourth at the mouth of the Illinois River, both running North. The Mississippi River had thus been reached by successive surveys about ten years after the Louisiana Purchase. When we came into possession of this territory, March 10, 1804, we extended to it the land policy of the Nation, and, of course, the Spanish policy prevailing up to that time of granting free homesteads to actual settlers was at once stopped. But that was

not all. It was made a crime to "squat" on the public domain, and the President was authorized to use the military force, if necessary, to remove any intruders found thereon. And even this was not all. No one could even buy land for a home. This restrictive and illiberal policy continued till July 13, 1818, a period of over fourteen years after we acquired the territory. This delay teaches us how slowly events moved a hundred years ago in comparison with the railroad and telegraph times of the present. Several reasons, however, may be assigned for this tarry action of the Government:

1. The older States had no surplus population they could very well spare, and the foreign immigration at that time was very small;

2. Vast tracts of valuable land remained unsold East of the Mississippi River;

3. The War of 1812-15 with England.

4. The process of surveying the public lands was, a hundred years ago, very slow.

5. The majority of the inhabitants of the District of Louisiana were interested in French and Spanish land grants, and they feared the survey and sale of the public lands would interfere with their claims.

But there was another cause of friction between the settlers here and the Government. By the treaty of April 30, 1803, the United States stipulated to protect "the inhabitants of the ceded territory * * * in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion," which was construed to mean that the incomplete grants of land made by the French and Spanish Governments should be confirmed, but in carrying out that stipulation, Congress pursued, in the opinion of the inhabitants here, a very narrow and unjust policy. A General Assembly, elected by the people in the District of Louisiana, was held in St. Louis, September 13th to 27th, 1804, which drew up a remonstrance against the form of government prescribed by Congress for them, and especially against the act providing for the adjustment of the Spanish Grants, which was sent to Congress. This was the

first General Assembly west of the Mississippi, and, though voluntary, there is little doubt it was truly representative of the people in character.

The time finally came when the Government felt it to be its duty to throw the lands West of the Mississippi River upon the market for sale, and as early as February 25, 1811, Congress authorized the President to have the lands here, to which the Indian title had been extinguished, surveyed and put upon the market for sale, and a land office, to be located by the President, was established. But the war with England, coming on soon afterwards, nothing was done till after its close. Indeed, the Indian raids and wars, incited largely, no doubt by English emissaries, were mainly on the territory which every one conceded would be first surveyed and sold.

Points had to be selected from which to begin the survey of a base line and principal meridian West of the Mississippi, and there was quite an extended correspondence in regard to them.

Major Amos Stoddard in his sketches of Louisiana, written probably about 1810, suggested that all the land East of the following line be surveyed and sold: Beginning at the mouth of the St. Francois, up that river to its source; thence North to the Meramec, up that river to a point due South from the mouth of the Gasconade; thence to the mouth of that river, and from thence Northwardly along the Fox and Sac Indian line.

This is the first suggestion, so far as I know, of the mouth of the St. Francois as a starting point for the survey of the public lands West of the Mississippi River.

By Act of Congress of April 29, 1812, 6,000,000 acres of the public lands were appropriated for military bounties,—2,000,000 to be located in Michigan, 2,000,000 in Illinois, and 2,000,000 to be located between the Arkansas and St. Francois Rivers, then included in the territory of Missouri. This evidently had a controlling influence in determining upon the mouth of the Arkansas River, as a starting point for the Fifth Principal Meridian. Another controlling factor in the

selection of this as the starting point, is the historic interest that attached to the mouth of that river. Marquette and Joliet had camped there in 1773, where they found Indian villages. LaSalle also camped there in the spring of 1682, and erected a cross,—the priests singing a hymn,—and took possession of the country for France. Tonty, in 1786, built a fort near the mouth of the Arkansas, and there is no doubt the first French settlement, west of the Father of Waters, was made in that vicinity. The "bird of prey," the notorious John Law, about 1720, selected a large body of land between the Arkansas and St. Francois rivers, where he established a German settlement, nearly two hundred years ago. Up to November 12, 1812, this territory had had no representative in Congress, but that day Edward Hempstead was elected delegate, and he introduced into Congress a bill containing more liberal provisions for the confirmation of the Spanish Grants and extending the right of preemption to the settlers, who, in large numbers, had, in defiance of the law, gone upon the public lands, which, mainly through his efforts, became a law April 16, 1814. This act was the first recognition of any right of a settler to a home on Uncle Sam's domain. West of the River, and this was a mere right to buy land, occupied, at the minimum price, $2.00 per acre, on the usual terms.

William C. Rector had been surveying the public lands in the West for several years, and in 1814, it appears he was principal surveyor for Missouri and Illinois. At that time the public lands were under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The Act of Congress of April 25, 1812, had established a General Land Office as a bureau of the Treasury Department, and Josiah Meigs, who had been Surveyor General, with headquarters at Cincinnati, was made Commissioner of the General Land Office in 1814, and Edward Tiffin was then the Surveyor General of the North West Territory, with headquarters at Cincinnati, and his jurisdiction extended to the territory of Missouri.

May 28, 1814, Meigs wrote to Surveyor General Edward Tiffin at Cincinnati in regard to the survey of the lands in Missouri. In this letter he states he had received letters from William Russell and Edward Bates as to the best method to survey these lands. From this correspondence it appears that Wm. C. Rector had outlined to Tiffin, in 1814, a plan for the survey of a certain amount of land West of the Mississippi, which Meigs approved, but owing to the hostile attitude of the most of the Indian tribes, he deemed it best not to undertake the work that year; but as prospects for peace were better, estimates of the work might be obtained, to be submitted to the next Congress.

March 24, 1815, Tiffin was directed to survey a standard meridian, to be drawn from the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers, and to locate the 2,000,000 acres of military bounty land, to be bounded Eastwardly by the Mississippi, and West by the Arkansas River, and if a line be drawn West from the mouth of the St. Francois, would not give 2,000,000 acres, then the balance of the bounty land should be taken North of that base line.

Tiffin was informed June 1, 1815, by General Meigs, that the General Land Office had about completed a system for Rector for the survey of the extensive territory of Missouri, a work which ought to have been done long before that, and that it should be pushed in the future. It seems an order suspending the survey of the 2,000,000 acres of bounty land at the mouth of the Arkansas, had been revoked, for, July 6, 1815, Meigs wrote Tiffin that the order suspending this survey had been revoked and the latter was directed to proceed to have this bounty land surveyed, but said the government would not be responsible for the interference of any Indian tribes, and adds, that "if the contractors were discreet men, no danger need be apprehended." Surveys then were made under contract. Again, July 18, 1815, Meigs informed Tiffin by letter, that the plan of survey, proposed by Rector, had been submitted to the President, and no new instructions for the survey of the meridian and base lines would be issued.

August 2, 1815, Meigs directed Tiffin to report, after consulting Generel Rector, what lands in Missouri ought to be surveyed. Prospect R. Robbins, a deputy surveyor, entered into a contract October 9, 1815, to survey the Fifth Principal Meridian, from the mouth of the Arkansas North to the Missouri river. Robbins administered the proper oath to Hiram Scott and Alex. Baldridge, as chairmen, near the mouth of the Arkansas, October 27, 1815. John Baldridge was appointed axeman. The work of surveying the Fifth Principal Meridian began at the mouth of the Arkansas, October 27, 1815. They reached the base line running West from the mouth of the St. Francis, November 10, 1815, 26 miles and 30 chains from the Mississippi, and November 6, 1815, they crossed the southern line of what is now the State of Missouri, in what was then Lawrence County, though at that time, no such boundary line existed, nor had the Missouri Compromise Line ever been heard of. December 6, 1815, must be noted as an epoch-marker. That day marks the setting for the first time, of the Jacob Staff to survey the public lands of this state, preparatory to putting them on the market for sale for home-making. It is true, there had been a government surveyor at St. Louis ever since 1795, under the Spanish Government and continued under ours, but he was not authorized to survey any lands except what are known as old "French and Spanish Grants." The people had waited, not patiently, but still waited, from March 10, 1804, to December 6, 1815, a period of eleven years and over for this first act towards throwing the public domain open to settlement. The crossing of the Fifth Principal Meridian of our southern border was eighty-one miles West of the Mississippi, and about twenty-seven and one-half miles West of the Iron Mountain Railroad. At that time there were only eight counties in the Missouri Territory, which then included the Louisiana Purchase,—St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Washington, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, Lawrence and Arkansas. The West line of the Osage Purchase constituted the West line of St. Charles, St. Louis, Washington, (by law but not in fact) Lawrence and Arkansas counties. The

Fifth Principal Meridian started at the mouth of the Arkansas river in Arkansas County ran North through a portion of that county, and then through Lawrence, Cape Girardeau, Washington and St. Louis counties to the Missouri river, which they reached at what is now South Point, Franklin County, December 28, 1815, a distance of three hundred and twelve miles. The line did not touch a single settlement from our southern border to within three or four miles of the Missouri river, and no doubt the surveyors had to rely on wild game, chiefly, for food, which pioneer hunters were only too glad to furnish them for a consideration. And it is altogether probable they did some hunting on their own hook.

Joseph C. Brown, deputy surveyor, had contracted to survey the base line, and he, with Nathan Meyers and Richard Sessions, chainmen,, and Nathan Gilpin, marker, began the survey of this line October 27, 1815, (the same day Robbins commenced surveying the Fifth Principal Meridian) and reached the Fifth Principal Meridian November 11, 1815, and the 29th Township, December 5, 1815. This base line runs a short distance South of Little Rock, Arkansas.

Taylor Berry, deputy surveyor, entered into a contract, January 12, 1816, to survey the Fifth Principal Meridian from the Missouri North to the North line of Township 50, and he, with Philip Perkins, J. Martin, Samuel Gray and George Arey as chainmen and markers, began the work on the South side of the Missouri, January 18, 1816, and completed his contract January 31, 1816. Elias Barcroft contracted January 18, 1816, to survey this meridian from the North line of Township 50, now in Lincoln County, to the Mississippi river, and he began work May 27, 1816, and reached that river about two miles above Clarksville in what is now Pike County, May 29, 1816.

By examining a map it will be seen that the Fifth Principal Meridian, as thus surveyed, coinciding with the line of 90 degrees 58 minutes West Longitude, is three hundred and seventy miles long and is the chord of an arch formed by the Mississippi river. That river swings its farthest eastward sweep near

Norfolk. Mississippi county is nearly one hundred and five miles West of St. Louis. The fifth Principal Meridian has been made the basis of the surveys of the public lands in Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, all of Minnesota West of the Mississippi river and all of the two Dakotas East of the Missouri river. It, if extended from Pike County, would have crossed the Mississippi into Illinois, and would have crossed to the West side again about the middle of Iowa, near the North line of Township 77. It was surveyed from the point where it crossed the Mississippi into Iowa North to the Mississippi, where it again crossed over to the East side, a distance of seventy-nine miles, and if extended North from this last Mississippi crossing, it would strike Lake Superior near Ashland.

So far as Missouri is concerned, the actual survey of the Fifth Principal Meridian terminated in Pike County, as stated above, but it was in practice, assumed to be continued North through Illinois and Wisconsin, making it the standard line for the lands West of the Mississippi as stated above. From the base line, running West from the mouth of the St. Francois, one hundred and sixty-three townships to our Northern boundary, a distance, approximately, of 978 miles, have been surveyed, and from that line, nineteen townships to the South line of Arkansas, a distance of 114 miles, making the whole distance on a straight line from the Southern boundary of Arkansas to the Northern boundary of Minnesota, 1092 miles. The ranges were numbered from this meridian, East and West, and we find eighteen ranges or portions of ranges to the East, and forty-three or portions thereof West of that line inside of the boundaries of Missouri.

Meigs notified Tiffin, January 12, 1816, that the proposition supposedly made by Rector to survey 200 townships in Missouri, had been approved and that 105 townships would be offered for sale at St. Louis. And again, March 6, 1816, Meigs wrote Tiffin that the president had directed that 100 townships in the vicinity of St. Louis be surveyed, and, at the receiver's suggestion, the land, ceded by the Sac and Fox Indians by the treaty of 1804, be first surveyed and the balance

of the townships be surveyed in the vicinty of St. Louis,—100 townships to be surveyed into sections. Of course, this was all that was at that time expected to be offered for sale.

Wm. C. Rector was addressed at Kaskaskia, Ill., May 10, 1816, notifying him that a new land district had been formed, composed of Missouri and Illinois territories, and that he had been appointed Surveyor General of that district. May 11, 1816, Rector was directed by the Secretary of the Treasury to survey the 500,000 acres of bounty land authorized by Act 29 April, 1816, in connection with the lands North of the Missouri. By this act the bounty land was not to be located on any land to which the Indian title was not extinguished, May 11, 1816. two days after this order, to-wit: May 13, 1816, the treaty with the Black Hawk party of the Sac tribe was entered into, ratifying the treaty of 1804. Rector at once proceeded to let contracts for the survey of range and township lines in the vicinity of St. Louis, and for their subdivision, preparatory to offering the lands for sale. It seems that Rector, at first, made his headquarters at Kaskaskia, but August 26, 1816, we find him at St. Louis, and the office of the Suveyor General for Missouri and Illinois was ever after that in that city.

It took over two years, or to the middle of the year 1818, before the lands were surveyed and subdivided so as to be offered for sale.

May 1, 1818, Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Offices, sent Alex. McNair, Register, and Samuel Hammond, Receiver of the land office at St. Louis, the President's proclamation that the sale of public lands would begin at that office August 3, 1818, on which day the sales did begin. That was a great day for St. Louis and the Missouri territory. From March 10, 1804, to that day, no one had been able to obtain, by purchase or gift, title to any of the public lands for home making, or for speculation. Here was a period of fourteen years before the public domain was put upon the market. The minimum price for the public lands at that time was $2.00 an acre, one-twentieth in cash and the balance in five annual installments. The lands were first offered for sale to the highest

bidder at public auction, and if no one bid $2.00 an acre, they were returned unsold for want of bidders, and after that they could be entered at the Land Offices for the minimum price of $2.00 an acre, on the above terms. The President issued a proclamation that the land sales at Old Franklin, Howard County, would begin September 7, 1818, but there was quite a spirited controversy about the legality of offering the lands there for sale, as they were clearly within the Sac and Fox boundary lines, and one of the officers there resigned and the sales in consequence, were continued to November 2, 1818, on which day the land sales began, Gen. Thomas A. Smith being Receiver, and Charles Carroll, Register. "The crowd in attendance upon these sales was said to have numbered thousands of well-dressed and intelligent men from all parts of the East and South."

At the first public sales, there seems to have been quite a good deal of competition among the bidders, but this was evidently caused by those from a distance, for the settlers had a tacit understanding not to bid against each other for the lands they respectively wanted, and in after years there seems to have been no competition for the lands at public sale, and hence, no lands were sold that way, or at least, not much.

The settlers in the Franklin or Howard Land District had given notice to the officers of the Land Office of their pre-emption claims. So universal was the pre-emption right claimed, that the settlers there were called "pre-emptioners."

Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, November 27, 1818, wrote Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Office, that the right of pre-emption inside of the Sac and Fox Indian reservation did not exist, because at the time of the passage of the Act of April 12, 1814, granting the right of pre-emption in the Missouri Territory, these lands were not recognized as under the civil government of the Territory, or as being subject to pre-emption. This letter caused great excitement, and the right of pre-emption in Howard County became a political one, and its discussion was to the exclusion of every other question, and on March 3, 1819, Con-

gress passed an act confirming the right of pre-emption to the people in this district. It seems Secretary Crawford was inconsistent in holding that the right of pre-emption did not exist as to lands West of the Sac and Fox line of 1804, for he raised no objection to the survey and sale of those lands, and the survey of the 500,000 acres of bounty lands therein. If the Government had the right to sell those lands, or grant them to soldiers as a bounty, it certainly had the power to grant the right of pre-emption.

Many of the most illustrious men of our state were among the pre-"emptioners," and they, in after years, became potent factors in the evolution and progress of our great state.

The credit system, in the sale of the public lands, very soon proved disastrous, and in 1820, Congress interposed for the relief of those who had gone in debt beyond their means to pay, and the price of lands was reduced to $1.25 an acre in cash.

The area of Missouri is over 43,000,000 acres, and the state received first and last, through her continued importunity, about one-fifth of this area in School, Seminary, Internal Improvement, Railroad and Swamp Lands, besides her share of the road and canal fund, and of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of the public lands.

If there was any one thing our state hankered after more than another, it was for land for all sorts of purposes, and from the earliest period, the legislature, while fervid in its admiration for and endorsement of President Jackson, who held that the National Government had no constitutional power to appropriate any of the public domain for internal improvement in the states, never lost an opportunity from year to year and from session to session, to memorialize Congress to grant her lands for roads, rivers and railroads, and Congress responded so liberally that the state finally got one-fifth of the whole area of the state as has been stated.

The survey and sale of the public lands in the state progressed as the settlements extended the frontiers until 1849, when it was completed so far as the exterior lines of the town-

ships were concerned, but the sales have continued to this time, there being still between 50,000 and 75,000 acres of the public lands in her borders.

In 1863, free homesteads were offered to actual settlers in this section of the country for the first time. Here was a hiatus of nearly sixty years between the free homesteading in our territory under Spain and under our own government.

JOHN L. THOMAS.

(To be concluded.)

BOOK NOTICES.

Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War. Published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Boston, v. d.

The seventeenth volume of the above work has been received, completing the alphabetical list to the end of the alphabet. The work is of great value to those who are descendants of persons who were in the Revolutionary war from Massachusetts.

History and Government of Missouri. By Jere T. Muir, LL. D., formerly Vice President of the State Normal School Kirksville, Missouri. Boston...Ginn & Company (c. 1908).

The Preface states that this book of 154 pages is intended for the seventh and eighth grades in the public schools, or the first year in the high school. Such being the object and compass of the work it is necessarily limited in the points treated, and in the detail of those selected. The selection of these has been made with judgment, and the language is clear and pointed. The book can be well recommended for the purpose for which it was issued.

Sardonics. Sixteen Sketches. By Harris Merton Lyon. New York (c. 1908).

The author in the dedication calls these sketches a "little flight of black butterflies," and while they are not called "Satanics" they all have a satanic view running through them, and the principal characters are not of the lovely and attractive order.

The book is well written. The author is a graduate of the academic department of the Missouri University of the class of 1905, and is now on Hampton's Magazine in New York.

Am Sonnigen Hang. Neueste Leider und Gedichte von Johannes Rothensteiner. St. Louis, Mo. Verlag von B. Herder. (1909.) 16 mo. 182 p.

We welcome the latest book by Father Rothensteiner, of St. Louis, a member and one of the trustees of this Society, and a frequent contributor to our library. The work is issued in an attractive binding, and is an excellent companion volume to the "Hoffnung und Erinnerung, Lieder aus Amerika," by the same author.

NECROLOGY.

Baptist Ministers and Prominent Members.

The minutes of the Missouri Baptist General Association for 1908, has obituaries of the following ministers and prominent members of that organization:

Rev. James Ebenezer Hughes, born in Howard county, March, 1821, and died in Clinton county, Aug. 18, 1908. He was a member of the House in the 27th General Assembly, 1873-74.

Rev. J. H. Cooper, born in Tennessee, died in Bolckow, Mo., July 29, 1908.

Rev. G. P. Beswick, born in Perryville, Ky., June 24, 1837, came to Missouri in 1866, and died in Liberty, June 8, 1908.

Rev. J. T. Weaver, born in Illinois, March 3, 1839, moved to Missouri during boyhood, and died at Summerville, Mo., June 29, 1908.

Rev. Julian Avery Herrick, born in La Grange, Mo., March 18, 1871, and died in Maryville, Mo., Jan. 2, 1908.

Rev. Harrison Love, born in Pike county, Mo., March 13, 1841.

Rev. Jonathan M. McGuire, born in Boone county, Mo., May 1, 1830, died at Arrow Rock, Jan. 1, 1908. He was a graduate of the academic and law departments of the State University.

Dr. R. W. McClelland spent his early life in Boone county, Mo., and for forty-two years practiced medicine at Arrow Rock, where he died Dec. 6, 1907.

Rev. J. M. McCourtney, born in St. Francois county, Mo., died in Clarksburg, Mo., aged nearly eighty-one years.

Elder James M. Smith, born in Fayette county, Ky., Oct. 18, 1819, died in Carthage, Mo., Dec. 19, 1907.

Rev. J. W. Whitlock, died at Trenton, Mo., Dec. 9, 1907, aged about four score years.

Rev. B. T. Thomas, born in Berkley county, Va., July 22, 1832, and died at Aullville, Mo., July 23, 1908.

Deacon Downing Miller, died at Harrisonville, Mo., Dec. 9, 1907.

Rev. James S. Buckner, born in Meigs county, Tenn., Aug. 7, 1832, and died near Ash Grove, Nov. 6, 1907.

Rev. Edward Jennings, born in Virginia in 1834. His ministry was in Pike and adjoining counties.

Rev. L. C. Musick, born in St. Louis county in 1814, and died Jan. 14, 1908.

Rev. Bert L. Phariss, a graduate of William Jewell College, resident at Rolla, died at Louisville, Ky., Feb. 6, 1908.

Mrs. Mary Browning, died at Plattsburg, Mo., March 15, 1908, leaving all her estate to William Jewell College.

Rev. Manley J. Breaker, born in North Carolina in 1850, came to Missouri in 1868, and died Oct. 1, 1908.

Hon. A. W. Allen was born in Belmont county, Ohio, sixty-two years ago, and for the last thirty-nine was a resident

of Kansas City. He was elected a member of the House of the 45th General Assembly, but was not able to go to Jefferson City to take his seat, and he died of acute heart disease February 16, 1909.

F. S. Calloway, principal of the High School at Clinton, Missouri, and a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri, died at Clinton, in his native county, March 11, 1909. He was a graduate of William Jewell College, and for several years was business manager of the Democrat at Clinton, and afterwards became a teacher. For some years he had been principal of the High School at Clinton, and at the time of his death was County Commissioner of Schools, serving his second term.

Col. John D. Crawford, born in Pettis county, Missouri, March 1, 1838, died in Sedalia, December 20, 1908. His father, John E. Crawford, settled in Pettis county at an early day, and in 1842 was a member of the House of Representatives in the Twelfth General Assembly from Pettis county. Later he had a farm of 800 acres south of Sedalia, and died at the age of 89 years.

Col. Crawford enlisted in the Union service in the Civil War, August 18, 1862, and was made captain of Company C, 40th Regiment of Enrolled Missouri Militia, and was commissioned Colonel of that regiment June 23, 1864. In 1870 and 1874 he was elected Recorder of Pettis county, and in 1888 was elected Mayor of Sedalia. For nearly thirty years he was vice president of the Citizens National Bank of Sedalia, and for many years was one of the best citizens of the city.

Samuel Hobbs Elkins, postmaster at Columbia since Aug. 3, 1889, except during the Cleveland administration, a brother of United States Senator Stephen B. Elkins, died March 8, after an illness of a year and a half. He was born in Henry county, Missouri, April 13, 1847, and came to Columbia in 1874, where for two years he attended the State University, of which his brother, the Senator, is an alumnus.

Mrs. Theresa J. Freeman, a resident of St. Louis for sixty-six years, a leader for many years in the Southern literary circles of the city, and one of the founders of the Writers' Club of St. Louis, died in that city Feb. 28, 1909. She was born in Paris, Kentucky, March 24, 1818. She was the author of "Silver Lake; or the Belle of Bayou Luie," and "Huntington; or Scenes of Real Life."

Hon. Ebenezer M. Kerr was born August 30, 1841, in Marion county, Ohio, and reared in Indiana. For four years and eight months he was a member of the 53rd Indiana Infantry regiment in the Civil War. He removed to Hickory county, Missouri, in 1870, and was after that date a resident of Missouri. He was a member of the House in the 36th, 37th and 45th General Assemblies. During the present session he was taken sick and died at Jefferson City, February 27, 1909.

Leonidas M. Lawson a member of this Society died at St. Joseph, where he was visiting, March 28, 1909. He was born in New Franklin, Missouri, in the neighborhood of seventy-five years ago. He received from the University of Missouri the degree of A. B. in 1853, A. M. in 1866, and LL. D. in 1908, at which latter date he was elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. In 1870 he delivered the Alumni address at the University commencement. After graduating at the University he taught in William Jewell College, then studied law under Gen. A. W. Doniphan, was elected to the State Legislature from Platte county in 1860, and during the Civil War was colonel on the staff of General James Craig. He became a banker at St. Joseph, and in New York City is 1869, but retired from business and resumed the practice of law in 1892. Ten years ago he retired from active life, and remained a resident in New York City.

Dr. John S. Logan, of St. Joseph, a member of the State Historical Society, on January 18th slipped on the sidewalk in front of his business building, and fell striking his head on the steps, and in a few minutes was dead. He was born

in Shelbyville, Kentucky, June 25, 1836. His father was from Ireland, and his mother was of the Sublette family of Kentucky. In 1857 he with the family came to St. Joseph, where he studied medicine, afterwards attending the Kentucky School of Medicine and the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia. During the Civil War he was for three years a surgeon in the United States army. After the war he became engaged in financial affairs, and acquired large bodies of land in Southwest Missouri and in Texas, and also real estate in St. Joseph, and was at the time of his death worth some $300,000.

Prof. David Russell McAnally, son of Rev. David Rice McAnally, for many years editor of the St. Louis Christian Advocate, was born at Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 24, 1847, and came to Missouri four years later. He was educated almost wholly under the private instruction of his father. In 1876-77 he was appointed professor of English in the State University, and remained such until 1884-85, when he returned to special newspaper work, and was connected with the Globe-Democrat until his death, which occurred in St. Louis, Feb ruary 16, 1909. He was the author of "How Men make Love and Get Married," "Irish Wonders; Popular Tales as Told By the People," "Philosophy of English Poetry," "The Unemployed," and many articles published by the periodical press.

Prof. Robert Baylor Semple was born in 1842 near Fredericksburg, Virginia, and from 1861 to 1865 was in the artillery service in the Confederate army, previously having graduated in the University of Virginia. In 1868 he came to Missouri to take the place of professor of Latin in William Jewell College which place he held for forty years. On account of ill health Prof. Semple retired from active work last year, and he died in St. Louis, February 8, and was buried at Liberty, Mo.

Hon. Henderson L. Ward was born in Harlan county, Kentucky, October 20, 1841, and during the Civil War served in Company F, 49th Kentucky Infantry. In 1874 he settled in Holt county, Missouri, and was latterly engaged in farming and stock raising. In 1888 and 1890 he was a member of the county court, and was prominent in the Masonic and Odd Fellow orders. He was elected to the 45th General Assembly, and was assigned to important committees in it. He had an attack of la grippe, and resumed his work in the Legislature too quickly, resulting in a relapse and pneumonia and his death February 25, 1909.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

OFFICERS.

E. VIOLETTE, Kirksville, President.
H. R. TUCKER, St. Louis, Vice President.
EUGENE FAIR, Columbia, Secretary.
N. M. TRENHOLME, Columbia, Editor.

Minutes of Annual Meeting.

The Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government held two sessions in Kansas City, December 29-30, 1908.

Tuesday Afternoon, Dec. 29, 1908.

The meeting was called to order at two o'clock p. m. of the first day by the president, Mr. Violette. A paper on "Some of the Essentials of Effective History Work in the Secondary Schools" was then read by Mr. T. H. MacQueary of the Yeatman High School, St. Louis. The paper was discussed by Miss Nelle Alexander, Paris, Mo., leader; Mr. Bass, Warrensburg, Mo.; Miss Porter, St. Joseph, Mo.; Mr.

Shields, Kansas City, Mo.; Mr. Bristow, Kansas City, Kan.; Mr. Anderson, Springfield, Mo.; Mr. Fair, Columbia, Mo.; Mr. MacQueary closed the discussion.

Mr. Violette then made some remarks on the organization of the Society of Teachers of History and Government, after which a paper on "The Attitude of the High School Teacher Towards the Religious and Political Prejudice of the Student" was read by Mr. C. M. Weyand, principal of the Moberly High School.

The paper was discussed by Miss Alberta Ross, Springfield, Mo., leader; Mr. Theilman, Appleton City, Mo.; Mr. Shouse, Kansas City, Mo.; Mr. Lilly, Moberly, Mo., and others whose names were not obtained.

The attendance was large and great interest was manifested.

Wednesday Afternoon, Dec. 30, 1908.

The meeting was called to order by the president at two o'clock p. m. A paper was then read on "The Preparation of the Teacher of History" by Miss Winifred Johnson, State Normal School, Cape Girardeau. The leader of the discussion was absent, but a lively discussion took place just the same. The following took part: Mr. Lewis, Maryville, Mo.; Mr. Violette, Kirksville, Mo.; Mr. Anderson, Springfield, Mo.; Mrs. Green, Kansas City, Mo. Many others asked questions. Miss Johnson closed the discussion. A paper on "History in the Elementary Schools" was then read by Mrs. Josephine W. Heermans, Whittier School, Kansas City, Mo. This was discussed by Miss Fannie Brennan, Garfield School, St. Joseph, leader; Mrs. Harvey, Kirksville, Mo.; Mr. Underwood, St. Louis, Mo.; Mr. Lewis, Maryville, Mo.; Miss Porter, St. Joseph, Mo.; Miss Barnes, Kirksville, Mo. Mrs. Heermans closed the discussion.

A motion was carried empowering the president to appoint a committee of three to report on the advisability of investigating the condition of history teaching in the elementary schools of Missouri. The following were appointed:

Mr. Lewis, Maryville, chairman; Mrs. Heermans, Kansas City; Miss Porter, St. Joseph.

Mr. Fair was elected permanent secretary.

Mrs. Heermans was elected member of the Educational Council for three years, Miss Gilday's term having expired.

The attendance at this session was also large. Thirteen members were added to the Society during the two sessions. There are now about forty members.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at Washington, D. C., and Richmond, Virginia, December 28-31, 1908.

To one who has attended regularly for some years past the annual meetings of the American Historical Association, that of December, 1908, seemed not a whit behind the high standard of the recent previous meetings of the Association. The first session was held Monday evening, December 28, in conjunction with the Political Science Association, the occasion being the annual address of the President of the latter Association, Hon. James Bryce. After the address Ambassador and Mrs. Bryce received the members of both Associations at the British embassy.

The session of Tuesday forenoon was devoted to a series of five papers dealing with the use of census reports, newspapers and press dispatches, as historical material. A vast quantity of unpublished data, it was said, more or less valuable for American social and economic history, remains unanalyzed and unarranged in the offices of the Census Bureau because means for working over this material have never been appropriated. In regard to the use of newspapers, the great difficulty lies in the practical impossibility of indexing the enormous mass of material published daily by the press of the country.

Tuesday afternoon a special train took the visiting members to Richmond, and that evening Professor George B.

Adams, President of the Historical Association, delivered the annual address.

The sessions Wednesday and Thursday forenoons were devoted to conferences on special historical topics and problems, one of the most valuable features of recent meetings. There were conferences for the teachers of history in secondary schools, and conferences attracting the attention of the University professor chiefly interested in directing graduate work. Three conferences deserving particular mention were those on research in English History, in American Colonial and Revolutionary History and in Southern History.

On Wednesday evening there were four extremely interesting and scholarly papers on topics in English and European History, while at the meeting Thursday evening the general topic for consideration was the Wilderness campaign. Grant's conduct of that campaign was discussed from the Confederate standpoint by General Alexander of the Confederate army; Lee's conduct of the campaign, from the Federal standpoint, by Colonel Livermore of the Federal army; while the campaign from our present point of view was most strikingly presented by Major Swift of the United States army.

A chief value in these annual meetings lies in the opportunity which members of the Association find to become better acquainted with one another. The arrangements for the 1908 meeting admirably fostered the social spirit. In addition to the social features of the program (the reception given at the British embassy, a luncheon given by the Washington members and receptions by the Woman's Club and by the Confederate Memorial Literary Society at Richmond) it was arranged that the regular sessions should be held at the hotel headquarters of the Association, thus giving more time and opportunity for social intercourse between the sessions . In this connection also it is a pleasure to mention the cordiality and hospitality of the people of Richmond, and the courtesies extended to visitors by the Cosmos and University Clubs of Washington, and the Westmoreland and Commonwealth Clubs of Richmond.

F. F. STEPHENS.

BOOK REVIEWS—I. ENGLISH HISTORY.

Brett, A. C. A., Charles II. and His Court. (Memoir Series), London, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908. $2.75.

An interesting account of the life of Restoration times preceded by some account of the life of the prince before "he came to his own." Stress is laid on the personal and social aspects of Charles' II.'s life rather than on the political and no attempt is made to present the history of the time chronologically. The life of town, country and court is vividly depicted and an excellent impression is obtained of English society of the time. The closing chapter of the work discusses the character of Charles II. in a somewhat favorable way. There are a number of references to the literature of the time, but on the whole the work is popular.

This would make a good library book for schools that could afford it and would furnish good illustrative reading for English history, especially in courses where emphasis is laid on social and cultural aspects.

Cheyney, Edward Potts. Readings in English history drawn from the original sources, intended to illustrate a Short History of England...Boston, New York, etc. Ginn & Company, 1908. Pp. xxxvi, 781. $1.50.

This is a collection of source readings that will be heartily welcomed by teachers of English history. Although compiled with reference to the subject matter in Professor Cheney's own text these extracts can be profitably used in connection with other texts of English history and the book will therefore meet a general need for a well rounded collection of illustrative extracts from the sources. The work of selection has been done with care and insight into the needs of the teacher and no one can fail to find the material desired in connection with political, social and institutional development. An excellent table of contents, useful introductory notes, and a serviceable index make the use of the extracts easier than in other collections less well arranged.

Every teacher of English history in high schools should

make acquaintance with this work, and it can be profitably used by pupils whether studying Professor Cheyney's text-book or some other.

Lowell, Abbott Lawrence. The Government of England. New York, The Macmillan Co. 2 vols. $4.00.

This work is one of those standard treatises that now and again appear and constitute the teacher's most satisfactory and reliable sources of information. The author gives a thoroughly clear and authoritative account of the present system of government in England and, in addition, devotes five excellently written chapters, constituting Part VI. of the work, to the British Empire. Almost the whole of the first volume is devoted to the central government in England and a detailed description is given of the activities of the various organs and agencies in the complicated British system. Part II on the party system takes up the closing portion of Vol. I., and the opening one hundred pages of Vol. II. Then follows an interesting account of local government in nine chapters, a discussion of English education from the governmental standpoint in four chapters, and three chapters on the established church. There is also a section on the courts of law, and a few concluding chapters of reflections on present characteristics and tendencies in English government.

The reviews of Mr. Lowell's book have been almost uniformly favorable and many of them extremely laudatory, though the London Atheneum (June 20, '08) says "Professor Lowell is so firm an admirer of Whig principles and the British Constitution as created and explained by Whigs that he hardly makes sufficient reservation of still-existent and important old Tory views," while the New York Nation (July 9, '08) makes the criticism "that Professor Lowell does not often enough make biography a handmaiden to his exposition of constitutional rule and procedure." The completeness of the account, the clear style, and admirable arrangement of topics make this an indispensable reference book on all question of English government, while the po-

sition of the author as President Eliot's successor in the headship of Harvard University give the work additional interest and importance. For an excellent detailed review of these two volumes consult "The American Historical Review," Vol. XVI., 140-142, (Oct. '08).

Selincourt, Hugh De. Great Ralegh. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50.

A very interesting and useful account of the life and times of the great Elizabethan captain and courtier. The education, military and court life, maratime enterprises, political activities and misfortunes of Sir Walter Ralegh are dramatically portrayed. The last six chapters deal with Ralegh's imprisonment under James I and the tragic ending of the final expedition to South America. The book is written throughout in a readable style and has a number of interesting illustrations of prominent characters of the age. As a reference book for the Elizabethan period of English history it has a distinct value and is an historical biography of a superior sort.

Stenton, Frank Merry. William the Conqueror and the Rule of the Normans. Heroes of the Nations. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50.

This is a well balanced brief account of the reign of the great Norman king of England and of his experiences as duke of Normandy. A valuable introductory chapter reviews in a general manner the background of Norman and English history and prepares the reader for the detailed account of William's life in Normandy and England. The first nine chapters then concern themselves with the career of the Conqueror, while the last three are devoted to the Church, the royal administration, and Domesday Book. There are many interesting historical illustrations throughout the volume, also, at the end, some genealogical tables of value, and a serviceable index. On the whole Mr. Stenton's little book commends itself strongly as a work of special reference

for high schools and colleges and should take its place as one of the standard smaller reference books for English history.

White, Albert Beebe . The Making of the English Constitution, 499-1485 New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.00.

This is a general account of English institutional development during the Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet periods. The subject is treated topically rather than chronologically and particular attention is given to the central courts and judiciary. As Professor White has designed his work for a text-book he does not make any positive contribution to our knowledge of English institutions but seeks to give an interpretation of English constitutional and legal history based on the best secondary authorities. A select and annotated bibliography and lists of topical readings are prefaced to the work and will be of use to both teachers and students. In general appearence and make-up the book is attractive and is provided with a serviceable index. It will be difficult to make use of this work, however, in high schools save on special questions of development, but it should be of value and service in college and university teaching and of stimulus to all teachers.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

II. AMERICAN HISTORY.

The United States as a World Power. By Archibald Cary Coolidge. (New York, Macmillan Co., 1908. Pp. vii, 385.)

In this book originally prepared for delivery in the form of lectures at the University of Paris during the winter of 1906-07, Professor Coolidge has treated in an interesting way the chief problems of our internal and foreign policy. The nineteen chapters of the book divide naturally into two parts. The first nine deal with the development of the United States into a World Power and take up such questions as immigration, race questions, the Monroe Doctrine, the Spanish

War and the problems resulting from colonial expansion. In the discussion of these the author is somewhat optimistic and influenced by his sympathy for the white men of the South and of the Pacific Coast, but is clear and interesting. The second half of the book gives a brief discussion of the history and present status of the relations between the United States and France, Germany, Russia, England, Canada, Latin America, China and Japan. Particularly interesting are the chapters on our relations with Germany and with Japan. In all these the author gives a clear narrative of past and a suggestive interpretation of present conditions. As a whole the book is very readable and at the same time scholarly and fair. It should command the attention of a wide circle of readers.

PROGRAM OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

of the

MISSOURI SOCIETY

of

TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

to be held at the

University of Missouri,

Columbia,

SATURDAY, May 1, 1909.

Morning Session, Nine O'clock.

President's Address—"Setting the Problem."
Discussion.

"How History can be Taught from a Sociological Point of View."
C. A. Ellwood, University of Missouri. Columbia.
Discussion.

"The People and Institutions of the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware." H. A. Trexler, Hardin College, Mexico.

Afternoon Session, Two O'clock.

Reports of Committees.
(a) Committee on History in the High Schools.
(b) Committee on History in the Elementary Schools.

Election of Officers.

General Business.

Persons not members of the Society will be cordially welcomed
the sessions.

Papers are to be limited to twenty-five minutes and discussions
five minutes for each speaker. All persons interested in the topics
resented in the program are invited to participate in the discussion.

All sessions will be held in the lecture room of the Zoological
uilding.

Further information regarding the meeting of the Society may be
ad by addressing the President

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 3. JULY, 1909. NO. 4.

SOME HISTORIC LINES IN MISSOURI.

(Second Paper Continued.)

Injustice to the Sacs and Foxes.

That the policy of our government towards the Sacs and Foxes was unjust, there can be no doubt, and that the claim of those Indians to the territory North of the Missouri was, in 1804, superior to that of the Osages or any other tribes, there can also be no doubt. This claim was distinctly recognized by the treaty of November 3, 1804. That treaty designated a "line between the lands of the United States and of the said tribes," (the Sacs and Foxes) and that line began on the Missouri river opposite the mouth of the Gasconade, and ran northwestwardly to the Jeffreon, and then down that river to the Mississippi, and the Government solemnly agreed to protect these tribes against the encroachments of its own citizens and others upon their lands, and to remove any intruders found thereon upon complaint of the Indians.

Governor Lewis, in 1808, recognized that the Boone's Lick country was far advanced into the Indian country in ordering Col. Cooper to retire below the mouth of the Gasconade, and Governor Howard, in defining the boundaries of

St. Charles, October 1, 1812, also recognized the fact that the Indian title to the lands, west and north of the Sac and Fox lines of 1804, had not been extinguished.

The General Assembly of the Territory, elected November, 1812, on the 31st day of December, 1813, five years after the Osage treaty, also recognized the Indian title to the lands west and north of the Sac and Fox lines of 1804, by making St. Charles County cover the Sac and Fox cession only, and by directing the Governor to annex to that county, for governmental purposes, any lands north and west of it, whenever the Indian title thereto should be extinguished. I wish for you to note the fact here that Governor William Clark, who had succeeded Howard as Governor, approved this act of the Territorial Legislature.

After the close of the war of 1812-1815, many immigrants found their way to the Boone's Lick country, but the settlers there were outside the pale of civil government, and they became clamorous for the organization of this part of the Territory into a county. Another factor entered into the situation. As has been stated, orders were given in 1814 for plans for the survey of the lands west of the Mississippi, and the settlers in the Indian reservations were anxious to get titles to the lands on which they had squatted; but lands, to which the Indian title had not been extinguished, could be neither surveyed, sold, nor organized into a county. What was to be done? So far, no one had claimed that the Indian title to the lands thus occupied had been extinguished. But a large and influential population was seated there permanently, to all appearances, and a "condition and not a theory" confronted the Territorial and National officials, but it seems they were equal to the emergency. They bethought them of the Osage treaty, which ceded all the lands of the Osage tribes north of the Missouri. Why could not that treaty be made to extinguish the title of all Indians to the lands north of that river? And within two months after he heard of the treaty of peace at Ghent, Governor Clark issued the proclamation heretofore referred to, defining the

Osage Indian lines north of the river, denying the title of any other Indian to the lands there, and annexing a vast territory, extending from the mouth of the Kansas river, 140 miles north, and thence to the Des Moines river to St. Charles County for government purposes. That was March 9, 1815. This was the first official step taken to deprive the Sac and Fox Indians of their lands. The next step was the act of the Territorial Legislature of January 23, 1816, organizing the County of Howard.

So far so good. But the surveys of the public lands were then proceeding and it was demanded that the lands, west of the Sac and Fox Indian line of 1804, should be surveyed and sold. Now it was necessary for the Federal officials to take a hand, and they lost no time in doing it. William C. Rector ordered the surveys of the Osage Indian line north and south of the river. But Sullivan was not as grasping as Governor Clark, and he ran only one hundred miles north of the Missouri, and then east to the Des Moines, instead of one hundred and forty miles, as Clark did. When these surveys were made, it seemed the way was cleared to carry out all the wishes of the settlers in the Boone's Lick country, but the Indians still hovered along their borders, and to proceed without consulting them would seem to invite further hostilities. At this point the Government adopted a policy utterly indefensible in law and in morals. It had for twelve years recognized the title of the Sacs and Foxes to the territory west of the line of 1804, and instead of obtaining new sessions of all these lands from these Indians, and paying them for them, it proceeded to enter into the treaties of amity of 1815-1816 with these tribes, by which the treaty of November 3, 1804, was, in terms, ratified, and the strangest part of this strange tale is, Governor Clark, the author of the proclamation of March 9, 1815, was one of the commissioners of our Government in the making of these ratification treaties. So it appears that while the Territorial Legislature and the Government, and the Surveyor General of the United States, were denying the title of the Sac and Fox tribes to

the lands west of the line of 1804, the Government at Washington City, through Governor Clark, as one of its commissioners, was solemnly ratifying the treaty of November 3, 1804, which obligated it to protect these tribes in the enjoyment of these same lands. But, notwithstanding the treaties of amity and of ratification, the officers went right along in the survey of the lands east and west of the line of 1804, locating west of the Boone's Lick country, the 500,000 acres of Military Bounty Land, and throwing the same open to settlement and establishing a land office at Old Franklin for the sale of other lands, and where other lands were sold, the sales beginning November 2, 1818.

It is true, a feeble protest against appropriating these lands without consulting the Indians, came, November 29, 1818, from Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, who had control of the survey and sale of the public lands at that time, but this was soon silenced, for on the 3d day of March, 1819, a little over four months afterwards, Congress declared by statute that the right of preemption should exist in Howard County, Territory of Missouri, "any construction to the contrary notwithstanding."

The Government proceeded to survey and sell millions of acres of land west and north of the Sac and Fox boundary of 1804, and then finally obtained another cession from these Indians, covering all their lands in Missouri, by treaty made at Washington City, August 4, 1824, William Clark again acting for the United States. Thus, after ignoring their title for eight years, the Government by solemn treaty, acknowledged the validity of their title to the lands bounded by the Missouri on the south, by buying the title of them.

Why the Government pursued this devious course, I am utterly unable to understand. When we contemplate our policy towards these Indians, we are constrained to look with less austerity upon the free-and-easy way in which the French and Spaniards were accustomed to deal with questions of this sort. They claimed the land as belonging to them, not to the Indians, but when France ceded the country to

us, we recognized the possessory right of the savages to the land they occupied, or used as hunting grounds, and we obtained that right from them by treaties, but on the score of justice and morality, it may be questioned whether the arbitrary methods of France and Spain were not less objectionable than were the inconsistent methods to which our Government sometimes resorted.

Having shown that the United States recognized the title of the Sac and Fox Indians to the lands north of the Missouri, by no less than five treaties, extending over a period of twenty years, let us now inquire into the foundation of the claim of Governor Clark, in his proclamation of March 9, 1815, that "the pretensions of other nations of Indians to lands," lying within the limits of the Osage Purchase lines he had fixed, being of very recent date, were "utterly unsupported by those usages and that possession and prescription upon which the original inhabitants of this country have been accustomed to found their territorial claims," and that the Osage Treaty, of 1808, gave us the land north of the Missouri river.

In the first place, it may be remarked that the old maps I have seen, show the habitat of the Osage tribes to have been south of the Missouri river. Captain Pike, in his expedition in 1806, up the Osage river and to the west, reported that the Osages had originally dwelt upon the Osage river, but about a hundred years prior to the time of his visit to them, the Little Osages, by permission of the tribes, had settled on the Missouri river near where Malta Bend, south of that river, now is; but some years afterwards, finding themselves too hard-pressed by their enemies, they returned to the Osage river.

In the report of Lewis and Clark, of their expedition across the continent, we find it stated that in the summer of 1804, the Old Missouri Village on the north side of the Missouri, and the Osage Village on the south side, were deserted, and it is added in the report that Lewis and Clark's guides told them that the Sacs, about the year 1700, had

attacked the Missouris in this village (the village on the north side of the river), killing two hundred, and that they then fled across the river and located a village three miles above that of the Little Osages, where they remained till about 1774, when they were again attacked by the Sacs and other Indians, and reduced to a few families. And it is well known that Black Hawk, in the latter part of the eighteenth century made several incursions into the Osage country and drove the Little Osages and the Missouris from the Missouri river, and after the year 1800, an Osage Indian crossed the Missouri at the peril of his life. In view of these facts, how preposterous is the claim of Clark that the Osage title to the lands north of the Missouri was paramount, for that is the meaning of his proclamation, and that the pretensions of "other Indians" to these lands was recent, so recent that they had no valid title to them.

We cannot escape the conclusion that Governor Clark was hard-pressed for a pretext to appropriate the lands of the Indians, and this was the most plausible one presenting itself to him. And when he signed the three treaties of 1815-1816 confirming the title of the Sacs and Foxes, and signed the treaty of 1824, by the terms of which the United States bought from these same Indians the very lands to which he had in 1815 proclaimed they had no title, he must have realized how flimsy the pretext he adopted was, and how inconsistent and indefensible his course had been. His conduct illustrates the adage that "where there is a will there is a way." It is thought that no man in our country was a better friend of the Indians than Governor Clark, and this fact makes his course still stranger.

This indefensible conduct of our Government also illustrates, in a forcible way, how the inexorable logic of events controls human affairs. This was a contest between a superior race on one side, and an inferior race on the other, and step by step the inferior yielded to the superior.

I stated in my paper on the Missouri Compromise Line that probably the conflict between the whites and negroes

in our country could not be settled by statesmanship but would have to be ground out in the mills of time, in the suffering and tears of the people, and so we might here say that the Indian question was not wholly controlled by the statesmen of our country, who, as a rule, at all times desired to deal fairly and honestly with the Aborigines, but history teaches us that the people brought about conditions which even the statesmen of the country could not ignore. Why they did not, however, upon finding a large population seated on the Indian lands in violation of treaty stipulations and the laws of Congress, buy the lands of the Indians instead of re-affirming their right to them no less than four times, and preferred to violate their solemn treaties by the adoption of a flimsy pretext, is at this time wholly unexplainable.

What has become of the Sacs and Foxes and the Osages, the proud sons of the prairies of one hundred years ago, who claimed and had title to the whole of our imperial Missouri?

The Osages by the treaty of June 2, 1825, ceded the strip of land about twenty-three miles wide, between the Old Osage line and the west boundary of the State, and by subsequent treaties they were given a reservation in the Indian Territory, where they now dwell. In 1904, they numbered 1,895 souls, and their income at that time, from trust funds and other sources, was about fourteen dollars for each man, woman and child, per month, and besides, they had a large tract of land, the fairest in this Territory; but their tribal relations have now been sundered and their lands have been allotted to them in severalty, all of which, having lost the trusteeship of the Government, they will soon lose in their dealings with the whites.

The Sacs and Foxes.

The impartial historian of the future will, in strong terms, condemn our policy towards these tribes, and especially will he condemn our course in the Black Hawk War of 1831-1832. The history of that war, though some of our most illustrious men participated in it, will ever remain,

when calmly viewed, a very dark chapter in our national career. It is true Black Hawk crossed the Mississippi into Illinois in violation of his treaty stipulations, but having plainly violated no less than four treaties itself, the Government was in no position to charge Black Hawk with a violation of other treaties. Black Hawk could have very well retorted in the language of the poet: "The villainy you teach me I will execute, but I will better the instruction." But Black Hawk did not cross the Mississippi to make war, for he took his women and children along, which proves his statement to be true that he intended to visit a nation on the Illinois to raise a crop.

The blackest and most horrible part, however, of all our dealings with these tribes, was in firing twice upon flags of truce, during that war, once before the war had actually begun, and again, July 30, 1832, at Bad Axe, Wisconsin, where and when twenty-three Indians were killed, and only one American wounded,—shot in the leg. To read the official reports of the War of 1832, and of the slaughter of helpless men, women and children, is enough to make the blood run cold. The official report of the last slaughter, (it was not a battle) stated: "Little discrimination seems to have been made between those in arms and the rest of the tribe. After they had sought refuge in the waters of the Mississippi, and the women, with their children on their backs were buffeting the waves in an attempt to swim to the opposite shore, numbers of them were shot by our troops." But we will drop the curtain on this bloody and inexcusable tragedy in our history. Black Hawk was captured and was put on exhibition from Washington City through New England and back home, and the people made a hero of him wherever he went. In a few years he died.

Many treaties have been made with the Sacs and Foxes, led by Keokuk, the diplomat, and Black Hawk, the warrior, and at this writing they have almost disappeared. Only a remnant of them is left. A few are in Iowa, a few in

Nebraska, a few in Kansas, and the balance in the Indian Territory; probably 1,200 of these survive.

The Missouri-Iowa Line.

The first petition of citizens for a state Government for Missouri, prepared in 1817, prayed for a state bounded on the east by the Mississippi river; south by the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude; west by the Osage Purchase lines, north and south of the Missouri river, and north by a line running due west from the mouth of the Des Moines. The memorial of the Legislature of the Territory adopted November 21, 1818, asked for these boundaries for the State: Beginning on the Mississippi river at the line of 36 degrees north latitude; thence to the junction of Big Black and White rivers; up White river to the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and thence west to a point due south of the mouth of Wolf river; thence north through the mouth of that river to a point due west from the mouth of Rock river (in Illinois); thence east to the Mississippi river and down that river to the beginning. Wolf river empties into the Missouri in Kansas, opposite Section 1, Township 58, Range 38 west, and a north and south line through the mouth of that river would leave all of Atchison County, the most of Holt and a strip three miles wide off of Nodaway County to the west, and would include, south of the Missouri, one tier of Kansas Counties, and the north line prayed for by this memorial would have included, in Missouri, three tiers of Iowa Counties, east of the proposed west line. The northwest corner of the State thus proposed, would have been near the northwest corner of Cass County, Iowa, about sixty-five miles north of the present boundary of our State. The southern line, called for by the memorial, would have included eight entire and parts of five Counties of Arkansas. Congress compromised somewhat, giving Missouri two Counties south of 36 degrees 30 minutes, Pemiscot and Dunklin, and running far enough west on the latter line to be due south of the south end of the Old Osage Indian line, running north from

the mouth of the Kansas river. The west and north lines of the State, as defined by the Act of Congress of March 6, 1820, ran north on a meridian, passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river "to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines, making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line; thence east from the point of intersection last aforesaid, along the said parallel of latitude to the middle of the channel of the main fork of the river Des Moines," thence down that river and the Mississippi to the place of beginning.

For a long time after the admission of the State into the Union, the largest portion of the territory lying north and west of us, remained, in a sense, derelict. In 1834, the territory north of our boundary was attached to the Territory of Michigan, and on April 20, 1836, (1) to the Territory of Wisconsin, the northern boundary of Missouri being made the southern boundary of the Wisconsin Territory, west of the Mississipppi. By this time, the settlers south and north of the Old Indian line had begun to jostle each other, and the Missouri officials and people concluded it was about time to have the northern line of the State definitely located, and on December 21, 1836, the Missouri Legislature passed an act authorizing the Governor to appoint three commissioners to survey that line, in conjunction with commissioners to be appointed by the President and by the Governor of Wisconsin Territory. The Governor of Missouri (Lilburn W. Boggs) appointed as such commissioners, February 4, 1837, Col. Daniel M. Boone of Jackson County, Capt. Stephen Cooper of Howard County, and Elias Bancroft (2), but the President and the Governor of Wisconsin Territory failed

1. By Act Dec. 23, 1834, of the Missouri Legislature the Governor by and with the advice of the Senate was authorized to appoint two commissioners and one skillful surveyor to ascertain and locate the northern and southern lines of the state, but the northern line was not surveyed under this act.

2. It is here stated, Cooper was then of Howard county, but Governor Boggs stated he was of Lewis county, when he sent the names of the commissioners to the Senate.

to appoint commissioners. The Missouri commissioners appointed Joseph C. Brown of St. Louis to survey the line. They proceeded to examine the Des Moines river, to locate, if they could, "the rapids of the river Des Moines," called for in the act of March 6, 1820, and they determined upon a point near the Big Bend, 51 miles up the river by its meanders, from its mouth, at 40 degrees, 44 minutes 6 seconds north latitude, where they claimed they found rapids answering the call, and from that point they surveyed and marked a line to the Missouri river,—the Platte Purchase having at that time been added to Missouri, which extended her western boundary to that river.

December 21, 1836, the date of the act authorizing the appointment of three commissioners, may be taken as the beginning of the controversy over the northern boundary of the state, which did not end till January 3, 1851.

The above line was surveyed by Brown in July, August and September, 1837, and the commissioners made report which was approved by act of the Legislature of February 11, 1839.

April 12, 1838, the Territory of Iowa was formed, with the north line of Missouri as its southern line. June 18, 1838, Congress authorized the President to have this line surveyed, in conjunction with Commissioners from Missouri and Iowa. The President appointed Major Albert Miller Lea of Maryland to survey the line, but no commissioners were appointed by Missouri. Iowa appointed Dr. James Davis. Lea surveyed four lines, any one of which, he reported might be taken as that intended by the Act of March 6, 1820:

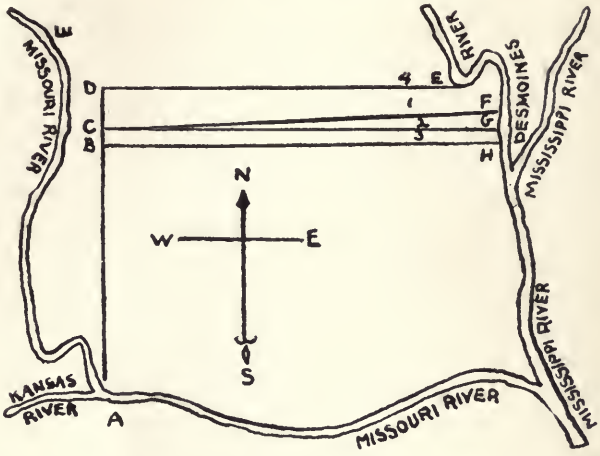
1. The Old Indian boundary line surveyed by Sullivan in 1816;

2. The parallel of latitude running due east and west through the northwest corner of the Osage cession fixed by Sullivan:

3. The parallel passing through the middle of the rapids of the river Des Moines in the Mississippi river, and

4. The line surveyed by Brown for Missouri in 1837.

Lea made his report to the Commissioner of the General Office, James Whitcomb, grandfather of James Whitcomb Riley, the poet.



A map of the lines surveyed by Maj. Lea is here given:

D. E.—Line claimed by Missouri.

C. F.—Old Indian Line.

C. G.—True meridian through northwest corner, fixed by Sullivan.

B. H.—Meridian through the Des Moines rapids in the Mississippi river, and the line claimed by Iowa before Supreme Court.

Dr. James Davis, on behalf of Iowa, reported the Old Indian line as the true one.

The belt of land between the lines surveyed and claimed by Missouri and Iowa, respectively, at this time, was eight miles, sixty-eight chains and twenty links (nearly nine miles) wide at the Des Moines river, and eleven miles at the west end.

August 23, 1839, Governor Lilburn W. Boggs of Missouri, issued a proclamation citing the Act of February 11, 1839, fixing the line at 40 degrees, 44 minutes and 6 seconds, and forbidding the exercise of jurisdiction south of that line by any one not acting by authority of this State, and di-

rected the militia officers, and their commanders, to hold themselves in readiness to aid the civil officers of the State in the discharge of their duties. Robert Lucas, Governor of Iowa, about the same time, also issued a proclamation, forbidding the exercise of jurisdiction by Missouri officials north of the Old Indian line, and authorizing the arrest and trial of all persons attempting to exercise official functions on the disputed strip, not sanctioned by the laws of Iowa Territory.

In 1839 the only settlement on the disputed strip was near the present town of Farmington, Van Buren County, (Iowa). In August 1839, Uriah S. Gregory, commonly called "Sandy," sheriff of Clark County, Missouri, went to the above settlement on the disputed strip, where a large crowd was raising a house, and demanded taxes from the settlers there, but they treated the demand with contempt and ordered "Sandy" to retire to his own State, which he lost no time in doing. He went to Waterloo in his county and reported the resistance he had met in the performance of his official duties. Governor Boggs at once issued another proclamation, urging all officers to stand firm and do their duty. November 30, 1839, Gregory made another effort to collect taxes from those living on this disputed land, and this time the sheriff (Sheffelman) of Van Buren County, Iowa, arrested him for usurpation of authority, took him first to Farmington, where there was a large and excited crowd, and from there to Muscatine, where he was imprisoned for a short time, but finally released on his own recognizance. This caused great excitement in both jurisdictions. The County Court of Clark County met at Waterloo and entered an order calling for the militia to aid the Sheriff in enforcing the laws. Pursuant to orders of Governor Boggs, Major General David Whillock called for 2,200 men of his Division (the 14th). December 7, 1839, Col. Chauncey Durkee's regiment of Lewis County was en route to the seat of war without tents, almost destitute of blankets, and only partially armed. At La Grange, some of his men broke into the store of

Charles S. Skinner, and took groceries, blankets and other supplies, worth hundreds of dollars. This was approved by General O. H. Allen, and Skinner was afterwards reimbursed by the State, at least partially, for his losses. The Lewis County regiment and a Clark County battallion went into camp on Fox river, near Waterloo, where a force from Knox County joined them, raising the total number in camp to about 600. The snow was deep and the weather was very cold. In the meantime Governor Lucas of Iowa had called the militia out, 1,200 strong, and proposed to take command in person, but he probably did not do so. Among his captains was George W. Grimes, who afterwards became United States Senator from Iowa. At a public meeting at Farmington, it was resolved to act on the defensive and "not aggress or be aggressed on." Mass meetings were also held in Clark, Lewis and Marion Counties, Missouri, which passed resolutions urging the enforcement of the laws in the disputed strip. The situation was becoming alarming, and it was not long till the councils of cooler heads began to dominate public opinion on both sides. General J. B. Brown led the Iowa forces. Before proceeding to hostilities, however, he appointed A. C. Dodge of Burlington, General Chairman of Dubuque, and Dr. Clark of Fort Madison, a committee to negotiate for peace. Col. McDaniels and Dr. Wayland were appointed for the same purpose on the part of Missouri. The Missouri officials determined to send a militia force with the Sheriff of Clark County to collect taxes on the disputed territory. December 2, 1839, the County Court of that County made an order that Col. John Dedham, of the 76th Regiment of Missouri Militia, detail so many men as he might deem necessary for that purpose, but December 4th, that same Court took steps for peace. It appointed a committee to visit the Iowa Legislature to see if an amicable solution might not be reached. This committee went to Burlington and interviewed the Governor, and the Legislature then in session, and the latter appointed a committee to negotiate peace terms if possible. This committee and the Clark County committee

returned to Waterloo, and the Iowa committee on December 12, presented to the County Court of Clark County, resolutions proposing to refer the controversy to Congress. It is reported than Thomas L. Anderson, in a speech to the court, urging the acceptance of these terms, portrayed the horrors of war and the blessings of peace in such stirring and eloquent language, that he caused his auditors to weep. The court made an order accepting the proposed terms. But, after all, it seems no **modus vivendi** was adopted, for we shall see that the friction between the officers and the people along the border continued for seven or eight years afterwards. It may be added that there is little doubt all the peace committees above mentioned participated in the efforts to bring about an amicable settlement of the controversy.

After the truce at Waterloo, December 12, the troops were ordered home, but General Allen and Col. Durkee wanted to fight, and their command held a meeting at the Pemberton Hotel at Monticello, and passed resolutions condemning everybody who had been instrumental in bringing about peace. And the Marion County troops ended the matter by some contemptuous resolutions against the two governors, who, they claimed, had unnecessarily caused the trouble. A ham of venison was cut in two, one labelled "Gov. Lucas of Iowa," and the other "Gov. Boggs of Missouri,"—they hung these up, fired into them with rifles, then took them down and buried them with funeral solemnity and with the honors of war. They then passed these resolutions:

"Resolved, That as this is the third winter in succession the troops have been ordered from Marion County and had to furnish their own tents and blankets; Therefore, we, who have them now, will keep them for the war next winter, as our notice has hitherto been so short.

"Resolved, That the Governor be requested to furnish us with guns by next winter."

On their way home, they wore their coats wrong side out. Another regiment from Marion County burnt fences and played cards, and the next Grand Jury indicted one

hundred of them for gambling. They also marched home with coats wrong side out.

There were probably eight hundred militiamen who responded to Governor Boggs' call, and the war cost Missouri $20,000.00, $19,000.00 for troops and $1,000.00 for contingent expenses, all of which the State had to borrow by issuing bonds.

It seems Franklin Lovering, Sheriff of Clark County, got into trouble also in his effort to enforce the law in the disputed territory, for in 1845, the Legislature of Missouri appropriated $351.56 to reimburse him for damages and costs he had sustained in suits brought against him by Iowans, whom he had arrested in December, 1839, at St. Francisville.

Governor Reynolds appointed Luke W. Lawless of St. Louis, under the act of the Missouri Legislature of February 16, 1841, to prosecute those who had resisted Gregory in his attempt to collect taxes on the disputed strip for the purpose of bringing the boundary question before the courts, but Lawless held that such a prosecution would not raise that question and advised that no suit be brought. His advice was taken and there that plan ended.

For his services the State paid Lawless $200.00, but he was not satisfied and demanded a larger sum, but that was all he received.

Congress, March 3, 1839, appropriated $969.05 to pay Major Lea for surveying the disputed lines. In 1839-1840, the President, on four several occasions, sent documents in regard to this dispute to Congress, and from 1840 to 1845, the Missouri Legislature passed two statutes to have the line surveyed by joint commissioners, representing Missouri, Iowa and the General Government, but they were all fruitless of results. During the same period, Missouri and Iowa sent numerous memorials to Congress, asking for the settlement of the controversy. Iowa being a Territory, could do nothing without the consent of Congress, and it seems it was conceded Congress, even, had no power to impair the vested right of

Missouri to any territory included in the boundary fixed by the act of March 6, 1820. It is true it was agreed to refer the question to Congress, but when Congress undertook the job, which it delayed five years, its plan of settlement was rejected by our State. Congress, by Act June 17, 1844, provided for the location and survey of the line by one commissioner to be appointed by the President, one by Missouri and one to be selected by these two, but it provided that this Act should not be enforced without the consent of Missouri. The Legislature passed a bill accepting this proposition, but Governor Edwards vetoed it January 3, 1845, on the ground that as by the Act of Congress a majority of these commissioners might fix the line, Missouri might lose the strip of land she claimed north of the Old Indian line over the vote and objections of her own commissioner. The Governor went on to say that Missouri's claim to the disputed territory was unquestionably valid and he would never consent to surrender it by any sort of compromise. This ended the efforts of Congress to settle the contest.

Preston Mulnix, Sheriff of Adair County, Missouri, was indicted in Iowa for usurpation of office, and March 28, 1845, the Legislature appropriated $500.00 to defend him, but before the case was tried, the Governor of Iowa pardoned him. Governor John C. Edwards in his message to the Legislature, November 16, 1846, reported these facts in regard to Mulnix and added that great excitement had prevailed along the northern border, but amicable relations had been restored, between the officials of both sides. Jonathan Riggs, Sheriff of Schuyler County, Missouri, had been indicted in Davis County, Iowa, and the Sheriff of Davis County, Iowa, had been indicted in Schuyler County, Missouri, for usurpation of office, and Carty Wells and James S. Green were appointed to prosecute the Iowa officer and defend the Missouri Sheriff, February, 1846, and January 11, 1847, these attorneys reported that the cases had been continued by consent. A Senate committee, in 1847, made a report through its chairman, Thomas B. English, that Jonathan Riggs had

been appointed Sheriff of Schuyler County because he was a firm and resolute man, and he had been arrested by the Sheriff of Van Buren County, Iowa, and imprisoned twenty-one days, and the committee recommended an appropriation to indemnify him for this, and added that there was then great excitement along the border.

Missouri, by Act of March 25, 1845, and Iowa by Act of January 17, 1846, consented to submit the question of boundary to the Supreme Court of the United States, and by Act of August 4, 1846, Congress conferred power on that court to determine where the northern line of Missouri, as fixed by the Act of March 6, 1820, was.

The suit was delayed on account of Iowa not being admitted into the Union. Her admission as a state was authorized by the Act of March 3, 1845, but her people refused to come in because her western boundary was not extended to the Missouri, and by Act of December 28, 1846, Congress complied with their wishes by so extending the border, and Iowa was admitted into the Union.

The way was now clear to have the Supreme Court settle the question, and accordingly, Missouri, in pursuance of the Act of her Legislature of February 13, 1847, filed her bill in that court to establish the line surveyed by Brown in 1837, which she claimed was the true northern boundary of the state.

Hamilton R. Gamble and James S. Green appeared as attorneys for Missouri, and Ewing & Mason for Iowa.

Missouri insisted that the call for "the rapids of the river Des Moines" was a controlling one, and that the words "making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line" did not apply to the north line at all, but applied only to the west line, and even to that line only to its northern terminus, and that the west line of the State should be continued north "to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines," which, it claimed, were found at the Great Bend where Brown commenced his survey.

Iowa, in the earlier stages of the contest, claimed only to the Old Indian Line, but when she came to defend this case, she abandoned that line and concurred with Missouri that the call for a parallel of latitude passing through "the rapids of the river Des Moines" as the northern boundary of Missouri, should control, but denied that the rapids selected by the commissioner of that State at 40 degrees, 44 minutes, 6 seconds, were, in any sense, rapids, but were riffles only, and hence did not answer the call, and claimed that the rapids in the Mississippi river, commencing about three miles above the mouth of the Des Moines river and extending up the river about fourteen miles, and well known among the French as "Les rapides de la riviere des Moines," and among the Americans as "The rapids of the river Des Moines," were meant and that the north boundary of Missouri should be fixed on a parallel of latitude running through the center of these rapids.

These contentions of the two States before the Supreme Court, put in issue a belt of land about seventeen miles wide, the Iowa contention being for a line six miles south of the Old Indian line, at the west end, and over eight at the east end, and that of Missouri being for a line eleven miles north of the Old Indian line, at the west end, and over eight at the east end. The map heretofore given shows the lines claimed by the two States.

Depositions were taken by both sides to prove their respective contentions. The Court decided the case February 13, 1849. The Court found that in the Des Moines river there was a fall at Farmington, thirty-four miles from its mouth, of 2.27 feet in ninety rods, while at the Great Bend, fifty-one miles from its mouth, where Brown commenced his survey of the line for Missouri, the fall was only 1.75 feet in eighty rods; at 55 miles a fall of 1.75 feet in 80 rods, and at 93 miles a fall of 2.10 feet in 80 rods; and held that none of these constituted "the rapids of the river Des Moines" within the meaning of the call of the Act of March 6, 1820, and as there were no rapids in the river Des Moines, answer-

ing the call, that call would have to be disregarded. The Court then held that the contention of Iowa that the rapids in the Mississippi were the rapids meant in the call, was untenable, and decided that the words "making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line." required the west line of the State to coincide with the "Indian boundary line," not only in its beginning and course, but also in its terminus, and that being the case, the northern line of the State should run from the northern terminus of the Indian line, and the decree of the court was that the line run by Sullivan in 1816, known as "The Old Indian Line," was the true boundary line between Missouri and Iowa.

After a careful study of the case, the following conclusions, to my mind, seem incontrovertible:

1. The contentions of both States that the call for "the rapids of the river Des Moines" in the location of the line, should have been sustained. It seems clear than Congress did not intend that the northern line of the State should correspond to the Old Indian Line, for if that had been its intention it would have so declared in express terms, as it actually did in regard to the west line;

2. The contention of Missouri that the slight fall in the river 40 degrees, 44 minutes and 6 seconds north latitude caused rapids answering the call, is utterly untenable;

3. The contention of Iowa that the rapids in the Mississippi, known in early times as the rapids of "the river Des Moines," ought to have prevailed. These rapids are the only ones in that vicinity which can in any sense be said to answer the call, and it seems most certain that these were meant.

The decree has the appearance of a compromise, by which the disputed territory was about equally divided between the two States. The Court found justification for the adoption of "the Old Indian Line" in the fact that Missouri, by its legislative acts had recognized that line up to 1836 as the true line;—that Congress at all times, in the organization of Wisconsin and Iowa Territories, and in the surveys of the public lands, and the Executive Department, in no less than

fifteen Indian treaties, made after the admission of Missouri into the Union as a State, had recognized that line as the northern boundary of Missouri. The Court appointed Joseph C. Brown of Missouri, and Henry B. Hendershot of Iowa, commissioners to survey and mark the line described in the decree. The Court ordered the commissioners to place at the northwest corner of the survey made by Sullivan in 1816, an iron pillar, four feet six inches high and to square one foot at the base and eight inches at the top, with "Missouri" cast in the pillar on the south side, the word "Iowa" on the north side, and the word "boundary" on the east side, and to place similar pillars at the then northwest corner of the State on the bank of the Missouri and at the northeast corner on the bank of the Des Moines. The Court also ordered the commissioners to set other pillars, either iron or stone, of such dimensions and kind as they might select, at intervals of every ten miles. Brown died, and Chief Justice Taney appointed, April 6, 1849, Robert W. Wells in his stead. Wells and Hendershot did some work and then Wells resigned, and Wm. G. Minor was by the Court at its December term, 1849, appointed to fill the vacancy. William Dewey of Iowa and Robert Walker of Missouri, were appointed by the commissioners to make the survey. Hendershot and Wells reported at the December term, 1849, that they had procured the three iron pillars above mentioned, and nineteen other pillars, all of cast iron. Six of the other nineteen pillars were four feet long and squared at the base eight inches and at the top five inches, to be set thirty miles apart, and the other thirteen were four feet long and squared seven inches at the base and four inches at the top. The nineteen pillars had "Missouri" on the south side, "Iowa" on the north side, and "Boundary" on the other two sides. The inscriptions on all the pillars were strongly cast in the metal. The thirteen pillars were to be placed ten miles from the other pillars or from each other.

The commissioners, Hendershot and Minor, reported December —, 1850, that after consulting Major M. L. Clark,

Surveyor General for Illinois and Missouri, they started, April 10, 1850, to go to the Old Northwest Corner of Missouri, the corner made by Sullivan, to begin work, but when they got there, they found the prices of transportation and provisions had so advanced on account of the immense emigration to California through Southern Iowa and Northern Missouri, that they altered their plans and reduced their force. To haul the pillars and baggage they had to make roads and bridges and grade down banks in places. The three large monuments weighed between 1,500 and 1,600 pounds, each, and the others between 300 and 400 pounds, each. Dewey and Walker, the surveyors, made report to the commissioners from Keokuk, Iowa, September 30, 1850. They say they met near the Old Northwest Corner, April 28, 1850, and by May 24th, they had fixed that corner at 40 degrees 34 minutes 4 seconds north latitude, and 94 degrees and 30 minutes west longitude. They then surveyed the line to the Missouri river, setting up the monuments. They returned and commenced the survey from the Old Northwest Corner, east, August 13, 1850, and finished it September 18, 1850. The line east from the Old Northwest Corner, they reported, was not on the meridian of 40 degrees 34 minutes 4 seconds, nor straight. The line surveyed by Sullivan constantly veered to the north, but it was not at all points, run on the same variation of the needle. At the east end, on the Des Moines, they found the Old Indian Line was 2.75 miles north of the starting point at the Old Northwest Corner. Because the line was not straight, the surveyors set wooden posts at the end of each mile, between the iron posts.

The whole cost of instruments, transportation, freight, surveyors and commissioners' charges was $10,880.41. The Court, on January 3, 1851, approved the report of the commissioners and fixed the line as they reported it and ordered each State to pay one-half of the costs, which was done, and thus ended this memorable contest, which had lasted from December 21, 1836, to January 3, 1851, a period of over fourteen years.

The lesson the history of this line teaches us is, that a spark may kindle a great conflagration, and that wars can grow out of very trivial matters. It is evident that if Missouri and Iowa had not had a power higher than either to appeal to, a disastrous war would have been the result, which emphasizes the importance of our Union of States under one general government.

One word in regard to the comical features of this controversy: Besides the farcical conduct and proceedings of the militia after the war was over, already given, there was another episode that was made the basis of ridicule and amusement. Early in the contest, a Missourian cut some bee trees on the disputed strip, and being sued for this in an Iowa court, judgment went against him for one dollar and fifty cents for damages and costs, and the "Palmyra" Whig of December 26, 1839, published the following poem by John I. Campbell, a local satirist:

"THE HONEY WAR."

Tune: Yankee Doodle.

Ye freemen of the happy land,
Which flows with milk and honey,
Arise! To Arms! Your ponies mount,
Regard not blood or money.
Old Governor Lucas, tiger-like,
Is prowling round our borders,
But Governor Boggs is wide awake,
Just listen to his orders:
Three bee trees stand about the line,
Between our State and Lucas,
Be ready, all those trees to fell,
And bring things to a focus.
We'll show old Lucas how to brag,
And seize our precious honey;
He also claims, I understand,
Of us three bits of money.
Conventions, boys, now let us hold,
Our honey trade demands it;
Likewise, the three bits, all in gold,
We all must understand it.

Why shed our brothers' blood in haste,
Because big men require it;
Be not in haste our blood to waste,
No prudent men desire it.
Now if the Governors want to fight,
Just let them meet in person,
And when noble Boggs old Lucas flogs,
'Twill teach the scamp a lesson.
Then let the victor cut the trees,
And have three bits in money,
And wear a crown from town to town,
Annointed with pure honey.
And then no widows will be made,
No orphans unprotected;
Old Lucas will be nicely flogged,
And from our line ejected.
Our honey trade will then be laid
Upon a solid basis;
And Governor Boggs,
Where'er he jogs,
Will meet with smiling faces.

I have given you the story of five historic lines of Missouri: The Missouri Compromise Line, the Sac and Fox Indian Line of 1804, the Osage Indian Line of 1808, the Fifth Principal Meridian, and the Missouri-Iowa Line, only two of which survive. The Missouri Compromise Line was wiped out in the blood of the nation, the Sac and Fox and the Osage Indian Lines have vanished from the maps through the operation of the pitiless law of "the survival of the fittest;" the Fifth Principal Meridian and the line between Iowa and Missouri, remain, and will probably continue forever. And the strongest feature, connected with the survival of these lines, is, one of them, the Missouri-Iowa line rests on the survey of a myth, the Osage Indian possession north of the Missouri river, which were as unsubstantial as "the baseless fabric of the vision," and yet, there it stands, marked by iron pillars for the ages to come, and that, too, by the order of the highest court in the land. Of all these lines, however, the most important, whether we consider the past or the future, is the Fifth Principal Meridian. It has been named millions of times in legislative acts and instruments affecting land titles recorded in the counties of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and the two Dakotas, and will be, in the time to come, named and recorded billions of times more.

JOHN L. THOMAS.

"MISSOURI'S ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS."

Prefatory.

When the French and English established their first permanent settlements in America, they found the whole country in the possession of numerous aboriginal tribes, the members of which were unlike any they had ever known. Many have been the theories advanced as to who these people were and whence they came. Many books have been written in vindication of the different theories of the writers, and in some cases by men of learning and ability, but modern investigations by eminent ethnologists have shown that the theories held by these writers were in the main erroneous. The most recent theories advanced, and perhaps the most plausible, is that by Ridpath, the historian. In his chart showing the distribution of mankind, he gives the North American Indians the name of Mongoliads, and makes them a branch of the North Asiatic family.

Not long since I wrote Mr. Holmes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington City, giving him Mr. Ridpath's classification, and asked him if it would be safe to accept his theory as the correct one. In reply he said: "It is generally conceded that the American Indians are of Asiatic origin, but as they are so widely differentiated from any known Asiatic people it would be perhaps inappropriate to speak of them as Mongolians. They have been separated so long from their Asiatic kindred that they are properly classed as a separate race."

To the first white settlers the variety of languages and dialects appeared to be well nigh infinite, but on acquaintance it was discovered that these dialects were easily reducible to a few primary stocks. (1) Ethnologists have grouped the

1. The Siouan tribes of the East by James Moony, Washington, Government Printing office, 1898, page 5. See also pages 9 and 10.

numerous tribes into fifty-six linguistic stocks or families, and these again into more than two thousand tribes or affiliations and have also determined the original location of the various families in America.

In the paper which follows we shall speak only of the families represented by the tribes found at some time in the past to have lived within the territory now included in the State of Missouri.

Miami. Synonyms: Meames, Memis, Mawmee and eighty-four others.

The earliest account we have of this tribe places them on Green Bay, Wisconsin. Like other tribes they gradually traveled in a southern direction, finally reaching the valley of the Wabash in Indiana and the Northwest, where they made their final stop. Little Turtle, their famous chief, said: "My fathers kindled the first fire at Detroit, thence they extended their line to the headwaters of the Scioto, thence to its mouth, thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash and thence to Chicago and Lake Michigan. In 1815 the whites found them in possession of a tract of land on the Missouri river in Saline county." After the defeat of the Indian Confederation by General Wayne in 1793, it seems this band came west and located in Missouri. Their fort and village stood near the present town of Miami, which derives its name from them. We do not know the number that came, but it is said that there were almost three hundred warriors. If so, the whole number of souls was not far from fifteen hundred. Soon after the settlement of Saline County by the whites the Miamis left, but to what place they went we have no information. They frequently returned to Missouri to hunt, but so far as we can learn they were always entirely peaceable and committed no depredations of any kind, a record very different from that of Sacs and Foxes and Iowas. (See History of Saline County, St. Louis, 1881, page 158.)

Kickapoo. Synonyms: Kicapoos, Kicapoux, Kichapacs and fifty-six others.

This tribe first appears in history in 1667-70. They were then in Wisconsin. We have no traditions of their former home or previous wanderings. The Kickapoo we find had a village in Missouri in 1805, just above the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi river. Their stay in Missouri at that time was probably of a transcient character and did not last long. In 1819 they made a treaty with the United States at St. Louis, by the terms of which they were to receive a tract of land in Southwest Missouri. The tract as selected was about fifty miles wide from east to west and sixty-five miles long from north to south. The county seats, Hermitage, Bolivar, Stockton, Greenfield and Osceola are within this territory. In 1832 the Kickapoos ceded back to the United States the above tract of land and in consideration thereof received a tract in Kansas of 1,200 square miles not far above Fort Leavenworth.

In claiming as we do that the Indian is the aboriginal inhabitant, it is understood that we reject the theory held by many of a prehistoric people generally called Mound Builders. There were mound builders, but they were not a distinct people, as we think, and were but different tribes of American Indians. It has also been established that these mound building Indians differed in their work, as they did in other regards. In my letter to Mr. Holmes, referred to above, I asked him whether the mounds in Missouri belonged to the Ohio system or to a separate system. We give his reply:

"The Missouri mounds certainly do not belong to the same tribe or group of tribes as those of Ohio. The art remains found in the two sections differ as decidedly as do the art relics of distinct tribes, and it is probable that the Missouri mound builders spoke a different language from the mound builders of Ohio. It is understood that there were a large number of mound building tribes, and that these tribes are now represented by the different tribes of the Mississippi valley."

But the scope of this paper will not permit of further discussion of this subject.

When the Louisiana Territory came into possession of the United States in 1803, there were living within the present bounds of the State of Missouri the following Indian tribes:

Of the Siouan family or stocks, the Osage and Kansa; of the Eastern Siouan branch, the Iowa and Missouri; of the Northwestern Siouan branch, the Omaha, Ponca and Oto. The last three had at one time resided in Missouri, but had long ago removed to other localities. Of the Algonquin family there were the Delaware, Shawnee, Sauk and Fox and Miami. The Kickapoo came in later. It is of the above tribes we propose to treat in this paper.

Siouan Tribes.—Historical. (2)

Osages. (Corruption by French traders for Was-haz-he, their own name), with about sixty synonyms. The Osages are the most important southern Siouan tribe of the eastern division. Dorsey (3) classed them under the name of Dhegiha (4), in one group with the Omaha, Ponca, Kansa and Quapaw, with which they are supposed to have originally constituted a single body, living along the lower course of the Ohio river. Geographically speaking, the tribe consists of three bands: The Pahatsi or Great Osage, Utsehta or Little Osage, and Santsukhdhi or Arkansas band. (5)

2. According to the Linguistic map Missouri published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the territory occupied in pre-historic times by the Osage and allied tribes and other tribes of the Siouan family or stocks lay in Virginia and North Carolina and extended from the Atlantic coast west almost or quite to the east line of Tennessee. From this habitat they were expelled at a very early day by the Iroquois and other tribes. Going west, they crossed the mountains and followed down the New river and Big Sandy to the Ohio River.

The Siouan tribes by Moony, etc.,page 11 as above.

3. "Dorsey"—Rev. J. O. Dorsey was an Episcopal clergyman and was a missionary to the Indians for a number of years. He acquired a good knowledge of the Siouan language.

4. Dhegiha, means literally, a group. This group consisted of the tribes here named.

5. Hand Book of American Indians by F. W. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., 1907. This work is in the

Many years ago Major Sibley obtained a statement from an aged chief of the Osages, who said that the tradition had been steadily handed down from their ancestors that the Osage had originally emigrated from the east, because the population had become too numerous for their hunting grounds. He described the forks of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, where he said they had dwealt some time, and where large bands had separated from them, and distributed themselves throughout the surrounding country. Those who did not remain in the region of the Ohio followed its waters until they reached the mouth, and then ascended to the mouth of the Missouri, where other separations took place, some going northward up the Mississippi, others advancing up the waters of the Missouri.

According to Dorsey, one tribe, Kwapa, when they reached the mouth of the Ohio river, separated from the others going down the Mississippi, while the others advanced up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, making a protracted stay in the vicinity of St. Louis. From this habitat the Omaha and Ponkas proceeded north as far as Minnesota, then turned west and halted near the big Sioux river. The Osages and Kansa followed up the Missouri river to the mouth of the Osage. There the final separation took place, the Osages going up the Osage river, and the Kansas proceeding up the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas river. (6) The first historical notice of the Osage appears to be on Marquette's autograph map of 1673, which locates them apparently on Osage river, and there they are placed by all subsequent writers until their removal westward in the nineteenth century.

How long they had been on Missouri territory at that time (1673) we do not know, but probably for many years.

form of a dictionary. I have made free use of it in the examination of each tribe. It will not be necessary for me to refer to it again as the reader can easily verify any statement here made by reference to the Hand Book under the name of the tribe being discussed.

6. Omaha Sociology by Rev. J. O. Dorsey, Washington, D. C., 1884. Map opposite page 212.

What tribes had preceded them we do not know. That other tribes had resided on the banks of our great rivers is evident from mounds which they erected and are yet to be seen. But when or whence they came, how long they remained, and whither they went are questions that will probably never be properly answered. The Osages laid claim to all the territory in Missouri south of the Missouri river and west of the Mississippi river; to Northern Arkansas and all of Kansas south of the Kansas river, and extending as far west as the sources of the streams flowing easterly, and in the different treaties made with them the United States Government recognizes the justness of their claim.

It is said of the Osages that they were a powerful tribe and of the few who never gave the whites any trouble. Physically the Osage is a powerful man, slightly above medium height. Washington Irving in 1832 in his book "The Tour of the Prairies," says: "The Osages are the finest looking Indians I have seen in the West."

Treaties Affecting Missouri. (7)

As far back as the year 1804, November 3, we find the Sac (Sauk) and Fox tribes were in a bloody war with the Great and Little Osages in the country along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and a treaty was made with the former tribes at St. Louis, binding the tribes to cease their wars and come under the protection of the United States, and make a firm and lasting treaty between themselves and the Osages, under the Indian Commissioner, William Henry Harrison, then Governor of the Indian Territory and of the Louisiana district, and superintendent of Indian affairs and plenipotentiary of the United States to make any treaties found to be necessary with the Osages.

7. Our information concerning all treaties discussed in this paper has been derived from "Land Grant Cessions in the United States," compiled by C. O. Royce, being part 2 of the annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, Government Printing office, 1899. For verification we refer to this work. It is not, necessary to refer in each case to the page.

The chiefs of the Big and Little Osage tribes met in friendly treaty of release made at Fort Clark, (8) Nov. 10, 1808, by Peter Choteau, agent of the Osages and the chiefs and warriors of the latter, and a large extent of territory was ceded to the United States east of a boundary line running from Fort Clark directly south to the Arkansas river, said line being parallel to and twenty-four or twenty-five miles east of the west line of Missouri as afterwards established in 1816, and down the said Arkansas river to the Mississippi for a consideration of $800 cash, and $1,000 in merchandise to the Great Osages, and $400 cash, and $500 in merchandise to the Little Osages.

In the treaty of June 2, 1825, all their right, title and claims to all land in Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, and westward as far as a line drawn from the head sources of the Kansas river southwardly through rock Saline, and all south of Kansas river, except a strip of fifty miles beginning twenty-five miles west of the Missouri State line, at a point called White Hairs Village, and extending to the said west line of this treaty concession; the United States reserving the right to navigate all navigable streams in that reservation, and in consideration of these consessions paid the Osages $7,000, yearly for twenty years (from the date of treaty), at their village, or at St. Louis, at their option, in money, merchandise, provisions or domestic animals, as they might elect, at first cost of goods at St. Louis, and free transportation, etc., and many provisions for the tribes in the efforts to farm; and reservations of one section each to all the half-bloods, whose names are mentioned.

Soon after the conclusion of the above treaty the Osages were moved to their diminished reserve in Kansas and all connection with Missouri ceased.

8. Fort Clark—Captain William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and later territorial governor of Missouri, arrived Sept. 4, 1808, with a detachment of Missouri militia, and established a fort and government trading post on the Missouri river where Sibley is now located, and about thirty miles east of Kansas City. The stronghold was first called Fort Clark, in honor of its founder, but about 1810 the name was changed to Fort Osage.

Kansa. Synonyms: Kansas, Kanzas, Kaw and sixty-six others.

Handbook of American Indians, Part I, page 653. See note 5.

The Kansa, or as now popularly known as Kaw or Kansas tribe, is one of the five, according to Dorsey's arrangement of the Dhegiha group. Their linguistic relations are closest with the Osage and are close with the Quapaw. In the traditional migration of the group, after the Quapaw had first separated therefrom, the main body divided at the mouth of Osage river, the Osage moving up that stream and the Omaha and Ponca crossing the Missouri river and proceeding northward, while the Kansa ascended the Missouri on the south side to the mouth of Kansas river. Here a brief halt was made, after which they ascended the Missouri on the south side until they reached the present north boundary of Kansas, where they were attacked by the Cheyenne, and compelled to retrace their steps. They settled again at the mouth of the Kansas river, where the big knives, as they called the whites, came with gifts and induced them to go farther west.

According to the above there were two periods when the Kaws resided at the mouth of the Kansas river. The dates of these sojourns can not now be ascertained, but it seems quite certain that they must have reached the mouth of the Kansas river at first, not later than the middle of the sixteenth century and possibly earlier. The first treaty of which we have any record was one of peace and friendship made October 28, 1815.

By the treaty of June 2, 1825, they ceded to the United States their lands in North Kansas and Southern Nebraska, and relinquished all claims they might have to lands in Missouri, but reserving for their use a tract on Kansas river. They claimed a body of land in the northwest corner of the State of Missouri bounded as follows: Beginning at a point on the Missouri river opposite the northeast corner of the State of Kansas, run northeasterly to northeast corner of

Nodaway County, thence due west to Missouri river, thence down the Missouri river to place of beginning including parts of Holt and Nodaway Counties, and nearly all of Atchison County; but this claim was not recognized so far as we can ascertain. Beginning with the year 1833, when the Methodists established a mission among them, efforts were made for many years, first by the Methodists and later by the Quakers, to christianize and civilize them, but all efforts seem to have accomplished little or no good. They still adhere to their ancient faith and customs. In 1873 they were removed to the Indian Territory and located next to the Osages. The population diminished from seventeen hundred in 1850 to two hundred and nine in 1905, of whom only ninety were full bloods. Only a few more suns and the last full blood Kansa will have journeyed to the happy hunting ground.

Iowa (Sleepy Ones.) Synonyms: Ioway, Iowai, Iowas and one hundred and eight others.

One of the tribes included by J. O. Dorsey with the Oto and Missouri in his Chiwere group. (9) Traditional linguistic evidence proves that the Iowa sprang from the Winnebago stem, which appears to have been the mother stock of some other of the Southwestern Siouan tribes; but the closest affinity of the Iowa is with the Oto and Missouri, the difference in language being merely dialect. Iowa chiefs informed Dorsey in 1883 that their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha and Ponca "once formed part of the Winnebago nation." According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their home north of the Great Lakes. In their meanderings the tribes became separated. Finally the Iowa reached the headwaters of Little Platte river, Missouri. Thence they journeyed to the Mississippi river near the mouth of the Des Moines river,

9. The Platte Purchase, the title we use for the triangular body of land including Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Nodaway, Holt and Atchison counties. Until the treaty of 1836 this body of land was not included in the state of Missouri. The original east line of the state crossed the Missouri river at the mouth of the Kaw river, extending due north to the northwest corner of Worth county.

and after various journeyings they finally reached Missouri territory, first stopping on Salt river, thence to the Chariton river, next to Grand river, and then to the Missouri river opposite Fort Leavenworth. How long they remained there we do not know, but as their territory included nearly all of that part of Missouri north of the Missouri river, beside a large part of what is now the State of Iowa, it is not probable they remained very long in any one locality. The population was estimated in 1760 at eleven hundred souls, in 1804 at eight hundred, smallpox having carried off many of them, and but eighty-nine in 1905. Thus one of the strongest tribes that ever lived in this territory is soon to be numbered with the extinct tribes.

Treaty.

In the treaty of August 4th, 1823, the Iowas ceded and quitclaimed all territory situate between the Platte purchase and the Mississippi river and north of the Missouri river. No compensation is mentioned. The Iowas claimed all the land lying north of the Missouri river except a tract on the west side of the Mississippi river belonging to the Sacs and Foxes. See boundary as given under their head. For other treaties in which the Iowas were a party see under Missouri, 1836.

By treaty of September 27, 1836, the United States ceded a small strip of land to the Iowas and the Missouri band of Sacs and Foxes south of the Missouri river, and located in the northeast corner of Doniphan County, Kansas.

Missouri, (Great Mud, referring to the Missouri river). Synonyms: Missoori, Missoury and thirty-eight others. The name of the river was bestowed on them by the whites because of their location on the Missouri river, and not their name bestowed on the river. Their name for themselves is Mintache, meaning those who reached the mouth of the river, referring probably to their residence at the mouth of Grand river. According to Gale the early form of the word Missouri is Algonquan. The word has been spelled many different way.

The most closely allied tribes are the Iowa and Oto. According to tradition, after having parted from the Winnebagos at Green Bay, the Missouri, Oto and Iowa moved westward to Iowa river where the Iowas stopped. The rest continued westward reaching the Missouri river at the mouth of Grand river. Here, after some dispute, the Otos withdrew and moved further up the Missouri river. About the beginning of the eighteenth century the French found the Missouris on the left bank of the Missouri river near the mouth of Grand river, and built a fort on an island near them. The tribe continued to dwell in this vicinity for about one hundred years. The great Grand river valley was doubtless the finest hunting ground in the territory, which may account for the long residence of the tribe in its vicinity. Other tribes doubtless roamed and hunted in the same country as was the usual, or, rather, universal custom. As seen above the Missouris called themselves by a name which meant "Those who reach the month of the river," a very proper name for a tribe which had after long wandering and journeying reached the mouth of a river which proved to be eminently fitted for a permanent location.

Du Pratz, the French historian, writing of the unfortunate tribe said: "The Missouris were recently engaged in another war with the Sac and Fox, more than two hundred of them were killed in one engagement." The remainder of the tribe fled across the river and sought refuge among their neighbors, the Little Osages, on Petitesas plains, now Saline County. The remnant of the tribe established a village on Petitesas plains. The site of this village is supposed to be about three and one-half miles northeast of Malta Bend.

There was peace on Petitesas plains until 1775, when the Missouri and the Little Osages were attacked and defeated by their relentless foes—the Sacs and Foxes. This was the final blow to the Missouri tribe. The few families that were left fled forever from the valley of the Missouri. A few of the Missouris followed the Osages, who retreated to the villages of their brethren, the Great Osages, on the Osage river.

The remainder of the band of Missouris fled to the mouth of the Platte river, where they took refuge with the Otoes, became merged into that tribe and lost their identity as a nation. Lewis and Clark, on their expedition up the Missouri river in 1804, noted the sites of the abandoned Indian villages on Petitesas plains. This record was made: "In front of our camp are the remains of an old village of the Little Osages, situated at some distance from the river at the foot of a small hill. About three miles below them, in view of our camp, is the situation of the old villages of the Missouris, after they fled from the Sacs."

In 1829 the number with the Otoes was eighty. They accompanied the Otoes to the Indian Territory in 1882. At that time their number had been reduced to forty. A letter from the superintendent to the writer, dated Otoe Agency, Oklahoma, May 14, 1908, says: "There is not a full blood Missouri Indian left on this reservation. The last full blood of the tribe died about a year ago."

Treaties.

In the treaty of July 15th, 1830, the Sac and Fox, Medemakanton, Wahpdkuta, Wahpeton and Sisseton bands of Sioux, Omaha, Iowa, Oto and Missouri relinquished all claim to the Platte purchase. The land thus ceded it was understood might be assigned or allotted to the tribes then living on them, or to such other tribes as the President might locate thereon, or permit to hunt therein.

October, 1836, the Missouris in connection with the Oto, Omaha, and Yankton and Sisseton bands of Sioux made a treaty fully relinquishing all claim to the territory included in the treaty made July 15th, 1830, These are the only treaties touching Missouri Indian land matters, and from them we learn that the Missouris claimed or occupied no territory as a tribe, after their settlement was broken up at the mouth of Grand river about 1798. Efforts to civilize and christianize them failed to accomplish much if any good. They adhered tenaciously to the old customs. Once a power-

ful nation, now all that is left are a few mixed bloods, scattered among other tribes.

Oto. Synonyms: Otoe, Ototetata, Ottoos and seventy-eight others.

One of the three Siouan tribes forming the Chi-were group, the others being the Iowas and Missouris. The languages differ but slightly. The earliest reference to this tribe is found in the tradition which relates to the separation of the Chi-were group from the Winnebago, at Green Bay, Wisconsin. Another division took place at the mouth of the Iowa river, where the Iowas concluded to remain, while the Missouris and Otos continued their travels till they reached the mouth of Grand river. Here they remained for some time when a quarrel arose between two chiefs and a separation followed. The Otos moved farther up the Missouri river and finally settled permanently on the Platte river, Nebraska.

Other Tribes.

July 15th, 1830, the United States made a treaty at Prairie du Chien, Michigan, with the following tribes: Sac and Fox, Medewakanton, Wahpeton and Sisseton bands of the Sioux, Omaha, Iowa, Oto and Missouri tribes, by which the said tribes ceded to the United States an immense tract of land lying in Wisconsin, Iowa, and including the Territory in Missouri which we designate as the Platte purchase. The understanding was that this territory was to be allotted under direction of the President of the United States to the tribes then living thereon or to such other tribes as the President might locate thereon for hunting or other purposes. How many of the above tribes actually lived in the part of territory in Missouri we do not know.

As will be seen under Sac and Fox, the Sacs and Foxes on the 27th of September, 1836, ceded their interests in the Missouri part of the territory, as noted in the treaty of 1830, to the United States. October 15th, 1836, the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Yankton and Santee bands of Sioux ceded and quitclaimed to the United States all right and interest in

the Platte purchase tract. (9) See land grant cessions as in notes under 1. This treaty, so far as the records show, terminated all interest of the above named Indian tribes in and to lands in Missouri, except homesteads to a few half breeds of different tribes. There is no evidence that any of the above named tribes ever lived on the above named tract of land except the Missouri tribe. The Otos once resided with the Missouri at the mouth of Grand River. (See Oto.) The Omahas at one time resided with the Osages, Kansa and Ponca in the vicinity of St. Louis, but at what date or for how long we have no way of ascertaining. (10) ((See our notice of the Omahas under Osage.)

Algonquin Tribes—Sauk or Sac.

The Sauk came to Wisconsin through the lower Michigan peninsula, their traditional home being north of the lakes, and they were comparatively new comers in Wisconsin when they were first met by the French in 1670. About 1780 the Foxes were incorporated with them, and since then the united tribes have been known as Sauk and Fox.

Fox.

The name Fox, or red fox, the name of only a clan, was erroneously applied to the whole tribe by some French traders. Their own name for themselves is Mishkwakihng—red people, because of the kind of earth from which they are supposed to have been created. When the Foxes first became known to the whites they lived in the vicinity of Lake Winnebago, Wisconsin, in 1670. The Foxes were a savage, warlike people and seem to have been quarrelsome. This disposition resulted in almost constant warfare, which went on until they were finally overthrown. Their last fatal conflict was with the Chippewa, when they were almost annihilated. This was in 1780. The remnant incorporated with the Sauk, and although long officially regarded as one, the two tribes have preserved their identity.

Sac and Fox.

When they first made their appearance in Missouri we can not tell. The first treaty we find touching their connection with Missouri was held in St. Louis, November, 1804. This treaty simply fixed the boundary of their territory, but how long they had been in possession of the territory they were then occupying we have no means of ascertaining. It is known that while the Siouan family was recognized as the rightful owner of nearly all of Missouri from a very remote period, that the Algonquin held a strip of land along the west shore of the Mississippi, the ownership dating far back in prehistoric times. This treaty did nothing more than recognize the justice of the claim of the Sac and Fox, being Algonquin tribes, and defining its boundary. The territory as described embraces the following counties: St. Charles, Warren, Lincoln, Montgomery, Pike and Ralls, and parts of Callaway, Audrain, Monroe, Shelby and Marion. (From a map.) The tract was about eighty miles from north to south and about fifty miles from east to west, bounded on the east by the Mississippi river and on the south by the Missouri river; west by a line beginning at the Missouri river opposite the mouth of the Gasconade river,running northerly to Shelbyville, thence southeast to the Mississippi river.

Other Treaties.

In 1815 at the treaty held in St. Louis it was that that portion of the Sauk nation residing on the Missouri river assent to the treaty between the United States and the united tribes of Sac and Fox, concluded at St. Louis, 1804, and that the Fox nation or tribe assented to and confirmed the treaty between the United States and the united tribes of the Sacs and Foxes concluded at St. Louis, 1804.

Treaty of Washington, August 4, 1824.

The united tribe cede all their right to lands claimed by them in Missouri as defined by the treaty of 1804. In 1830

the Sac and Fox with other tribes ceded their interest to the United States, in what we denominate the Platte purchase with the understanding that the said lands were to be allotted and assigned by the President to the tribes then living thereon, and to such other tribes as the President might locate thereon for hunting and other purposes. It is evident that this territory became the home of Sac and Fox on the relinquishment of their lands on the Mississippi river. In September, 1836, the Sac and Fox ceded to the United States all their claim and interest in and to the lands in the territory described in the treaty of 1830. By the provisions of another treaty dated September 17, 1836, the United States assigned to the Iowa and Missouri band of Sac and Fox a small reservation in Kansas. This reservation is in Doniphan County. These are the tribes from the Platte purchase, the body of land now composing the Counties of Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Nodoway, Holt and Atchison.

Delaware. Synonyms: Delawaras, Delaways and fifty-five others.

A confederacy which occupied the entire basin of Delaware river in East Pennsylvania and Southeast New York, together with New Jersey and Delaware. They called themselves Lenape or Leni, a name meaning Real Men. The Delawares got their name from their principal river. As the whites crowded them out of their homes they removed first to the Susquehanna in 1742. They soon abandoned this location, and after some time the greater part located in East Ohio on the Muskingum river, where they made their permanent abode.

In 1793 a part of them removed to Missouri and with a band of Shawnees, occupied the tract of land granted them by the Spanish Government. (See under Shawnee.) In 1815 they with a band of Shawnees removed from Missouri to Arkansas. By 1820 these two bands found their way to Texas where the Delawares numbered at that time probably seven hundred. By 1835 most of the tribe had been gathered

from their different reserves on a reservation in Kansas, a few miles west of Kansas City, Kansas.

Treaties.

October 3rd, 1818, a treaty was made with the Delawares by which they ceded to the United States all their claim to land in Indiana, and the United States agreed to provide for them a country west of the Mississippi and to guarantee them peaceable possession of the same. The land selected for them was a tract on White river, Missouri. The tract was about seventy miles from east to west by forty-four miles from north to south. It included the Counties of Barry, Stone and parts of Christian, Green and Lawrence. September 24, 1829, a council was held on Jones park of White river where a treaty was made by which the Delawares ceded to the United States all their claim to the Cape Girardeau tract, and also the tract in Southwest Missouri as above described. Thirty-six sections of the Cape Girardeau tract were to be sold to provide schools for the Delaware children. In 1828 Peankeshaw had a village on this reservation. Their stay in Missouri seems to have been more for visiting and hunting than for residence.

Shawnee. (Southerners.) Synonyms: Shano, Shawneese, Savannah and one hundred sixty-four others.

The Shawnee was a leading tribe of South Carolina, Pennsylvania and Ohio. In 1793 the Spanish Government gave to bands of Shawnee and Delaware a tract of land near Cape Girardeau, bounded as follows: East by the Mississippi river, west by White river, north by St. Come river and south by Cape Girardeau, equal to twenty-five miles square. This tract was abandoned by the Delawares in 1815, who with a small band of Shawnees settled in Arkansas. After Wayne's great victory over the Indian confederacy, 1793, followed by the treaty which put an end to the long wars in the Ohio valley, the more hostile part of the Shawnee joined those living in Missouri. The other part settled on the Auglaize river in Ohio. The Shawnee residing in Mis-

souri in 1812 numbered about eight hundred, being about half of the entire tribe. In 1825 they ceded their lands to the United States, and removed to Kansas where they had been granted a tract of land to be fifty miles square or its equivalent in exchange for their Missouri reserve. Here they were joined in 1832-3 by the Ohio branch. Prior to the treaty of 1825 a large part of them had gone to Texas, and settled on the headwaters of the Sabine river where they remained till 1839. For a time a band of the Shawnee lived on land informally assigned them in Southwest Missouri on the headwaters of White river, but it seems they acquired no title to the tract. Within the boundary of this reservation are parts of the Counties of Webster, Wright, Douglas, Ozark and Taney. In 1828 there was a Peoria and Piankeshaw village on the headwaters of White river, just on the line dividing the Shawnee reservation from the Delaware reservation, which it joined on the west.

The Shawnee were a restless, fierce and warlike people, and one of the most turbulent tribes our Government has been called to deal with. We can not follow them in their devious meanderings and through their various wars, but simply make the following quotation from the hand book: "For a period of 40 years—from the beginning of the French and Indian war to the treaty of Greenville in 1795—they were almost constantly at war with the English or the Americans and distinguished themselves as the most hostile tribe in that region. Most of the expeditions sent across the Ohio during the Revolutionary period, were directed against the Shawnee, and most of the destruction on the Kentucky frontier was the work of the same tribe."

Of those in Missouri it is only fair to say that they remained quietly on their reserve, refusing to join in any war against the whites. They were industrious and peaceable, giving our people no trouble. Among them were men of prominence and influence in Indian councils and transactions with the Government.

JOAB SPENCER.

DANIEL BOONE IN MISSOURI.

Third Paper.

The last twenty-five years of the life of Daniel Boone was spent in Missouri, and when he died he was buried there. Scenes connected with his daily life during this period seem to possess an abiding interest for the American people. The Boone farm in the upper part of St. Charles County, and the old stone mansion that stands upon it, are visited every year by numerous pilgrims, who come from distant States, and even from across the sea, to worship at the shrine of the world's greatest pioneer. Each new arrival drinks freely from the spring of sweet water that bubbles up from beneath a great ledge of rock, paints a mental picture of the adjacent scenery of hill and bluff and rolling valley, and carries away with him pleasant memories of the place and its surroundings. Others, less reverent of sentiment, chip off pieces of the stone house, or gather mementoes from the spot where the old cabin stood; while some fondly cherish photographs of a modern pig-sty, which they are made to believe contains some of the logs that entered into the first Boone house west of the Mississippi. The present owner of the place, a thrifty American of German ancestry, is disposed to let all his visitors have their own way, and very rarely undeceives any of them regarding the pig house. And why should he spoil a harmless sentiment? Every vestige of the old cabin has long since disappeared, except a few faint traces of the foundations where it stood.

The spring was the inducement which led Boone to build his cabin there. Those old pioneers valued a spring more than they did the land surrounding it; for it not only supplied them with water so cold as to require no ice, but it was sure to be a general meeting-place for deer and other game. Many

a buffalo, coming to slake his thirst at this spring, yielded up his life a victim to the unerring aim of the old pioneer. Boone could sit in the door of his cabin, which stood fifty feet or more eastwardly from the spring, and lay in a winter's supply of meat for his family without the trouble of hunting. He could pick his choice of deer, elk, buffalo, or bear; for all these animals came there to drink. Bear meat was preferred above all other kinds, owing to its sweet and nutty flavor; and the bacon of swine went begging when bear bacon was convenient. Wild turkeys were so abundant and so tame that they roosted in the trees that stood about the cabin, and were not regarded with special favor; for when one eats turkey every day he soon longs for something more substantial. Bees nested in the crevices of the rocks and in the hollows of adjacent trees, and came also to the spring to fill their little buckets with water. Thus Booone and his family had an abundance of honey, of the best quality and flavor, without going beyond the limits of their own yard or bothering themselves about the care of the bees. It was a genuine Arcadia, embracing an existence seemingly unreal, but it was very real and substantial when Boone built his cabin on the bank above the spring—and for some years thereafter.

Back of the spring a hill slopes gradually up to the foot of a bluff, from the top of which may be seen many miles of the level stretches of Femme Osage valley, with the creek of the same name winding its course through the corn and wheat fields and the rich meadow lands that margin its banks. There are not many finer views anywhere in the world; and for richness of soil the farms that lie spread out beneath this bluff can hold their own with the valley of the Nile. Before Boone came the French had given a name to this creek ("Woman of the Osages") to perpetuate the memory of an Osage woman, said to have been beautiful, who lost her life while attempting to cross the stream when it was swollen by recent rains. Sometimes it becomes a torrent, sweeping over all obstacles and flooding the lower portions

of the valley. It was in this condition when the Osage woman, driven doubtless, by an unsympathetic husband, gained immortality by getting herself drowned.

The story of how Daniel Boone came to the valley of the Femme Osage is told in the records of Louisiana Territory. About 1790, weary and despondent over his failure to secure titles to his lands in Kentucky, and burdened with debts which he could not pay, the ruggedly honest old pioneer gave up all the acres that he possessed in the now famous bluegrass region, and removed with his family to the valley of the Kanawha. He located in what was then the northwestern part of the State of Virginia, but now within the limits of Mason County, West Virginia, not far from the town of Point Pleasant. The Northwest Territory was already beginning to be occupied by thrifty pioneers, and it was believed that the Kanawha Valley was a good place to settle and catch the drift of trade as it flowed by from the Atlantic States to the new and expanding West.

Soon after the removal to the Kanawha country, Daniel M. Boone, a favorite son, and also a pioneer of distinction, ventured into the Louisiana Territory on a hunting and trapping expedition. The fame of his father had preceded him, and he was most kindly treated by the Spanish authorities at St. Louis. The Lieutenant Governor, Senor Zenon Trudeau, suggested that if his father, the celebrated Colonel Boone, would remove to Louisiana, the King would appreciate the act and treat him handsomely. The younger Boone thereupon sent back such glowing accounts of the warmth of his welcome, the richness of the soil, the excellence of the climate, and the plentifulness of game, that the imagination of the old pioneer was inflamed; and disposing his family and his few earthly belongings on pack-horses, he led the way on foot across the present States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, to the north bank of the Missouri river, in what is now the upper part of St. Charles County. This journey was made in 1795 when Boone was in his sixty-first year, and a glance at the map will show the magnitude of

the undertaking. The old man walked every foot of the way, with his rifle on his shoulder, through a trackless wilderness, a large part of which was infested by bands of blood-thirsty savages. The fact that he made the journey and brought his family through in safety attests the greatness of the man.

On their arrival in St. Louis, Colonel Boone and his family were treated by the Spanish officials as distinguished guests. The freedom of the city was extended to them. The American and Spanish flags were displayed side by side, and the garrison was paraded in honor of the distinguished pioneer of Kentucky. No function of courteous hospitality was left unperformed; and before their departure the Spanish Lieutenant Governor presented Colonel Boone with a grant for 1,000 arpents of land, to be located where he pleased in the "District of the Femme Osage." The district then embraced everything north of the Missouri river and indefinitely westward to the "South Sea." It was large enough to satisfy a man even of Colonel Boone's expansive ideas; but he chose to locate the grant in the rich bottom lands of the Missouri river, four or five miles below the present town of Augusta. There he built his first cabin within the limits of Missouri, close by the uncertain banks of the shifting stream. The land and the cabin have long since been swallowed by the caving-in of the banks, and the river now flows where the Boone arpents lay. Here he and his son, Daniel M., undertook to build a town, which they called Missouriton, in honor of the river on whose banks it stood. For a while the place flourished, and after the cession of Louisiana to the United States it was proposed to locate the capital of the Territory there. But the town, like the cabin and the land, has long since fallen into the river. Nothing remains to mark its site, and no memory of the place lingers in the neighborhood except a country postoffice called Missouriton, kept by a farmer who lives some distance from where the old town stood.

A year or two after his arrival, the Spanish authorities entered into a contract with Colonel Boone to bring one hundred American families to Upper Louisiana, for which he was to receive a grant for 10,000 arpents of land, to be laid, as others had been, in the Femme Osage district. The contract was fully complied with by both parties, but Boone lost his land by neglecting to have his grant confirmed by the Spanish Governor at New Orleans. There were no public mails then in Louisiana Territory, and a trip to the southern capital was too great an undertaking merely to secure the signature of the Governor. Meanwhile the transfer of the Territory was made to the United States, and it was then too late for Boone to have his title confirmed. Subsequently, on the 24th of December, 1813, Congress, by special act, confirmed his title to the Spanish grant for 1,000 arpents. This tract he soon afterward sold and applied the proceeds to the payment of his Kentucky debts; so that, in the end, he died landless, for the farm and the stone mansion in the Femme Osage valley belonged to General Nathan Boone.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Femme Osage district had increased to such proportions as to require a local government, and on the 11th of June, 1800, Colonel Boone was appointed commandant of the district. It was about that time, or perhaps a little earlier, that he built the cabin near the spring in the Femme Osage valley and removed his family there. The duties of his office were both civil and military, and his decision in all cases was final, except those involving land titles, which were referred to the crown or its immediate representative. Punishment for crime or misdemeanor was of the most summary character. The accused, if proven guilty, was tied up and whipped, the number of lashes being proportioned to the nature of his offense. A hickory sapling that stood in the yard near the spring served as a whipping-post. That kind of punishment met the requirements of the age, and no thief or breaker of the law was ever known to resent a judgment rendered by Daniel Boone. He held his court under the

spreading branches of a large elm tree, which still stands on the bank a few feet above the spring, and is known as "Daniel Boone's Judgment Tree." Here, dressed in buckskin hunting-shirt and pantaloons and moccasins of the same material and seated at the roots of the old tree, he propounded the law and dispensed justice to his assembled neighbors in a manner that never failed to win their approval. If a hog-thief, or one who had put his mark on his neighbor's shoats, pleaded guilty or was proven so, he was promptly "whipped and cleared," as they expressed it. That ended the trouble, and the culprit went about his business with no further annoyance or loss of caste in the community. Fortunately, there were no capital offenses committed in the district during Boone's administration, and he was never called upon to condemn a murderer.

The stone house, or mansion, was completed about 1813. It has been represented as the first stone house erected west of the Mississippi; but this is a probable error, for houses of that material were built in St. Louis, and doubtless also in Ste. Genevieve, at an earlier date. But they were not such houses as the Boone mansion. That was the product of the joint labors of the old Colonel and his son, General Nathan Boone, assisted by their slaves, and several years were devoted to the work. The walls are composed of blue limestone, neatly chiseled, and are about two feet thick. The size of the building measured on the outside of the walls, is twenty-eight by forty-six feet, with a height of twenty-two feet. A hall nine feet wide runs through the center of the first and second stories, with doors opening into the rooms on either side. The rooms are large and uncomfortable in appearance, and have no closets or other conveniences known to modern architecture. Yet a great deal of work was expended in some features of their ornamentation. The entire structure is divided into seven rooms, three on the first floor, and two each on the second floor and in the attic. A portico ornaments the north front, and a double veranda the south. The marks of the hammers and chisels on the stones are as plainly

visible now as they were the day the house was finished, and the plaster that the stones were laid in was mixed in such a manner that it has become about as hard as the stone itself. It is said that the plaster was "ripened" by being buried in the ground over winter.

Daniel Boone occupied a little diagonal room to the right of the hall, on the first floor, in the northwest corner of the building. It was partitioned off from the kitchen, which also served as the dining-room, and it is entered by a single door opening into the latter. Two small windows give light from the north. In this room the famous pioneer, hunter and Indian fighter lived during the last few years of his life, and there he died, like an infant falling asleep, on the 26th day of September, 1820. A telephone now hangs on the wall of this room. What a story the old pioneer might tell could he but connect with the other end of the wire!

WILLIAM S. BRYAN.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN COLUMBIA, MISSOURI.

At the request of the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Columbia, Missouri, Rev. F. W. Sneed, and of various members, I have consented to write a historical sketch of the church. It might be greatly extended, and necessarily would be if it embraced a tithe of the many interesting and suggestive events, and of the trials and triumphs which properly belong to a complete history of the organization.

On September 14, 1828, the little band of Presbyterians then residing in and near Columbia, were organized into a church by Rev. W. P. Cochran and Thomas Durfee, who were commissioned by the Home Missionary society of New York to visit Missouri, and perhaps other portions of the West.

The preliminary meeting was held and the church organization effected at the residence of the late James Richardson. The house in which he then resided is still standing, and many citizens of town and country, and visitors as well, frequently pass it in going to and from the railroad depot, no one of them perhaps remembering, if they ever knew, that more than sixty-five years ago, one of the large and influential religious bodies of Columbia was there organized.

The house is a one-story frame, as it now appears, then a one-story log dwelling, on the northeast corner of Tenth and Walnut streets, and on the corner north of the "Powers House." It was afterwards known as the "Kidd Place," and belonged to Allen H. Kidd, but in 1840 was purchased by the late Mrs. Sophia Kirtley, who occupied it as a residence and died there July 6, 1871. By her will she devised the property to her grand-daughter, Mrs. Catherine Clapp, who subsequently sold it to her sister, Mrs. Wm. A. Cauthorn, who now owns it. Those present at the meeting were Peter Wright, Mrs. Caroline Wilson (mother of the late Maj. N. W. Wilson,

and grand-mother of Mr. Josiah W. Stone, ex-circuit court clerk), John and Elizabeth Sutton, William and Harriett T. Pierce and Robert A. Huston. In the fall of 1830 Mrs. Pierce established the first school for female pupils known to the history of Columbia, and taught it in a one-story hewed-log house which then stood on the northwest corner of the present residence lot of Mr. B. Loeb.

The church organization occurred on Saturday, September 14, 1828, and on the next day, Sunday, a sunrise prayer meeting was held at the Richardson residence; and at eleven o'clock a. m., the same day at the same place, preaching services were held, at which time, two additional persons, George and Phillip McAfee, father and brother of the late Rev. Robert L. McAfee, united with the infant organization, and two ruling elders, Peter Wright and William Pierce, were chosen. In 1832 John Vanhorn and Robert Huston were chosen deacons.

I am indebted to "Reminiscences," by Judge T. B. Gentry for much valuable information concerning this church's history. From this, among many other things, I learn that the church continued to meet for worship at the Richardson residence for about fifteen months, new members being added until the number reached thirty or forty, when they removed in January, 1830, to Boone county's first court house, an old brick building which stood on the site of the Baptist church building that was recently torn down, and west of the present court house.

On Sunday, January 16, 1831, the session met in the country at Andrew Hannah's, and received into the church the late Dr. William Provines and wife.

After worshiping in the old court house for some time, with the Rev. W. P. Cochran as minister, the church purchased a lot for $50 of the late Judge John Vanhorn, and erected thereon a small, unpretentious but comfortable brick building on the north side of Walnut, between Fifth and Sixth streets, which cost about $1,000. A part of this building yet remains and is occupied by colored people. In the early history of Columbia, this building, though plain and

unadorned, without bell or belfry, was the center of many important interests, and is still a green spot in the memory of some of the old inhabitants of the town.

It became the nursery not only of religion and morality, but of education as well. It was here that Miss Lucy Wales opened the first school in Columbia, exclusively for the education of young ladies, and laid the foundation of the celebrated Columbia Female Academy, the forerunner and inspiration of the two large female colleges which are now the pride and boast of the people.

It was in this little brick church, in November, 1833, that the late Governor Richard Gentry and his wife, Ann Gentry (the parents of our fellow-citizen, Judge T. G. Gentry), and four children, Analyza, Harrison, Perry and Jane, together with eight other persons, united with the church.

While worshiping in this building the congregation held a campmeeting in August, 1834, at the Presbyterian camp ground near Columbia, at which eight persons united with the church, among them Judge David Todd, John G. Keene and Dorothy Ann Gentry, the latter afterward the wife of Henry Crumbaugh. This old camp ground was on Hinkson creek, northeast of town, on or near land then owned by Andrew Hannah and not for from the farm of N. B. Zaring, who is now a member of the church.

One of the greatest revival meetings in the history of the church was held in the little brick on Walnut street. It occurred in January and February, 1843, and notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather and the almost impassable condition of the streets, great crowds attended the services day and night. About one hundred persons united with the church, among whom may be mentioned, Dr. H. M. Clarkson (father of John S. and Arthur P. Clarkson), Roger North Todd (father of R. L. Todd), F. A. Hamilton, Sinclair Kirtley, W. F. Switzler, Joseph B. Howard, John B. Royall (husband of the late Mrs. P. W. Royall, and father of Mrs. Prof. G. C. Broadhead and Prof. John P. Royall, of Columbia, and Mrs. Judge J. A. Henderson, of Brighton), W. N. Beattie, Jas. H.

Parker (father of Moss P. Parker), Montgomery P. Lientz, R. L. Todd, R. R. Provines, Carolina F. Todd, Susan B. Todd afterwards the wife of the late C. C. Branham and the mother of J. Scott Branham), Mary Jane Royall, who in August of the same year married W. F. Switzler; Elizabeth Culbert, now Mrs. John D. Vanhorn, and Mary Gentry (the late Mrs. Boyle Gordon).

The meeting was conducted by the Revs. Isaac Jones, David Coulter, Robert L. McAfee and W. W. Robertson, the latter still living in Fulton, Missouri, at an advanced age.

After this revival, it became necessary to have a larger and better place of worship; and, therefore, with a view of securing it, on October 2, 1843, the little brick church and lot were sold for $475 and measures adopted to erect a more commodious and suitable structure on the southeast corner of Tenth and Broadway, the site of the church so recently displaced to make room for the beautiful building, the corner stone of which is to be laid today.

Previous to the sale of the little brick church, the ladies of the church and congregation, under the leadership and inspiration of Prudence Culbert, Ann Gentry, Matilda Todd, Permelia W. Royal, Caroline Wilson, Frances E. Lathrop, Mrs. Provines and other sisters of the church of precious memory, raised the means by ice cream festivals and from other sources, and purchased of Maj. John Slack for $50, the lot with the hope that at some day a new church would be erected upon it.

They all lived to see their prayers answered and their hopes realized, for on January 14, 1845, a building committee of the church, consisting of Henry Crumbaugh, R. H. Gentry, Sinclair Kirtley, George Smith and W. F. Switzler, entered into a contract with John G. Keene, who covenanted, for the sum of $900 "to do all the brick work of said church," and furnish the materials therefor, the building to be 45x60 feet, with walls 20 feet high and 18 inches thick, and to complete the same by September 1, 1845, and in addition, to collect the $900 himself from the subscription paper. If, after due diligence, a balance remained unpaid, it was to operate as a lien upon the

building. I have in my possession the original contract, and am not mistaken in respect to its terms. Phineas Kenyon, who had been a contractor for the stone work on the State University, erected the foundation in the fall of 1844, and John Vanhorn furnished the materials and constructed the wood work, and B. McAlester the pews for the church, the entire edifice, except the pews, plastering and painting being completed on September 12, 1845.

The auditorium being incomplete, services were held in the basement until the summer of 1846; and it is within the memory of the writer that the first sermon delivered in the auditorium was by Rev. David Coulter during the summer of the last year named.

During the time occupied in the erection of the new church, from October, 1843, to the summer of 1846, services were regularly held in a hall in the second story of a brick store house on Broadway, then belonging to Lewis Peebles, which was afterward bought by Dr. S. B. Victor, and used by him as a drug and book store for about thirty-five years. A new building now occupies the same lot, and is owned and used by Charles B. Miller as a boot and shoe store.

In October, 1860, a large and handsome pipe organ was placed in the church at a cost of $700, Mr. James L. Stephens, not a member of the Presbyterian church, contributing one fourth of the purchase money.

The following is a roster of the pastors of the church from its organization to the present time.

1828-1833, **William P. Cochran**; 1833-1834, no pastor; 1834-1835, **F. R. Grey**; 1835-1836, **Luther Van Doren**; 1836-1838, **John L. Yantis** (father of Prof. James A. Yantis of the law department of the State University); 1838-1840, no pastor; 1840-1846, **Isaac Jones**, his pastorate commencing on October 22, 1840, and closing January 9, 1846; 1846-1848, no pastor; 1848-1849, **Frank Hart**; 1849-1851, **J. T. Paxton**; 1851-1858, **Nathan H. Hall**; 1858-1861, Samuel A. Mutchmore; 1861-1862, **M. M. Fisher**; 1862-1864, no pastor; 1864-1867, **David Coulter**; 1867-1870, Benjamin Y. George; 1870-1871, no pastor, 1871-

1876, Richard S. Campbell; 1876-1878, John S. Grasty; 1878-1879, no pastor; 1879-1885, W. B. Y. Wilkie; 1885-1889, A. A. Pfanstiehl; 1889-1890, O. S. Thompson; 1890-1892, no pastor; 1892 to the present time, Frank W. Sneed. Eighteen pastors during an existence of 65 years, eleven of whom have died, their names being printed above in black.

During the summer of 1893, after several meetings of the church and congregation and reports from several committees, it was determined to erect a new church edifice of the most approved architectural design and finish, on the site of the old church, and the following committee was appointed to superintend the work. Jas. H. Waugh, J. Scott Branham, N. T. Gentry, Walter Williams, E. F. Ammerman and Rollins M. Hockaday.

The contract for the erection of the new church building was let to the lowest bidder at $22,000, John W. Wilson & Son, of St. Louis, becoming the contractors. Architectural plans and specifications were furnished by various architects, after which the committee selected and the church approved those provided by J. G. Cairns, of Kirkwood, St. Louis county, Missouri.

The present elders of the church are R. L. Todd, William L. Parker, E. D. Porter, N. Todd Gentry and J. S. Blackwell. Deacons—N. B. Zaring, W. W. Garth, Irvin Switzler, E. F. Ammerman and J. Scott Branham.

WM. F. SWITZLER.

October 7, 1894.

A FEW OF THE COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY ANCESTORS OF MRS. JESSIE BENTON FREMONT.*

Gladstone once wisely stated that no greater calamity could befall a people than to break utterly with the past. With that thought in mind I am going to ask you to review with me for a few minutes the early history of the family of Mrs. Fremont, whose death we, as a Society, are mourning today.

To go back only a little over a hundred years and five generations from Elizabeth Benton, the mother of Mrs. Fremont, we find Col. Ephraim McDowell, that brave and gallant Pathfinder of those early days. Henry Howe tells us in one of his histories that this hardy pioneer, who lived to be over a hundred years old, built the first road across the Blue Ridge, opening up the Virginia valley to the commerce of the Old World through the merchants of the Atlantic coast. This remarkable man retained the full possession of his faculties to the very last, dying just at the outbreak of the Revolution, but not until he had heard the praises bestowed upon his grandchildren for meritorious conduct at the battle of Point Pleasant. His eldest daughter lived to be 104 years old, being an unusually talented woman. John, the eldest son, being the one we are interested in as the ancestor of Elizabeth Benton, was a bold Indian fighter and was chosen as Burden's surveyor when what was then known of Virginia was being opened up for settlement. This was in 1737, and was the earliest survey on record made in Virginia. He was appointed as Captain of a company formed to protect the lives and property of the settlers against the invasions of the Indians, and most nobly were the duties connected with that trust performed until on Christmas Day, 1742, he, with eight of his trusty men, while in pursuit of a party of Indians who had attacked a settlement, fell

*A paper read before the Elizabeth Benton Chapter D. A. R., Kansas City.

into an ambuscade and were killed. All were buried in one common grave near Lexington. Thus died a worthy scion of a noble race. His daughter, Sarah, became the wife of Col. Moffett, another brave soldier who won renown at Guilford, Cowpens and Kings Mt.

The next in succession, however, was the second son of the Indain fighter, Col. James McDowell, b. in 1739. He was called to fill many offices of public trust and was on his way to Richmond on business of importance as sheriff of the county when the final summons came, this being in 1771, when he was only 32 years old.

The next in succession was Col. James again, youngest son of the above, who inherited the magnificent estate left by his father. He was a Colonel in the War of 1812 where he won honor and fame. He married Sarah, daughter of Col. Wm. Preston, a Revolutionary hero and descended from a long line of brave ancestors. The only son of James and Sarah Preston McDowell was James, the father of Elizabeth Benton, and not yet had the race deteriorated, for James McDowell was an exceptional character in many ways: a graceful and accomplished gentleman, honest and upright in all his dealings; a Congressman and United States Senator; chief executive of Virginia, his native state and an able man, most highly and honorably distinguished. And no less talented was his noble wife, they, by the way, being full cousins. She was Sarah, daughter of Gen. Francis Preston, a Congressman from Virginia and a brave officer in the War of 1812, his wife being a daughter of Col. Wm. Campbell, who was given command at the Battle of King's Mt. by Isaac Shelby, who with Sevier, Winston and the two Joe McDowells were the real heroes of that memorable battle. Col. Campbell's wife was a sister of Patrick Henry, the great orator of the Revolutionary period, and daughter of Sarah Winston, an unusually bright and gifted woman.

To go back to the mother of Elizabeth Benton, let me mention just a few of her immediate kindred whose names are household words in Virginia. One of her sisters became the

wife of Rev. Dr. Robert Breckenridge and another sister married John B. Floyd, Secretary of War under President Buchanan. These men were cousins of Mr. and Mrs. McDowell; and Wm. C. Preston, the scholarly and gifted South Carolina orator and Gen. John S. Preston, a gallant soldier and brilliant orator, were her brothers. And I have mentioned the names of only a few of the members of this remarkable family who became more or less famous. To go into detail would be to give much of the early history of both Virginia and Kentucky, while a recital of the incidents connected with the lives of the husband and father of Mrs. Fremont would include many of the most interesting events relating to the settlement and growth of much of our western territory. But this paper is much too long already, and I will only add the wish that we may always hold in loving remembrance the names of Elizabeth Benton and her famous daughter, Jessie Benton Fremont.

EMMA S. WHITE,
Historian Elizabeth Benton Chapter D. A. R.

MISSOURI FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

Columbia, Mo., March 18, 1909.

In accordance with the program recently sent to the members the Third Annual Meeting of the Missouri Folk-Lore Society was held March 12 and 13, 1909, at the University of Missouri, Columbia.

The Treasurer's report showed a balance of $22.70 on hand at the close of last year.

The following officers were elected:

President—Miss Mary A. Owen, St. Joseph.

Vice Presidents—Dr. W. L. Campbell, Kansas City; Principal J. N. Powell, St. Louis; Miss Mary A. Wadsworth, Columbia.

Secretary—Professor H. M. Belden, Columbia.

Treasurer—Mrs. L. D. Ames, Columbia.

Director (succeeding Professor Weeks)—Dr. F. A. Golder, Columbia.

At the business meeting it was proposed by Dr. Golder that arrangements be made for the regular publication of the work of the Society. The Executive Board was asked to formulate a plan for the purpose to be submitted to the Society at its next annual meeting.

A list of the active members of the Society is enclosed. If the Society is to undertake publication, either the annual dues or the membership must be greatly increased. The Secretary will be glad to send application blanks for membership to any member who can use them.

H. M.BELDEN, Secretary.

Membership List, March, 1909.

Hon. D. C. Allen, Liberty.
Prof. H. B. Almstedt, Columbia.
Mrs. L. D. Ames, Columbia.
Mr. J. N. Baskett, Mexico.
Miss Elizabeth Bedford, Rome, Ga.
Dr. William G. Bek, Columbia..
Prof. H. M. Belden, Columbia.
Miss Mary D. Breed, Columbia.
Prof. W. G. Brown, Columbia.
Mr. W. V. Byars, St. Louis.
Dr. W. L. Campbell, Kansas City.
Miss Jennie F. Chase, St. Louis.
Hon. C. W. Clarke, Kansas City.
Miss Charlotte Corder, Morrisville.
Mr. Harold Crandall, Normandy.
Principal J. C. Edwards, St. Louis.
Miss Katherine Edwards, Centralia.
Prof. C. A. Ellwood, Columbia.
Miss L. R. Ernst, St. Louis
Mrs. Louise Norwood Fitch, Columbia.
Miss Frances E. Gleason, Ferguson.
Dr. F. A. Golder, Columbia.

Miss C. Grace, St. Louis.
Mr. Brady Harris, Belton.
Miss Idress Head, St. Louis.
Miss Lillian H. Heltzell, St. Louis.
Prof. B. F. Hoffman, Columbia.
Mr. J. F. Huckel, Kansas City.
Mrs. A. C. R. Janni, St. Louis.
Mr. W. S. Johnson, Tuscumbia.
Miss Clara F. Jones, St. Louis.
Miss Jennie M. A. Jones, St. Louis.
Hon. Gardiner Lathrop, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. F. W. Lehmann, St. Louis.
Mr. B. M. Little, Albay, Albay, P. I.
Miss Ethel Lowry, Columbus, Kas.
Prof. A. C. Lovejoy, Columbia.
Mrs. G. B. MacFarlane, Columbia.
Mr. L. A. Martin, Chillicothe.
Miss Josephine Norville, Chillicothe.
Miss Mary A. Owen, St. Joseph.
Miss Eva L. Packard, Excelsior Springs.
Prof. H. C. Penn, St. Louis.
Principal J. R. Powell, St. Louis.
Miss Harriet Rees, St. Louis.
Mr. G. W. Ridgeway, Kirksville.
Mr. F. A. Sampson, Columbia.
Miss Emma G. Simmons, Madison, Wis.
Miss Mary C. Smith, St. Louis.
Mr. Douglas Stewart, Chillicothe.
Mr. D. W. Swiggett, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Miss Antoinette Taylor, St. Louis County.
Judge John L. Thomas, Washington, D. C.
Miss Calla Varner, Maryville.
Professor Jonas Viles, Columbia.
Prof. E.M. Violette, Kirksville.
Miss Mary A. Wadsworth, Columbia.
Miss Lois Welty, Oregon.
Mrs. C. E. Whitney, Kansas City.

Mrs. M. S. Wildman, Columbia.
Mr. C. H. Williams, Ithaca, N. Y.
Miss Maude Williams, Warrensburg.
Mrs. A. C. Woods, Chicago, Ill.

Please notify the Secretary of any errors or omissions.

NOTES.

A History of Masonic College was prepared by Mr. E. N. Hopkins, of Lexington, and published in Petals, the year book of Central College, Lexington, for 1908.

Mr. Wood's paper on the Settlement of Columbia, in the April number of the Review states that it was not known from what county Daniel Orear came. Mrs. Alice O. Macfarlane supplies this information. Daniel Orear was her grandfather, who came from Montgomery county, Kentucky, in 1838 with his sons Robert, John, Allen, William, Tandy and Samuel, and also three daughters.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Society held its second annual summer meeting in St. Louis, June 17, 18 and 19. The society was organized in Lincoln, Nebraska, November, 1907, when Francis A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, was elected president, and C. S. Paine, of the Nebraska Society, was elected Secretary, which position he still holds. The membership has reached 300, the members living in thirty-five states and Canada.

The second meeting was held at Lake Minnetonka during the summer of 1908, and during the same year the winter meeting was held in connection with the American Historical Association at Richmond, Virginia. The next meeting with that Association will be at New York during the holidays and the third summer meeting will probably be at Iowa City, Iowa.

The program at St. Louis was an interesting one, including

papers from three members of the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, Hon. E. M. Pollard, formerly member of Congress from Nebraska, Prof. C. F. Marbut, of the University of Missouri, Prof. E. A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, Prof. Benj. F. Shambaugh, of the Historical Society of Iowa, John H. Reynolds, of the Arkansas Historical Commission, Wm. A. Meese, of Moline, Illinois, F. A. Sampson, of the State Historical Society of Missouri and others.

In connection with the meetings there was a banquet at the Planters, an automobile ride to University City, Washington University and St. Louis University, and a trip to the Kahokia or Monk's Mound in Illinois.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise Its Origin and Authorship. By P. Orman Ray, Ph. D. Pennsylvania State College. Cleveland, 1909.

In the Review for October, 1907, a paper by the above author was printed on "The retirement of Thomas H. Benton from the Senate and its Significance." This was a condensation of two chapters in the above work, since published.

In the Bibliography seven newspapers of 1849 to 1854 are given, and the statement is made that newspapers have been an invaluable source in the preparation of this book. The Missouri newspapers and the Washington correspondence of the great eastern papers have been of most value.

Phi Beta Kappa Catalogue of the Alpha of Missouri 1901-1909... Columbia, 1909.

This contains a sketch of the history of this honor society, constitution and by-laws of the United Chapters, and of the Missouri Alpha, and a list of the members of the latter, each with a short biographical sketch. While the chapter is only eight years old it has been so liberal with its election to honor-

ary membership that it has made more than a half dozen other chapters have made in fifty years.

The publication is a creditable one of 111 pages, and is bound in art vellum.

The origin of the Werewolf Superstition, by Caroline Taylor Stewart, A. M., Ph. D. Assistant Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Missouri, 1909.

This interesting paper by Dr. Stewart, which was read at the annual meeting of the Missouri Folk Lore Society, is now issued as one of the University studies.

Story of the Grand River Country, 1821-1905, Memoirs of Maj. Joseph H. McGee. (By Rollin J. Britton, pseud Guy Blue.) Gallatin, Mo., n. d.

This is a valuable contribution to the local history of Gallatin and Daviess county to the Mormon war in Missouri, in the civil war in the above county, and to the biography of the old citizens of Missouri. It is by an attorney living at Gallatin, who under the pseudonym of Guy Blue, has published several other works that are in the Society library. If some one in each county in the state would preserve local historical and biographical facts in a similar way it would make a great addition to the history of the state.

Short Stories and Poems by American authors. New York, Cochrane Pub. Co., 1909.

A pleasing sketch or story, and five poems are by a Missouri authoress, Grace Hewitt Sharp.

Vaccine and Serum Therapy including also a study of infections, theories of immunity, opsonins and the opsonic index. By Edwin Henry Schrorer, M. D. St. Louis, C. V. Mosby Co., 1909.

The author is Assistant Professor of Parasitology and Hygiene in the University of Missouri, and was formerly in the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. The book is a well printed one of 131 pages.

NECROLOGY.

Hon. Hugh Robb Brasfield, a member of the House from Putnam county in the last session of the Missouri General Assembly died in a hospital in Kansas City, June 6, 1909. For years he had suffered from stomach troubles, and these with overwork in the session of the Legislature caused his death. He was born in Putnam county, Missouri, September 17, 1855, and had lived in that county all his life. In the 44th General Assembly he was in the minority party in the House, but in the 45th General Assembly he was of the majority, and held positions in the committees on railroads and on appropriations, and was an active, efficient worker on both committees.

Ex-Governor Thomas T. Crittenden, a member of this Society, died at Kansas City May 29, 1909, following a stroke of apoplexy two days before. He was born January 22, 1832, in Shelby county, Kentucky, nephew of John J. Crittenden, governor of and Senator from Kentucky. He graduated from Center College, Danville, Kentucky, in 1855, and was admitted to the bar in 1856. In 1857 he came to Missouri, and settled at Lexington. When the civil war came on he actively espoused the Union side and was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 7th Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, with John F. Philips, now judge of the United States Court at Kansas City, as colonel. He was mustered out of service April 7, 1865, and resumed the practice of law at Warransburg, with Gen. F. M. Cockrell, since United States Senator, as partner. In 1864 he was appointed Attorney General to fill the unexpired term of Aikman Welch. In 1872 and 1876 he was elected to the forty-third and forty-fifth congresses, and in 1880 was elected on the Democratic ticket as Governor of the State for a four years term. While Governor he succeeded in breaking up the James gang, by offering a reward for them dead or alive, following which Jesse

James was killed by Bob Ford. During the second administration of President Cleveland, he was Consul General to Mexico, and after his return made his home in Kansas City.

Robert P. Curran, the last survivor of Captain Edward Florey's Company, that went from Chariton county, Missouri, under command of Col. Richard Gentry to the Seminole war in 1837, died April 6, 1909, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. J. T. Coleman, near Keytesville, Missouri, in the 90th year of his age.

Hon. James G. Donnell, who was a member of the thirty-third and thirty-sixth General Assemblies from Madison county, died in St. Louis, May 19, 1909, at the age of 70 years. For the last seventeen years he was an inspector in the office of the Surveyor of Customs in St. Louis. During the civil war he was a drillmaster in the Confederate army. He was a member of the Masonic lodge at Fredericktown and was buried at that place under Masonic auspices.

Henry Lick, founder of the Purcell Press, died at his home near Neosho, Missouri, April 23, 1909, aged 72 years. He was a printer and publisher in Missouri before the Civil War. During the war he established a paper at Kansas City, and in 1870 started the "Southwest" at North Springfield, and some years afterward published a paper at Peirce City. In 1889 he went to California but after his plant there was destroyed by the earthquake he returned to Missouri and three years ago established the Purcell Press, which he sold about six months later.

Will Ward Mitchell, author, poet and editor, is believed to have committed suicide, his decomposed body having been found in the Blue river at Blue Mills the first part of April, having been there probably three months. Some years ago he was editor of the Jeffersonian, at Higginsville, but suffered a nervous break down from overwork. Mr. Mitchell published seven books and booklets of poetry, of which the Historical Society has five. He was 38 years old.

Judge Henry M. Ramsey for twelve years on the circuit court bench at St. Joseph, and at one time candidate for Supreme Court judge, died at the age of 60 years.

Hon. James Roach, representative from the Western District of Jasper county in the 45th General Assembly of Missouri, died at Jefferson City, of typhoid fever, May 16, 1909. He was born near Milwaukee, Wisconsin, November 14, 1857, and spent some years of his early life in Neosho county, Kas., but about all of his manhood life was spent in Jasper county. He was elected to the legislature as a Republican in 1904, and re-elected in 1906 and 1908.

Hon. James Josiah Shaw was born in Christian county, Kentucky, November 18, 1879, and when an infant his parents moved to Dade county, Missouri. He enlisted in the Union army August 16, 1861, and served during the entire period of the Civil War in the 6th and 15th Missouri cavalry. In 1904 he was elected a member of the House of the 43rd General Assembly. He died at his home in Dade county, and was buried at Greenfield, May 2, 1909.

Hon. Eugene W. Stark was born in Pike county, Missouri, August 8, 1865, where he grew up on his father's farm. He received his education in the public schools of Louisiana and the college at Le Grange. At an early age he acquired an interest in the Stark Nursery and Orchard Company of Louisiana, a $1,000,000 corporation, one of the largest of its kind.

He was elected judge of the county court of Pike county, and in 1908 was elected Senator to the 45th General Assembly from Pike, Lincoln and Audrain counties. Although suffering from gall stones and Bright's disease he was a hard worker in the Legislature and served on several committees. He was operated upon at a hospital in St. Louis, and died June 15, 1909.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

OFFICERS.

E. VIOLETTE, Kirksville, President.
H. R. TUCKER, St. Louis, Vice President.
EUGENE FAIR, Columbia, Secretary.
N. M. TRENHOLME, Columbia, Editor.

THE MEETING AT COLUMBIA, MAY 1.

The regular spring meeting of the Society was held at Columbia on Saturday, May 1st. There were two sessions of which the most interesting was that held in the morning from ten to twelve. A good attendance of members and visitors listened to two excellent papers on the teaching of history. The first paper was that of Professor E. M. Violette of the Kirksville Normal on "Setting the Problem," an interesting and forceful discussion of teaching methods which we hope to publish in the next number of the Review; the other paper by Professor Charles A. Ellwood, of the Department of Sociology in the University of Missouri, on the question of "How History Can Be Taught from a Sociological Point of View," is published in this number of the Review. These papers were discussed at brief length by various members of the Society and a profitable morning was spent. At the afternoon session an interesting research paper on "The Swedish Settlement in Delaware" was read by Mr. H. A. Trexler of Hardin College, Mexico, Mo., and reports were made from the Committees on History in Secondary Schools, represented by Professor Violette, and on History in Elementary Schools, represented by Professor Lewis of the Maryville Normal. The annual election of officers resulted as is indicated at the head of this section of the Review and the Society adjourned to meet again at St.

Louis, along with the State Teachers Association, during the next Christmas vacation.

The attendance at the above meeting while not as large as might be desired was fairly representative of the state, and brought forth an interesting amount of information and discussion in regard to the teaching of history in high schools, normals and colleges of the state. The papers presented were of a helpful and stimulating character and their publication in this section of the Review will, it is hoped, bring them to the notice of many teachers who were unable to be present at the meeting.

How History Can Be Taught From a Sociological Point of View

The title of this paper is "How History **Can** be Taught from a Sociological point of View," not how history **should** be taught. I wish to disclaim at the outset, in other words, the view that any science or subject should be taught chiefly as an aid to, or as illustrative of, some other science. Each science, in a sense, exists for itself, that is, represents some relatively independent human interest, and has a right to claim that it shall be studied for its own sake. But if anyone desires to teach history so as to illustrate the principles of social and institutional development, then the question how history can be so taught legitimately arises, and it is this question that I wish to discuss.

In my opinion, I may add, it is desirable that history should in some cases be taught from the sociological point of view. This is particularly true of the history taught in the High School. The object of teaching history in the High School is usually recognized to be not the satisfaction of some abstract intellectual interest, but to train for citizenship. And an essential thing in training for citizenship is to get the social point of view. Now the social point of view is undoubtedly gotten best from studying sacicty as a unity, the laws of its interdependence, functioning and development. But abstract sociology can not be introduced into high schools for many reasons. It can not, for one reason,

because psychology, the science upon which sociology immediately depends is as yet either not represented in the high school curriculum or is very inadequately taught. Again, the high school curriculum is already too overcrowded to permit the putting in of another science. Finally, it is pedagogically unsound to attempt to teach directly an abstract science of laws and principles, such as sociology is, to pupils of no greater intellectual maturity and preparation than high school pupils. Accordingly, if the laws and principles which lie at the foundation of our social life are to be studied in the high school (and it seems to me that there can be no question about the desirability of so doing), then such study must be through one of the concrete descriptive social sciences such as history. Sociological principles could be taught, it is true, through the descriptive study of present social conditions, but this has the disadvantages that it would add another subject to the curriculum, that there are no satisfactory texts on contemporary social conditions, and that there are few teachers who could present profitably such material to High School students. History, on the other hand, has certain advantages as a vehicle of sociological truths. It shows the movements of society, it exhibits institutions as in a process of growth, it gives a dymanic rather than a static view of the social life; it is already in the High School curriculum, and finally there are many teachers amply prepared on the historical side who might with a little effort get a fair preparation on the sociological side. My conclusion is, therefore, that for the present at least sociological principles can best be taught in the High School through history; and I will add that it is my conviction that courses in history generally, whether in High School or in college, would often gain in cultural value if taught from the sociological point of view.

For the sake of clearness a word must be said about the relations of history and sociology. Sciences are distinguished from each other by their problems. The problem of history, I take it to be, is "What was the social reality in the past?"—that is, past events and their connections. History is a con-

erete, descriptive science of the past of human society. The problem of sociology on the other hand is the laws or principles of the organization and evolution of society. It is an abstract, theoretical science of the social life. From this it might appear that sociology is a sort of abstract essence of history. And such it is in part, but it must be remembered that sociology also finds its material in contemporary social life, and in the customs and institutions of primitive and barbarous peoples. What is meant by "the sociological point of view" is, I trust, now clear. To teach history from the sociological point of view is to teach it so as to exhibit the laws or principles of social growth and development of social organization and functioning; in other words, so as to exhibit the factors that create human history in the objective sense.

A word must also be said about the equipment of the teacher who is to teach history from a sociological point of view. A thorough training in modern scientific history may be taken for granted, but I wish to emphasize the necessity of more than superficial training in sociology. At least two years should be spent in the study of the elements of sociology and of present sociological theory. It would be well also if to this were added some knowledge of the history of social theory, for an extensive knowledge of sociological literature can alone give a proper perspective and the balance which comes therefrom, and would often prevent the putting forward of theories which have been tried and found wanting. It is not impossible, however, for a teacher of history who has already left college or university to gain by well directed private reading a substantial equivalent of such two years' study of sociology in a university.

The first requisite for teaching history from the sociological point of view is that the history be not one-sided—that is, the history must be a broad history of all phases of a people's life, not of one phase, such as internal government and international relations. While political history is extremely important for teaching concretely the elements of political science, it is extremely deficient for illustrating those deeper

psychological and biological factors with which the sociologist is concerned. The student must be shown the domestic, the religious, the industrial, and the cultural phases of a people's social life, as well as the political; and all these must be shown to constitute a complex unity, which can not be understood except as a unity. In other words the social life of a people must be presented as a unity with all of its phases interdependent, none to be understood apart from the other. Texts that presented this view of history used to be rare, but fortunately they are becoming more common every day so that there is no longer any excuse for teaching special social history (say political history) when general social history is wanted.

Again, the view of history should be extended in time as well as "all-sided" if it is to illustrate best sociological principles. It is true that the intensive study of any epoch, no matter how brief, may be made to illustrate such principles abundantly. But in general it is true that the longer the period which it is studied the more social factors and principles are brought to light. For this reason, it is probable that the course in history best adapted to illustrate sociological principles is a course in general European History, including ancient, medieval and modern. Such a course, if dealing with the social life of European peoples upon all sides, would become practically a history of the development of western civilization, and could be made an invaluable aid to the comprehension of the factors in social evolution. A partial exception to the high valuation which the sociologist would place on such a course in general history must be made in favor of nineteenth century history. The nineteenth century was a tremendously dynamic epoch, and in some respects greater progress was made during it than during all preceding recorded history. The history of the nineteenth century, therefore, is well suited to illustrate the factors of social change, to exhibit the forces which made and remake human societies. Hence, also, American history from the earliest settlements down to the present, but particularly again in the nineteenth century, can be made

to serve splendidly to illustrate the factors in social development.

But the most momentous question in teaching history from a sociological point of view is, What theory of the social life shall be taught? The reply is that much can and should be done to prevent one-sided views of the social life. While the theory of society is not yet in a settled condition. both history and sociology teach that one-sided views of the social life are not justified. Yet these one-sided views prevail, both to the bane of social theory and social practice, and it must be the task of the general social sciences, history and sociology, to correct these. The most prevalent of these one-sided views of the social life today is the economic conception of social evolution, the so-called "materialistic conception of history," or, as I would prefer to call it, "economic determinism." This is the view, advocated by Karl Marx and his followers, that "the method of production of the material life determines the so-social, political and spiritual life-process in general." With this formula, his followers declare, Marx did for social evolution what Darwin did for organic evolution—reveal its essential law. Here, then, is a spurious sociology which is shouted from the housetops by the Marxian socialists of today, and even accepted by many who have no sympathy with the socialistic movement. I can not stop to criticise this economic view of social evolution except to say that scientific sociology finds no warrant for regarding economic factors as detriminative of all the rest of the social life, but finds rather that biological and psychological, not economic, elements are fundamental in the social life. And I imagine that practically all historians would say that history would have to be very much distorted in order to give such all-importance to economic factors as the Marxians claim. This is not saying, of course, that economic factors are not important in social evolution, but it is saying that history taught with a proper sociological perspective will assign to economic factors in the historical process their proper place alongside of many other factors that equally determine the social life of man.

It is the same with all the other one-sided theories of social evolution. Men like Buckle have claimed that geographical factors are determinative of all else in the social life. But geographical factors can be shown to play only a small part in determining social forms and social changes; and history taught from the sociological point of view will give them their due place without attempting to reduce the historical process to geographical terms. It is the same with the racial theories which Buckle denounced. No doubt "blood tells" in history, and racial heredity is a factor which must be taken into account in studying social occurrences. But to explain the social life of a people wholly in terms of their racial blood is a procedure without warrant in history or sociology. Ideological conceptions of history are no better than the other one-sided theories of social evolution. Hegel and some other philosophers of history have attempted to show that the historical movement has been determined by the evolution of certain leading ideas. But while ideas and beliefs have been true forces in history of which the historian and sociologist must take account, to conceive of social evolution as wholly or even dominantly an evolution of ideas is utterly to misconceive its nature. The same thing would have to be said, of course, of any attempt to interpret history dominantly in terms of religious beliefs and practices, or in terms of political forms and ideals. Finally, a word must be said about the great man theory of history, or, as I should prefer to call it, the individualistic conception of social evolution. According to this theory the social life is shaped chiefly, if not exclusively, by the achievements of a few great personalities. Perhaps on account of its detailed study of events ,and also on account of the science being burdened in the past by literary men more interested in the dramatic than in exact scientific truth, history has at times come more perilously near endorsing their view of social evolution than any other. The trouble with this view of history is that it leaves out of account the strong and deep undercurrents in a people's life which shape, not only social institutions, but even the great men themselves to whom

such great social potency is attributed. There is, no doubt, a place for the influence of individuality, personality, in social evolution, and history taught from the sociological point of view will give it its due place without disregarding the deeper forces which shape the social life of peoples. In short, history taught from the sociological point of view will give due weight to all of the factors evident in the historical process, such as geographical, racial, economic, intellectual, political, religious and personal; and thus will give a sane and balanced view of the social life as the outcome of many forces working together in a camplex process of evolution. If this can be done the one-sided views of the social life which now afflict, and often menace, society would soon disappear; and this I take to be a practical aim of both the historian and the sociologist.

In conclusion, I hope that I have showed you that sociology and history are so intimately related that the one can be taught through the other; that for the purposes of training for citizenship it is possible to teach through the medium of history sane and well-balanced views of the social life. Of course, how well this will be done in any particular instance will depend largely upon the training which the teacher has had in both history and sociology. That it is desirable that it should be done both from the point of view of culture and of citizenship seems to me beyond question.

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Note—In connection with the above paper the following books in sociology may be suggested to teachers of history for a short (say a year's) course of reading: Ross, **Foundations of Sociology** (Macmillan $1.25); Ross, **Social Psychology** (Macmillan $1.50); McDougall, Introduction to Social Psychology (London: Methuen & Co. $1.25); Giddings, **Descriptive and Historical Sociology** (Macmillan $1.75). For a two years' course of reading the following works should be added: Flint, **History of the Philosophy of History** (Scribner's $3.50); Forrest, **The Development of Western Civilization** (Univ. of Chicago Press $2.00); Sumner, **Folkways** (Ginn & Co., $2.00); Barth, **Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Sociologie** (Leipzig; Reisland, through Stehert of New York, $1.75.)

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HISTORICAL SKETCH OF KANSAS CITY FROM THE BEGINNING TO 1909.

Beginning. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Science often attempts to fix this at some particular period, but as no one knows certainly, this imperfect sketch of the history of Kansas City, Missouri, commences just where the Book does—"in the beginning."

Indians. From the Creator of the universe, this part of the western hemisphere must have passed to the original proprietor of our soil—the Indian. For when the white man here first set his foot, at the dawn of our known history, the copper-colored Indian was here with his squaw, his pappoose and his pony and in the actual, open and undisputed possession and control of all that country which is now known as North America.

1492. The earliest successful European discoverer, explorer and adventurer of this continent, was Christopher Columbus, of Spain, in 1492. After his party, there came hither first his many Spanish successors, then the subjects of sunny France and still later the English.

1540. It is more than probable, however, that the followers of the great Coronado were the first white visitors to this part of the country and the time about 1541.

The historical facts relating to this ill-fated expedition

in brief are: That following earlier reports which had already come to him, Charles V of Spain, and his Viceroy in Mexico (New Spain), directed Coronado to explore and subdue for the Spanish crown the City of Quivira and the seven cities of Cibola (buffalo) without knowledge as to the precise location of either; that Castenada, who accompanied the expedition as its historian, 20 years later wrote out his story thereof for the King, and from his writings, as well as from many subsequent publications the world today has all its information as to the success and failure of that undertaking; that Coronado first organized his forces at Compostella, Guadalajara, in Old Mexico, in February, 1540, but made his actual start from Culiacan, on the Pacific ocean, in April of that year, with 350 Spanish cavaliers and 800 Indian guides; that during his two years' quest, either the entire or detachments of this expedition wandered onward east and north through (now) Old Mexico, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and into the northeastern portion of Kansas, encountering en route and with strong arm subduing many recalcitrant Indian towns and villages, and treating with others who were more friendly; but that finally, disappointed and humiliated at his failure to find the gold, silver, treasure and cities for which he sought, Coronado and his surviving followers returned to the City of Mexico and thence on to Old Spain about 1542.

It is also historically certain that about fifty miles northwest from White Oaks, in New Mexico, may be seen today, still mutely bearing the ancient name of "Le Grande Quivira," the ruins of a once great city, which Coronada sought and found not, but which present-day archaeologists say must have contained a population of from 150,000 to 300,000. The dwelling houses, as now shown by these ruins, were constructed with mathematical accuracy of blue trachite and limestone, while the two ruined temples stand far above all others, with nothing to mark their uses other than that which now appears as the form of a Portugese cross in their front doors. Still traceable in this desert waste, irrigating ditches

indicate that this people once obtained their water supply from the adjoining mountains, but for more than one hundred years past, no water of consequence has been found within many miles of the ruins. Skeletons of the human, as well as of the lower animals, are there found; old mining shafts, and crude smelters of ages ago, are also found in that vicinity but no mines of either gold or silver. While the prehistoric ruins of other once populous cities, in widely differing points in New Mexico and Arizona, furnish persuasive proof that these were once among the famed "seven cities of Cibola."

Among the many traditions and legends respecting the causes which led up to the wanderings of this expedition, and today believed by many Spaniards, Mexicans and archaeologists of the Southwest, are at least two that are worth preservation: The one is that on their eastward journey, Coronado and his party, almost famished for water, finally reached the big spring near the Indian pueblo in Tagenx which is now Socorro, on the Rio Grands in New Mexico; that these Indian guides then knew that the City of Le Grande Quivira, the main object of Coronado's conquest and expedition, was only about 90 miles northeast of this point, but instead of guiding him there, they then purposely misled him and carried the expedition northward and up on the west bank of the Rio Grande del Dorte and on into Kansas.

The other is that, concealing their abiding place, for many long years, from some remote country in the far North, mysterious sun worshipers voyaged in their own ships to and quietly purchased rich and abundant supplies of merchandise from the traffickers of the City of Mexico and of Old Madrid, in Spain, and that they were ever laden with gold and silver and precious stones, and the merchants assumed that they must represent a powerful and wealthy people who were skilled in the arts and sciences and lived in many storied stone houses, with temples of wonderful magnificence, all enclosed within the walled city of Le Grande Quivira. However this may be, it is quite certain that the second Spanish expedition to that country, about 1549, did capture and sub-

due this ancient pre-historic city and people and then compelled all the residents of that vicinity to change their religion from worshipers of the sun to Catholicism. When the Toltecs, Aztecs, and Spaniards first came to the great Southwest, they found there, as elsewhere, the Indian. Through their priests and monks the Spaniards controlled all these natives, in that country, from about 1549 to 1680, at which later date the natives arose in their might and majesty, drove the foreign oppressors from their soil and, curiously enough, after this lapse of about 130 years, at once resumed the dress, habits, customs and religion of their fathers, and for many years thereafter held the undisputed possession of their native land. When the Spaniards returned to that country about 1740, they found this once happy, flowery and fertile valley a howling wilderness or barren waste; the once populous city of Le Grande Quivira deserted and with no trace of its former greatness beyond human skeletons and the ruins, while the shifting sands of the desert had covered the habitations of the people.

Between 1680 and 1740, it is probable that every form of man and beast capable of doing so, escaped that country before some impending calamity and were gradually swallowed up and lost in the adjacent country; but that all, unable through age or disease to so escape, perished through the sulphurous fumes of the then recent volcano at the **Mal Pais** (bad country), then and now just south of these ruins on the desert plain. An extinct crater, visited by the writer in 1892, is still seen; while the lava beds extend thence over 50 miles down that valley. Just who these people were, whence they came, whither and when they went, how they perished, are all questions which can not be accurately answered this side of the river called death; but the lover of the mysterious and unknown, the student, archaeologist and thinker of the future, will stand amid these ruins, and will lament the fact with uncovered head, that so little of it all is known to man.

But the precise point now of especial interest to the people of Kansas City, arises upon an analysis of the circum-

stantial evidence which points to the historical fact that at the eastern terminus of their long wanderings in search of the Quivira country, Coronado and his followers were the first white men to visit the very spot whereon now stands Kansas City.

There is a half legendary story to the effect that from the historic spot upon which he once stood in northeastern Kansas, Coronado and the forces under his command, passed on to where Atchison, Kansas, is now located, thence down the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas and thence 16 miles up the latter to Coronado Springs, later called Bonner Springs, in Wyandotte county, Kansas, where they spent the winter of 1541-42. It is known that Coronado's Spanish cavaliers, among other weapons, then carried and used an implement of war halbreds similar to the metallic Roman halbred, and in excavations in our Missouri river bottom lands, within the past few years there have been discovered and unearthed, in splendid state of preservation, beneath many feet of alluvial soil, the metallic heads of two such halbreds in this vicinity. The first is now in the possession of Professor John Wilson, a distinguished archaeologist at Lexington, Missouri, and was found just northeast of Kansas City in this (Jackson) county; while the other is in the hands of a Catholic priest at Leavenworth, Kansas, and was discovered just across the Missouri river from that city, in Platte county. Missouri. These late discoveries point to the conclusion that Coronado and his men once wandered over these hills and prairies and that at least two of his cavaliers lost their lives in this immediate neighborhood through either savage Indians or wild beasts, in both of which this country then abounded.

1584. Many scholars claim and few dispute the historic proposition that from the voyage and discovery of Columbus in 1492, the Crown, as well as the statesmen of Great Britain, longed to explore and own all the territory which later became America; and that Queen Elizabeth, "in the sixe and twentieth yeere" of her reign, and on March 25, 1584, at-

tempted to grant all this vast domain to her then trusted follower, Sir Walter Raleigh. To those of the present day it is a trifle curious to note the fact that in this patent the Virgin Queen described the grantee thereof as "our trustie and welbeloued seruant Walter Ralegh, Esquire, and to his heires and assigns forever;" and also designated this country as "remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories." This was the first step in the work of the English colonization of America, and while under the grant of this authority five different voyages were here made; yet that country did not then succeed in making a permanent settlement upon American soil.

1607. In establishing a starting point, known to all, it is well to here pause, look backward and reflect: That whether descended from Cavalier, Puritan, or Huguenot, the average American citizen has inherited and today holds, either consciously or unconsciously, many of the thoughts and theories of his remote ancestors, and that heredity, environment and education largely determine and fix our political and religious faith. And it should be remembered that the United States was originally founded and the first permanent settlements were here first made by peoples of widely divergent views on both polities and religion under the authority conferred by three Royal English grants to American colonists, as follows: Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1607; Plymouth, in Massachusetts, in 1620; and Charlestown, in South Carolina, in 1660.

1609. In the seventh year of his reign, James I, then King of England, by his royal patent dated May 23, 1609, granted to "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first colony of Virginia" (the same sovereign made the first cession to that colony in 1606) "all those lands, countries and territories situate, lying, and being in that part of America called Virginia," from Cape or Point Comfort, a strip of land 400 miles in width and therein designated as being "up into the land throughout from sea to sea." This cession from the Atlantic to the Pa-

cific Oceans sought to make this part of the territory not only English, but within and part of the Colony of Virginia, for Kansas City is located on this 400-mile wide tract of land running from "sea to sea."

The subsequent European claimants were as follows:

1682. Ceremonious possession was taken of all that country which afterward became the Louisiana Purchase, by, for and in the name of Louis XIV then King of Franee, at the mouth of the Mississippi river. on April 9, 1682, and this portion of the the country was then given the name of that sovereign. While that claim was made and thereafter maintained, yet the undisputed possession thereof did not actually begin, nor was there here made any permanent settlement, until the year 1699. New Orleans was founded in 1718 and permanent seat of the French Government was there established in 1722. In the meanwhile Louis XIV first granted this entire province to one Anthony Crozat in 1712 and his occupancy being a failure, later and in 1717 granted a similar charter to John Law. This, too, proved a failure, and in 1732 both charters were cancelled and all this country reverted to the Crown of France. But in history, song and story may yet be read and studied with profit the final failure of the John Law scheme under the name of the "Mississippi Bubble."

1763. Then in that stormy struggle between England and France to settle and adjust their conflicting claims to this territory and their international disputes growing out of the French and Indian wars, by the treaty of Fontainebleau, duly ratified by the crowned heads of France, England and Spain by the treaty of Paris on February 10, 1763, all the claims and possessions of France in all this country lying to the eastward of the Mississippi were ceded and granted to England, while all other portions of this country were then and thereby ceded to Spain.

This treaty fully made the ground upon which Kansas City stands again Spanish. Without apparent knowledge of this treaty of Paris, the City of St. Louis, in Missouri, was

laid out, founded and named in honor of Louis XV of France, in 1764; but in the following year Louis St. Ange de Bellerive there assumed the reins of government. Then came Count Don Alexandro O'Reilly, under the authority of the King of Spain, with an armed force, and formally took possession for the Spanish King on August 18, 1769. From this date on and in fact up to 1804 this territory was subject to and under the command of the Spanish Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana, whose seat of government was the City of St. Louis.

1800. But Europe was in turmoil, the great Napoleon was in the saddle and disarranging the map of all that country. No one seems to have known just what was coming next. So after many conferences and negotiations, the two countries of France and Spain at last got together and the result was the terms and conditions of the definitive treaty of St. Ildefonso entered into on October 1, 1800, by Napoleon, who was then the First Consul of the French Republic, on the one side, and the King of Spain on the other, by which all this country was retroceded to and again became a part of France.

1803. Immeasurably greater in all ways than any other land transaction of earth, either before or since, and of vaster direct personal concern to the people of America than all other treaties combined, in this year came the purchase and cession of Louisiana. The war of the Revolution had been fought and won, by our treaty of peace and cession, concluded with England in 1783, the United States had been granted all public lands, east of the Mississippi river (except in Florida), not owned by the original thirteen Colonies, the Federal Constitution had been proclaimed adopted in 1789, George Washington and John Adams had been and Thomas Jefferson then was the President of the United States of America. Then it was that almost unaided and practically alone, Robert R. Livingston, as our principal representative at the French Court, concluded with Napoleon Bonaparte, still First Consul of France, on April 30, 1803, the treaty of ces-

sion under and by the terms of which the French ceded and granted to the United States all that vast empire since known in history as the Louisiana Purchase. For a period of more than 100 years one of the illusions of our history has been that as our President, Thomas Jefferson, then was and today is entitled to all the credit, honor and glory of this great transaction. But a free people may always consider the truth of history. Jefferson was a cautious and conservative statesman. The historical facts, then well known, in brief are: That under the uncertain and somewhat contradictory instructions from our Government at Washington, our diplomatic representative who mainly negotiated this great treaty, was authorized and directed, not to acquire this empire, but "only to treat for lands on the east side of the Mississippi." In other words to acquire (among other rights) that part of the Purchase then known as the City and Island of New Orleans.

The Government at Washington did not, at first, dream of acquiring one foot of the unknown land west of the Mississippi river. The scheme to sell and cede to the United States all French possessions on this side of the waters, originated in the fertile brain of that marvelous man, Napoleon Bonaparte, who proposed to dispose of it all, because, as he then said, France "had to sell." Livingston had no authority to negotiate for the purchase of anything save the City and Island mentioned; indeed to do so was beyond and in practical violation of the instructions of our Government. Yet with far sighted statesmanship, rare courage and sagacity, he saw the tremendous advantage of the Purchase to our country, wisely and bravely assumed the responsibility, closed the negotiations and concluded this treaty. Hence to Napoleon's offer to sell and Livingston's wisdom and courage in buying, we are today indebted for the Louisiana Purchase. Livingston then said: "This is the noblest work of our lives."

When the treaty reached Washington in that summer, the administration was astounded at he audacity of Livingston as well as with the immensity of the transaction. Presi-

dent Jefferson at that period inclined to the opinion that our Government had no lawful right to buy or hold the purchased territory; talked and wrote about making "waste paper of the Constitution," and even went so far as to formulate, with his own hand, an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the government of the Purchase in the event that the Senate ratified the treaty. Great Livingston again went to the front and so strongly urged its ratification that the President finally yielded, and duly submitted the treaty for ratification, but suggested that but little be said about the constitutional question involved, but little debate be had, and that the Congress should act in silence.

Notwithstanding the doubts and fears of the executive and the fierce opposition, the Senate wisely took the broad national view that the right to acquire territory by conquest or purchase and govern it, was inherent in every sovereign Nation, that ours was a sovereign Nation, and accordingly the Senate, by an overwhelming majority, ratified the treaty and the Congress soon passed laws for the government of the Purchase, thus vindicating the sagacity, wisdom and statesmanship of Livingston as well as sovereignty of the United States.

Thus it came about that for the consideration named and about $15,000,000 of money, the United States purchased and France ceded to this Government, all the land that had been theretofore retroceded by Spain to France. Of this cession Napoleon then said: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." And in his message transmitting this treaty to Congress, which caused it proclaimed on October 21, 1803, in noting the possibilities of this purchase, President Jefferson then said: "The fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, and ample provision for our prosperity and a wide spread for the blessings of freedom and equal laws." All this occurred before the days when steam and electricity were har-

nessed and working for the use of man, and is therefore not so strange. Then the average American had no adequate conception of the West; the bulk of our population lived east of the Alleghanies; and the people of the Atlantic seaboard knew even less then than they now know of our country lying west of the Father of Waters. This cession included almost all of the now States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Oklahoma, Kansas, the two Dakotas, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Wyoming. Of late maps have been published and books written to prove that this purchase did not extend beyond the crest of the Rocky Mountains; but a study of congressional debates, upon this question, will convince the scholar and thinker that all the States named, and parts of others, were intended to be included. On October 31, 1803, the Congress duly authorized the President to take possession of and occupy this territory and on December 20, 1803, formal possession thereof was duly delivered by the Republic of France, through Lauissat, its Colonial Prefect, to the United States through W. C. C. Claiborne and James Wilkinson, as Commissioners of the Republic.

1804. For a few months after this purchase, all this country was known and designated as the Territory of Louisiana, but this was changed, by our Congress, on March 26, 1804, the now State of Louisiana and a part of that which is now Mississippi was designated the "Territory of Orleans" and all the remainder of the purchase was then called the "District of Louisiana;" and that Congress then further provided that the executive and judicial power of the Territory of Indiana should be extended to and over this District and "the Governor and Judges" of that Territory were therein given the authority to enact laws for and hold their courts therein. So in May, 1804, Governor William Henry Harrison, from the seat of justice of Indiana Territory at Saint Vincennes on the Wabash river, rode over on horseback to the City of St. Louis to ascertain the wants of our people in the way of laws and courts. Having satisfied himself on these

scores, this Territorial Governor returned to his home and during that and the following year "the Governor and Judges" of that Territory enacted and here enforced such laws as they deemen were needed by this "District."

In the spring of this year, too, the great Lewis and Clark expedition started from the City of St. Louis and came up the Missouri river and passed the site of Kansas City, on its way to the Pacific Ocean. The wondrously strange history and vaster possibilities of this expedition of 1804 and 1806, under the title of "The Conquest," has recently been well written and printed by Eva Emery Dye, of Oregon.

1805. On March 3, 1805, the Congress of the United States enacted a law which not only changed our official name from the "District of Louisiana" to the "Territory of Louisiana," but provided for our first local Territorial self government. That Congressional Act conferred upon the Governor of this Territory full executive authority, while the legislative power and powers to enact and enforce all laws was therein granted to that "Governor and the Judges or a majority of them."

1808. The most important and for reaching Indian treaty that was ever made anywhere, effecting early Missouri, was that treaty which upon its face recites the fact that it was "made and concluded at Fort Clark, on the right bank of the Missouri about five miles above Fire Prairie," on November 10, 1808, and that this fort was then located "on the south side of the Missouri, about 300 miles up that river" from the City of St. Louis.

This treaty was between the Big and the Little tribes of Osage Indians and our Government, and by its terms those tribes then being in actual possession, ceded and granted to the United States all lands lying eastward of a line drawn due south from Fort Clark, and running from the Missouri river to the Arkansas river. This then left as Indian lands and country all westward of the line so drawn.

Upon their slow voyage up the Missouri river on their way to the Pacific Ocean, in 1804, Lewis and Clark had first

established this fort, and then named it in honor of the junior member of their exploring party. After the ratification of the great Indian treaty of 1808, and as a tribute to the memory of the Osage tribes of Indians, the name of the place was changed from Fort Clark to Fort Osage, and still later was again changed to Sibley, to perpetuate the name and fame of George C. Sibley, who was at one time the U. S. Government agent at that point.

If any archaeologist is now curious to know just where to locate the site of ancient Fort Clark, the task is easy: Set up a compass anywhere on the Missouri-Kansas line, run due east twenty-four miles and thence due north to the Missouri river, and there may be found today the City of Sibley, in Jackson county, Missouri, once Fort Osage and still earlier Fort Clark.

1812. By an Act of Congress, which commenced "to have full force" on the first Monday in December, 1812, the name of this portion of the country was again changed from the Territory of Louisiana to the "Territory of Missouri;" and executive, legislative and judicial powers were then for the first time vested in and conferred upon our own peoples. Although the fathers then knew all about the Missouri river from near its source to its mouth, yet this was the first Federal recognition of the name now so well and highly honored—Missouri. This Act did not change our boundary lines and the Territory of Missouri then embraced and had jurisdiction over all the Louisiana Purchase, excepting only the extreme southern portion thereof, as stated. All general laws governing this Territory from 1803 to 1821, both Congresisonal and Territorial, may be found in print in Vol. 1 of the Territorial Laws of Missouri.

1820. The enabling Act of the Congress of March 6, 1820, was passed to authorize the people of this Territory to form a State and adopt a Constitution for their own government. The boundaries of the future State were then first fixed as they today remain, the "Platte Purchase" of 1837 excepted. Our delegates thereupon duly formed, adopted and

on July 20, 1820, sent to that Congress a State Constitution, which was not satisfactory to our National lawmakers.

Upon the questions raised in the discussion of the Enabling Act was fought the most terrific political battle that had ever been waged in this country up to that time. It is known in history as the "Missouri Compromise of 1820," and for length, intensity and bitterness this struggle then had no parallel in American history.

1821. The final result was that on March 2, 1821, the Congress by resolution provided for the admission of this State into the Union, with slavery, but "upon the fundimental conditions" named in the Act. On June 26 following, our Legislature entered its protest against that condition, but gave its reluctant assent to its terms, and lastly, on August 10, 1821, James Monroe, as President of the United States, proclaimed the historic fact that on that day Missouri became, and it has ever since been, a State of the American Union.

The organization, Constitution and admission into the Union of the State of Missouri, then left all the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase, lying westward and northward of this State, as unorganized territories, possessions of this Government, then subject to Congressional legislation, but having no laws of its own, excepting those heretofore passed by the several sovereigns named.

1825. The original proprietors, known as the Big and Little Tribes of Osage Indians, having relinquished their titles to all lands lying east of a due south and north line drawn from old Fort Clark to the Arkansas, in 1808, as stated heretofore, this left a strip of land 24 miles in width, lying due eastward of the west line of this State, and running from the Missouri river to the Arkansas river. The Indian title to this strip of land was relinquished by them and ceded to the Government of the United States by the terms of the treaty of Nampawarrah, or White Plume, of date June 3, 1825. From these Indian tribes the Government then derived its title to them, and not until then did the United States, as a part of the public domain, come into full and complete

possession, ownership and control of the lands upon which Kansas City now stands. This strip of land was soon opened up for entry, purchase and settlement. Hundreds of hardy pioneers with their wives and children were waiting on the border line, and when the day came that they could lawfully do so, these men here made the first great "rush" on record for Indian lands.

1826. Jackson county was organized under the General Assembly Act of date December 21, 1826, and the first session of its county court was held at Independence on July 2, 1827. But prior to this time the lands now embraced within the limits of this county had by law been theretofore included within the borders of the counties, successively, of St. Louis, Howard, Cooper, Lillard (name later abolished), Lafayette and finally Jackson.

1828. When the title to this strip of land was fully vested in the United States by the extinguishment of the Indian title in 1825, the eastern portion of Jackson county had been settled for some years; as early as 1821 a number of French-Canadian trappers, traders and huntsmen had squatted upon and occupied lands along the Missouri river front; but the first white American to make a permanent entry of and settlement upon lands now included within the boundaries of Kansas City, was James H. McGee, whose patent for his 320 acres of this land bears dates November 14, 1828.

1833. Under a grant of legislative authority, the town of Westport, now within and a part of Kansas City, was established in 1833, and for many a long year thereafter the few people who lived in the straggling hamlet along the Missouri river front and at the steamboat landing here, were known only as citizens of Westport Landing.

1839. In the report of his explorations of 1673, Marquette first mentions the Kansas City tribe of Indians as being "on the Missouri, beyond the Missouris and Osages," and from that tribe the Kansas river derived its name. The name of tribe and river were both spelled and pronounced in very different ways by the explorers, but Kansas City was

originally so named to perpetuate both, and was first platted as the "Town of Kansas" in 1839.

1850. On February 4, 1850, the Jackson county court, by its order of record entered at Independence, first formally and duly incorporated "The Town of Kansas," and then gave to the people, near the mouth of the Kansas river, their first local self government.

1853. By a special Act of the Missouri Legislature, duly adopted on February 22, 1853, the name of the "Town of Kansas" was changed to the "City of Kansas," and on that day we first became an incorporation under the laws of this State. Various amendments were later made to that charter, and by the first freeholders' charter, adopted by our people under grant of constitutional authority in 1889, the name was again changed from the "City of Kansas" to "Kansas City." But for many long years now this city has properly and proudly borne its present name of Kansas City, Missouri.

1854. It may again be here noted in passing that all that country from the westward line of Missouri to the crest of the Rocky mountains was and officially remained unorganized "Indian country" up to 1854. Repeated efforts had been theretofore made by the Congress of the United States to segregate it from the State of Missouri, and bills had been introduced at Washington to make it all into one Territory under the name of Platte and Nebraska; but finally on May 30, 1854, the Congress adopted an Act, known throughout the English speaking world as "The Kansas-Nebraska Act," under which these two were created and erected into Territories on the same day. Kansas became a State of the American Union on January 29, 1861, and Nebraska on March 1, 1867.

In the "Historical Sketch" of Kansas City, printed as a preface to our annotated charter and revised ordinances in 1898, appear in full the facts relating to two amusing incidents of that which might have been: The one is that at the first platting and naming of this city, in 1839, one of our early and wealthy settlers, who always signed his name as "Abraham Fonda, Gentleman," because he was not a working man,

earnestly desired that the future city be named in his honor as "Port Fonda." He was about to succeed in this when, unfortunately for his fame, he became involved in a fierce quarrel with another part owner named Henry Jobe. The combined efforts of the old "Town of Kansas" company and Jobe's threats of fist and shotgun finally prevailed and are responsible for our present name. The other is that in 1855, a concerted effort was ineffectually made to cede and grant all lands lying west and north of the Big Blue river, from the point at which that historic stream crosses the Missouri-Kansas line near the ancient town called "Santa Fe," down to its mouth on the Missouri, to the then Territory of Kansas. Had the former scheme won out, Kansas City would now be "Port Fonda," and had the second won, we would now be in and a part of Kansas.

1909. Through all the seething and roar, the bustle and the hurry, the buying and building, the enlarging and progress of the years intervening between 1839 and 1909, Kansas City has ever pursued the even tenor of its way, the Kansas City spirit pervading city and country alike; nothing save an invisible line divides the two great municipalities near the mouth of the Kansas, and the stranger within our gates would not dream of its existence; while between the two combined cities and their suburbs, we now have a population of half a million of happy and prosperous people, all hopefully confident that the future of Kansas City will be even more glorious than its past.

H. C. McDOUGAL.

MISSOURI'S ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS.

Part II.

Manners, Customs and Habits.

It is not our purpose to enter at length into the habits and vocations of the Indians who once inhabited our State, but only to give such a characterization of their customs and manner of life as will give the reader a fair understanding of their primitive life, the life they were living when our ancestors first met them.

The Family.

We first notice the family, the most important feature of the Indian nation, as it is of all nations. We find the family life of the Indians to be very much like that of other people.

As a rule each family lived in its own separate lodge. Their families, like ours, might consist of a newly married couple, or it might include dependent parents, grandparents and children. The lodge consisted in the winter usually of a bark covered wigwam or hut, and in the summer of a portable teepee constructed of poles covered with skins. Of this home the husband was supposed to be the head, but in some cases, as among us, the wife did much of the ruling.

In an Indian family the woman did most of the work. such as gathering the wood, bringing water, preparing the meals, dressing hides and skins and making them into moccasins and other articles of clothing, and building and setting up the lodge. Then in the spring she prepared the ground by digging, for a crop of corn, beans and tobacco. In fact, all of the drudgery fell to her lot; yet all this she did without protest and seemingly willingly. The man made his bows, spears and other weapons of war and the chase, and supplied his wigwam with meat, often not a very easy thing to do. On

his success as a hunter depended the welfare of his family. He was the food winner. To do ordinary manual labor one hundred years ago was a disgrace for men; it was woman's work, and among the wild tribes it is still so considered.

We look upon such customs as imposing great hardship on the women, but, in truth, the labor of our Missouri farmers' wives and in fact of a majority of married women is much more exacting and strenuous than that of their dusky sisters. With all of the Indian woman's tasks she was idle a great portion of her time and indulged in various recreations and amusements. We never heard of an Indian woman suffering from nervous prostration or from other diseases of a kindred nature. As a rule, husband and wife lived in peace together and seemed to be strongly attached to each other. The writer, who lived several years among Indians, knew of but one case of abuse of a woman by her husband, and in that case the man was drunk; and the only divorce of which he had any knowledge, was that of a polygamous wife because she and the real wife did not get along peaceably with each other.

Mrs. Hamilton, who lived five years among the Osages, says she never heard of an Osage man abusing his wife or children. In fact, as a rule, he was devoted to his family. Polygamy was practiced to a limited extent by most all tribes originally.

The mother had control of the children. As soon as the girl was large enough to assist her mother in her work she was set to such tasks as she was capable of, but the boys were allowed more liberty. The old women did such work as they were able and willing to perform; they were never compelled to work, but willingly performed such service as they could. As with white people, the grandmother was often the most favored and best loved member of the family and was allowed to sit in the cozy corner.

Parents were careful in the training of their children. They were taught by the mother never to pass in front of people if they could avoid it. Young girls couldn't speak to any

man except he be a brother, father, mother's brother, or her grandfather, otherwise they would give rise to scandal. The virtues of their women were jealously guarded and their reputation defended. Virtue among the women was all but universal. (1)

Liberality is a marked feature of Indian character. The worst thing that could be said about one was that he was stingy. If one has meat, all have. And such a thing as one wigwam being out of food, and its inmates going hungry, while in another there was a surplus did not exist in an Indian village. The fortunate hunter divides today with his less sussessful brother. Tomorrow the conditions may be reversed.

A Debutante.

When a girl arrived at a marriageable age which was very young, twelve to fourteen years, the mother or guardian dressed the debutante in a bright blanket and skirt, with calico waist trimmed with bright ribbons, beads and other ornaments. She then paraded her through the village, the girl walking behind her mother or guardian. This meant that she was ready for matrimony.

The Marriage Costume.

There was no courtship between the young folks. The parents and kinsfolks arranged the marriage by consent or gift. The boy and girl perhaps never saw each other till their wedding hour.

To induce the parents of the girl to give her in marriage, gifts of ponies, blankets and other articles were made by the parents or other relatives of the boy. If the first lot of presents was not sufficient to induce the girl's friends to consent to her marriage others were added. It was necessary that these presents be sufficient in number and amount to be divided among the girl's near friends so that all might receive a share.

When the gifts were first brought to the bride to be, time was given for the relatives to be consulted, or called together.

1. Omaha Sociology by Rev. J. O. Dorsey in third annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1881-81, pp 266.

The gifts were generally accepted on the second day. Then two days were given for the preparation for the wedding. Some food was sent by the groom each day to his expected bride, to let her know what kind of fare she might expect after marriage.

On the fourth day a flag was raised by all the families interested. After this the bride was prepared by putting on all of her best clothes, and taking all her other personal effects with her, often consisting of several fine robes, dresses or blankets. Then she was taken to the groom's lodge on the best pony, while another was led near her side. Then the race by the squaws from the groom's tent began. The one reaching her first got the pony that was led, while those second in the race divided the bride's robes among them, leaving her only one scant poorest robe, taking her ribbons, jewelry, etc. When she reached the groom's home the other women lifted her off her pony, put her on a blanket and took her in, not letting her touch the ground, and she was lifted from the blanket to a white spread or tablecloth where the wedding supper was spread. Then the groom was called from his hiding place, for he never appeared till called, being much more bashful than the white grooms. He seated himself beside her and if both were happy in their parental choice they ate and drank together. (2) During the wedding feast the women relatives of the bride were outside the lodge engaged in a kind of religious service, invoking the Great Spirit's blessing to rest on the newly married couple and exhorting the bride to live virtuous and maintain the honor of her family, rehearsing the noble traits of her ancestors for generations past and urging her to live a life that would perpetuate that honor, that her friends may never have cause for shame on her account.

The husband's parents provide for the young couple for the first year of their married life after which time the newly married cared for themselves. The groom's father

2. History of the Osage Nation, by Philip Dickerson. n. p., n. d. pp. 21, 23.

always sets his son up for housekeeping as well as he was able.

Burial Ceremony.

When a prominent man died he was immediately dressed in his best robe or other garment preparatory to burial. The dead man's personal effects, including his saddle, bridle and blankets were placed in the grave with him and his best horse led to the grave and strangled and placed on the grave. These things were in some way to accompany the departed to the happy hunting ground.

Mourning for the Dead.

After the burial, a professional mourner would be secured who would visit the grave every day for a moon, going early in the morning and wailing for about an hour. In this wailing they were simply praising the dead, referring to their good deeds in life, etc., as we who are enlightened speak in praise of loved ones when they have left us. This hired mourner leaves his home and lives in the woods alone, eating one meal a day during the period of mourning. He would not communicate with any one during the time. The relatives of those who do not employ a mourner visit the grave for the same period and go through the same ceremony.

Relatives mourned sometimes for a year.

An Osage funeral dirge was like this:

"My dear father exists no longer; have pity on me, O Great Spirit! you see I cry forever; dry my tears and give me comfort." The warrior's songs are thus: "Our enemies have slain my father (or mother); he is lost to me and his family; I pray to you, O Master of Life! to preserve me until I avenge his death and then do with me as thou pleasest." (3)

During this period the females of the family and relatives of the deceased wore cakes of wet ashes on their heads, and the men blackened their faces with mud. These tokens of grief were worn constantly, except when partaking of food. If one offered them food they would remove the black mud

3. The Expedition of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, Coues' edition, N. Y., 1895, Vol. II, p. 368.

or ashes before they would touch their food. If a man lost his wife he would give away or destroy all of her cooking utensils and other household goods as a mark of respect.

Feasting of Guests.

One of the ancient customs of the Shawnees, as well as of other Indian tribes, was to always place food before a visitor on his arrival. At any hour, day or night, as soon as a friend entered the wigwam the women would immediately set about the preparation of a meal for the guest. This same guest may have just feasted with another friend, but this would form no excuse for refusing to eat again. Among some of the tribes this custom worked both embarrassment and hardship on the early missionary, who was expected to eat with every family he visited in the rounds of his pastoral calls, and the more he ate the better was his standing with his host. Even after the people became well civilized they seemed to cling to this old custom.

The Peace Pipe.

The pipe of peace, so called, was not of any particular form or kind, as some have supposed, but was so called from its use on certain occasions. When there was to be a conference or council of importance, especially if a reconciliation was to be brought about with a party where disagreement or a quarrel had existed, the pipe of peace was brought into use. All parties to the conference would be seated in a circle, the head man of the group, before beginning the talk, would give his pipe to some one of the party, who would fill it and light it. It was then handed back to the chief or principal man, who would give a few whiffs and pass it to the next, and he to the next one, until it had passed entirely around the circle. If any one refused to smoke it was evidence that he was not in accord with some of the party, and, as we remember, he was then excluded from the council.

Dances.

Probably the best known and most generally observed was the green corn dance or festival, for it really was a fes-

tival, the dance being only an incident. No one was allowed to eat green corn even from his own little field until this feast was celebrated. We give two other feasts very similar to the green corn feast.

The Bread Dance. (4) "In the fall of each year a certain number of men—five, I believe—are sent out on a hunt. They stay three days. On the third day, when they are returning, and are near enough to be heard, they fire their guns, and the men and women in camp go out to meet them. The hunters are taken off their horses and sent to their wigwams to rest. The game is cooked and put in a pile on the ground, leaves having been spread on the ground first. They also have a pile of bread, which has been made of white corn pounded in a mortar for the occasion. The Indians then dance around the prepared provisions and sing, and then sit down. The meat and bread are then passed around. This ends the religious part of the feast. All is very, very solemn during this part of the ceremony. After this they can frolic all they please. The women have their petticoats decorated with silver brooches and all the handkerchiefs they can. (Mrs. C. refers doubtless to highly colored handkerchiefs that in an early period were very highly prized by all Indians.) The men were dressed in buckskin leggins and moccasins. They also wore a loin-cloth and blanket.

The Stomp Dance.—This dance was similar to the other, only instead of the meat and the bread they had piles of roasting ears (green corn) . In the spring of the year all the Indians got together and planted corn. Some would drop the grains, others would cover them. When this was done they had their game of ball. It was played like our football, rather a combination of football and basketball; the men on

4. The quotation is from a communication made to the author by Mrs. Nancy Chouteau. She was born in Wa-pa-ko-ne-ta, Ohio, in 1831. Her father, John Francis, was a hereditary chief. Her mother died when she was a young girl. She was educated at the Quaker Mission school. Since her husband's death she has lived with her children, her present home being with her daughter in Kansas City. She is a devout member of the Catholic church. She was still in excellent health at the date of the communication in 1907.

one side and the women on the other. The women were allowed to run with the ball and throw it, but the men had to kick it. Before the game began each player had to put something at a designated place (as a wager)—a ring, string of beads, handkerchief, etc. When the game was all over these things were given to the winning side, and each player got back his or her own article and the other man's trophy. They always stopped playing before sundown. They were superstitious. They thought that if they played until after sundown someone would be crippled."

The first two lines of the Stomp dance evidently belong to the green corn festival, the remainder to the planting or spring festival. There was a festival in the spring at corn planting time, then the green corn festival in the summer; the third, here called the bread dance. It was held just before going on the fall hunt.

Among the dances common to many tribes were the war dance held before a war expedition, and was intended to secure success of the undertaking; and the game dance just before the hunters started in search of game for food. Sometimes the women in the absence of the men held dances for the success of both warriors and hunters. Another dance was conducted during the progress of a battle. Only a few engaged in these dances. I once witnessed such a dance, during an engagement between the Cheyennes and Kansans in Kansas in 1868. The dance, which was purely a religious one, was led by an old woman and a few other women uniting with her. I never witnessed a more solemn and serious ceremony.

An Honor Dance.

In the spring of 1868 a treaty council was held by the Osage, Drum Creek, Kansas. The Government was represented by Mr. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. One evening the Commissioner was notified that a dance had been arranged in his honor for that night. Probably one hundred men formed in line at the appointed time and the dance began. It was accompanied by a rude drum, the musician chanting

some kind of words in response to his own drum beats. The chant doubtless consisted of encomiums on the Government, the great virtues of the guest of honor, to which was probably added a list of their own numerous virtues and their loyalty to their great father, the President. The wierd chanting and the thud, thud, thud of the dancers continued far into the night, if they did not continue the whole night. As I write from memory I cannot be sure on this point.

There are many other dances, some general and others of a tribal or local character, but these we think, will give a pretty clear conception of the phase of Indian customs.

The Calling of an Assembly of Confederate Tribes.

Often, if not generally or universally, two or more tribes of Indians were united in a confederacy for mutual protection, as for war or other purposes. Meetings of these confederate tribes when exigencies arose were necessary for the gathering of war parties or the consideration of subjects of general welfare. Any tribe could call a meeting when it appeared necessary. The following method of notification was explained to the writer by Bluejacket: (5) "Sufficient messengers were selected, and a string given to each one containing a knot for each day intervening between the time of calling and the time of meeting. The first day the messenger passed through the tribe, to whom he bore the message, showing the string with the knots and giving the place of meeting. The next morning, before starting on his way, he would cut off a knot, and so on each day until his work of notification had been completed.

Ancient Religion.

"Father of all; in ev'ry age,
In ev'ry clime ador'd
By saint, by savage and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove or Lord."

To describe an all but extinct religion that has left us no altars, churches or history is no easy task, and at best

5. Charles Bluejacket was my interpreter while I was a missionary to the Shawnees, 1858-60.

must be very incomplete. We can only hope to give some features of the once universal faith of the red man that has come down to us largely through tradition.

The Indian religion was very simple and their creed a short one. They believed in a great first cause as the giver of life and the creator of all things, the Great Spirit, and that worship and adoration was to be paid to him.

They believed in the immortality of the soul; of a future existence in what is generally spoken of as the "happy hunting ground." Their idea of the future abode of all Indians was that it possessed all that was desirable in this life with none of this world's evils; a land where there was to be no sickness, death or enemies, and where game was inexhaustible.

Their religious worship consisted mainly of feasts and dances. We refer the reader to the feast and dances given in another part of this paper.

In addition to these fixed feasts and dances, there was the dance preceding an attack on an enemy, and a similar one preceding a hunt. In these the aid of the Great Spirit was invoked and an omen of good anxiously looked for. If, instead of an omen for good, there was an omen for evil, the contemplated enterprise would be abandoned.

There were times in which a prayer was made to the Great Spirit, just as the devout Christian prays to his Father in heaven. Theirs was a somber and joyless religion. A religion without love, and one in which there was found no place for repentance. It had to do with this life only, and had nothing to do in determining the state of joy and misery in the world to come. It taught that all, regardless of character, would be received and made welcome in the next world.

The spring feast was a thanksgiving service as well as to secure a good harvest. The summer, or green corn, feast was strictly a thanksgiving occasion, and so was the fall dance or feast of in-gathering or harvest. The feast and dance on the eve of war was to placate the Great Spirit and through his favor to obtain success in battle. If victorious,

the scalp dances which followed were really praise services; and if defeated, the dances were the occasion of humiliation and of bemoaning their sins which had angered the Great Spirit. There were other dances and ceremonies, but all were of a similar spirit or character.

The Shawnee Prophet claimed that he often had direct communication with the Great Spirit and that through divine influence he could foretell events and perform miracles. The last three days of his conscious life his mind was absorbed in religious contemplation.

"Lo the poor Indian whose untutored mind,
Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind,
* * * *
"Yet simple nature to his hope has given
Behind the cloud top't hill a humble heaven."

J. SPENCER.

DANIEL BOONE IN MISSOURI.

Fourth Paper.

According to orthodox standards Daniel Boone was not a religious man. At no time during his life did he ever unite with a church, and he died as he had lived, without a profession of religion. Yet there was no sect, Catholic or Protestant, within the limits of his influence that did not claim him as a friend. A short time before his death one of his sisters, a zealous church worker, wrote him a letter urging him to make a profession of religion and join some one of the orthodox denominations. He replied with the directness and consideration of manner which characterized all his acts. He said he had no desire to make a profession of religion, since he had nothing to profess; that he had endeavored all his life to live as an honest and conscientious man should, and he was willing to leave the future to the just decision of the beneficent Power which had brought him into this world and protected him through the many dangers to which he had been exposed. He was a philosopher rather than a Christian.

During the eight years that he lived under Spanish and French Government, from 1795 to 1803, inclusive, the Catholic faith was the State religion. As a rule the requirements of the Church were strictly enforced throughout the territory; but although Boone was a prominent officer of the Government, and treated Protestants with the same deference as Catholics, no complaint of any character was ever lodged against him. The higher authorities regarded him as good enough a Catholic to be entrusted with the important duties of his official station, while the Protestants, on the other hand, felt perfectly sure that his sympathies were with them. The conditions were peculiar, and are to be attributed to the ex-

traordinary character of the man. His mind, though uncultivated, seemed to embrace all that was good, either in philosophy or religion. He sat upon the high mountains of human thought, and looked serenely down upon the perturbed actions of men, a friend to all.

During the Spanish era, which lasted until 1801, no public worship except the Catholic was tolerated within the limits of the Territory; and each immigrant coming into the Boone settlement was required to be a "good Catholic." Yet it is a fact that not a single member of that Church came there under the Boone concession. The requirement was evaded by a legal fiction. Boone would have encouraged Catholics to come as readily as he did Protestants, but he had no friends or acquaintances who adhered to that faith, and consequently none came. Protestant families of all denominations settled in the district, obtained land grants and remained undisturbed in the profession of their faith. Protestant clergymen and missionaries found their way into the settlement and preached to the people. undisturbed by the Spanish authorities; although, for the sake of keeping up a show of authority, one might occasionally be threatened with imprisonment in the "calabazo" at St. Louis. It was the custom to wait until the ministers had about completed their tour, and then notify them that if they did not leave the Territory within three days they would be arrested. They always departed on time, and consequently escaped the penalty for the infraction of the law.

Abraham Musick, a Baptist minister, was one of those early-day missionaries, and very persistent in the propagation of his faith. Knowing the Spanish Lieutenant Governor personally, he applied to him for a license to preach in his own house, and to extend the same privilege to other Protestant clergymen. The Governor was horrified at the suggestion. "Impossible!" he exclaimed. "It would be a violation of the laws of the country." Then lowering his voice and assuming a milder tone, he continued: "I mean you must not put a bell on your house and call it a church, nor suffer any person

to christen your children but the parish priest. But if any of your friends choose to meet at your house to sing, pray and talk about religion, they will not be disturbed; provided you continue, as I suppose you are, a good Catholic." Musick desired no broader license, and he accordingly availed himself of its privilege. His sect could readily dispense with the rite of "infant baptism," and he knew the people would find their way to his house without the aid of the "church-going bell."

Boone was greatly afflicted by the death of his wife, which occurred on the 18th of March, 1813. They had been companions from their childhood, and she had shared all his dangers and sorrows. The event cast a shadow over the remaining years of his life; he became more reserved and silent than ever, and aged rapidly.

At that time there was but one Protestant cemetery north of the Missouri river. It was located on the summit of a knoll overlooking the valley of the Missouri, about a mile and a half southeast of the present site of the town of Marthasville, in Warren county. This knoll is the termination of a ridge, and it has so much the appearance of an Indian mound that it is generally believed to be such. It was, therefore, an appropriate as well as a very beautiful place for a cemetery; and one was established there as early as 1803, by David Bryan, a nephew of Rebecca Boone. A small stream, called Teuque creek, washes the foot of the hill, and then pursues its tortuous way through the valley until it empties into the river several miles to the southeast. In the valley immediately under the hill lay the plantation of Flanders Callaway, who had married Jemima Boone—one of the three girls who were captured by the Indians at Boonesborough in Kentucky—and Grandfather and Grandmother Boone, as they were affectionately called, were visiting there at the time of the latter's death. The old pioneer laid his loved one to rest in the cemetery on the hill, and by the side of her grave he marked a place for his own.

He seemed now to regard the final winding up of his earthly affairs with the satisfaction of a philosopher. Soon

after the death of his wife he had a coffin made for himself, of black walnut boards, which he kept under his bed in his room at the stone house on the Femme Osage. It was his custom, every little while, to draw this coffin out and lie down in it, "just to see how it would fit." After several years, however, a stranger sickened and died in the neighborhood, and Boone, with his accustomed generosity, loaned his coffin to the dead stranger. Then he had another made of cherry-wood, which he also kept under his bed, and in which he was finally buried.

The closing years of his life were spent in pleasant association with his neighbors and his children and grandchildren, and in the doing of good deeds. His experience as a hunter and a soldier had made him a fairly good surgeon, and he was also familiar with some of the simpler remedies for prevailing diseases. There was no regular physician or surgeon in the Boone settlement until after his death, and during all this time he healed the sick and bound up the wounds of those who were hurt, without money and without price. He made no pretensions to scientific attainments, but nevertheless he did a considerable practice, both in surgery and medicine, wholly as a matter of charity and good-will to his fellow men. His time was always employed at some occupation that would benefit or give pleasure to others. He made powder-horns for his grandchildren and his neighbors, carving and ornimenting them with much taste. He also repaired rifles, and performed various kinds of handicraft with neatness and despatch.

Although a "silent man," in a general way, he was a very genial one. He was a good listener, and when he said anything it was always so much to the point that those who heard him were impressed with a feeling that he had said a good deal. He wasted no words, and used no idle terms. He never told stories, even to the children, and would not listen to a vulgar joke. He was as gentle and refined in disposition as a woman; and although drinking was a universal custom among the men of his age, he was a total abstainer. No drop

of liquor ever passed his lips during his entire life. He seemed to take considerable pride in declaring that he did not know the taste of alcoholic spirits. In form and features he was athletic and impressive. Strangers knew instinctively that they were in the presence of a man born to rule. He was about five feet ten inches in height, and toward the latter part of his life inclined to corpulency. His life-long custom of wearing moccasins made him walk like an Indian, with his toes straight in front, which gave him the appearance of being slightly bow-legged. Even up to the time of his death he carried himself erect, and walked with a quick, springing motion that made him appear much younger than he was.

In December of 1818, Boone was visited by the distinguished historian and missionary, Rev. John M. Peck, who had written his biography, and desired to obtain some personal reminiscences for the work. But he was so overcome by the dignity and venerable appearance of the old pioneer that he did not even broach the subject of his visit to him. The work subsequently appeared with many inacuracies, which might have been corrected had the author carried out his original purpose. Some years previous to this incident Boone himself had reduced the principal events in his life to writing, but the manuscripts were lost by the overturning of a canoe during the excitement that followed the massacre of the Ramsey family in 1815; and penmanship was so laborious to him that he never had the courage to renew the work.

During the summer of 1820 Boone suffered from a severe attack of fever, while visiting his daughter, Mrs. Flanders Callaway; but having measurably recovered, he returned to his home in the Femme Osage valley, where he had a relapse, and after a short illness of three days died on the 26th of September, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He belonged to a long lived race of people. His brother George lived to be eighty-three; Samuel, another brother, died at the age of eighty-eight; Jonothan at eighty-six; Mrs. Wilcox, a sister, at ninety-one; Mrs. Smith, another sister, at eighty-four, and Mrs. Grant, a third sister, at the same age.

The body of the venerable pioneer was dressed in his hunting suit and placed in the cherry-wood coffin, and the following day it was conveyed to the Flanders Callaway place near the old cemetery on the hill. News of his death had spread over the whole country, and nearly all the inhabitants of the Boone settlement came to pay their respects. So vast a concourse gathered at the place that the house would not hold a hundredth part of them, and the coffin was therefore carried to a large barn near-by, where the body lay in state while the people filed through the doors and looked for the last time on the beloved features. At the end of the ceremony all that was mortal of Daniel Boone was lowered into the grave by the side of his wife.

Twenty-five years afterward their remains were exhumed and taken to Kentucky, and buried in the cemetery at Frankfort. Both the cherry-wood coffin and the body of Boone had entirely decayed, so that the mortal part of the pioneer still sleeps in Missouri soil. Only a few partly decayed bones were taken to Kentucky. Mrs. Boone's coffin, on the other hand, was still sound and whole, although she had preceded her husband into the shadow-land by seven years.

The graves were not refilled, but still remain as they were left by the workmen in 1845, except that the rains of fifty-six years have washed the dirt into the excavations and partly filled them, and the place is rank with grass and briars. The old headstones that loving hands placed at the graves have disappeared, and nothing remains to show where Daniel Boone slept—and still sleeps—but a pile of loose stones. The old cemetery embraces a half-acre of ground, and it is a Golgotha of unknown and forgotten graves. Most of them were originally marked by rough sandstones, but these have been misplaced until no one can tell which of the graves they belong to. Many of Missouri's old pioneers sleep there. One of the stones bears the date of 1804. Some of the graves are marked by marble head and foot-stones, but most of these are either broken or removed from their original positions. Several of

the latter bear curious mottoes or verses, of which the following is an example:

"Remember me as you pass by,
As you are now so once was I,
As I am now so you must be—
Prepare for death and follow me."

The sentiment, as well as the poetry, befits the place. The cemetery itself is a beautiful spot, sodded with bluegrass and shaded by a grove of persimmon and walnut trees. From the top of the mound a fine view of surrounding scenery is obtained, including ten miles or more of the rich Missouri valley or "bottoms," with the river itself and its restraining bluffs on the other side. One can readily understand how a lover of nature, like Boone, would select such a place for his final sleep.

On a neighboring hill stands an ancient school-house, now more than seventy years old, and doubtless the last relic of its class in the north half of the State. Within this house, for a period of more than sixty years, the pioneer youth of that locality were taught the principles of knowledge; and several prominent citizens of Missouri look back to it as their alma mater. When the old house was new it stood in the midst of a wilderness of sugar maples and pawpaws, and on one occasion the boys caught a deer in the ravine at the foot of the hill. Another time the teacher, who had come early in the morning to prepare for the day's duties, had a desperate fight with a wildcat which had been enticed into the house by the smell of the remnants of the children's luncheons. The steep hill on which the house stands was a famous place for coasting in the winter-time, and all kinds of home-made sleds and other contrivances were brought into requisition. One of the boys, now a leading citizen of Franklin county, brought a couple of coon-skins to school one day, intending to sell them to the neighboring store-keeper when school was out in the evening; but when "play-time" came he and his seat-mate used the skins as coasters, and wore all the fur off, in which condition they were unmarketable. For some years past the old school house has been used as a place to store farm machinery, but the classic air of its original purpose still lingers about it.

WILL S. BRYAN.

ALBERT G. BLAKEY.

Albert Gallatin Blakey was born in Warren county, Kentucky, near Bowling Green, in 1825. He came to Benton county, Missouri, with his father, James M. Blakey, in 1839.

In 1846 he enlisted as a volunteer in the Mexican war, and served under Gen. Sterling Price, and re-enlisted in 1847. He returned to Missouri in 1849, but soon after crossed the plains to California. He remained in California about four years, and then returned to Cole Camp, Benton county, Mo. In 1854 at the earnest solicitation of warm personal friends, he became a candidate for the Legislature. He was elected over two older prominent citizens, and was re-elected in 1856.

Between 1855 and 1858 there was some trouble along the border counties of Missouri and Kansas, and the State authorities deemed it necessary to be prepared. To this end Col. Blakey, as Division Inspector of the Fifth Military District of Missouri, organized a militia company at Austin, and another at Pleasant Hill in Cass county. (1)

In 1858 Col. Blakey was nominated by President Buchanan and confirmed as U. S. consul to Talcahuano, Chili. For this he received the unanimous endorsement of the Missouri Legislature and the State officers. He resigned the post in 1861, and then, for several years, traveled in the East, visiting many places of historic note, including Rome, Athens, Cyprus, Ephesus, Baalbac, Damascus, Palestine and Egypt. Returning to the United States in 1864, he lived two years at Boonville, and in 1867 went to Pleasant Hill, which he made his home until his death there on July 28, 1877, of congestion of the brain, after several weeks of intense suffering.

In 1866 Col. Blakey bought out the Pleasant Hill Union, and about 1870 changed its name to the Review, and con-

1. See Missouri Historical Review, April, 1907, p. 208.

ducted it for several years, having Mr. Bennett as his partner for awhile, after which he sold it to J. F. Bennett.

While a citizen of Pleasant Hill he was always interested in matters of importance to the community, and took an active part in its best interests. He was one of the founders of the Missouri Press Association, and was twice elected its vice president. Col. Blakey was mayor of Pleasant Hill in 1870, 1871 and 1872. As such he served well and was popular.

When the county judges and other county officers stole the railroad bonds in 1872, W. C. Briant, the sheriff, by his shrewd judgment, followed them to St. Louis, telegraphed to Col. Blakey, then at Jefferson City, who at once induced the Attorney General of the State to go to St. Louis and take steps to secure the stolen bonds. While there Col. Blakey saw the Governor (Brown) and urged the immediate appointment of a county attorney to take the place of the fugitive attorney.

In December, 1868, Col. Blakey was married to Miss Sue Tompkins, a daughter of H. A. Tompkins, of Boonville. She died two years after her husband's death. They left one son, Albert G. Blakey, Jr., now residing in Boonville, Mo. I knew Blakey well while he resided in Pleasant Hill. He was friendly to all, and all were his friends.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

MISSOURI MILITARY IN THE WAR OF 1812.

The Territory of Missouri was organized in 1812, and there were then so few persons in the Territory, and they so far, by the then methods of travel, from the capital of the country, that we usually do not think that any of its citizens took part in the War of 1812. An interesting question is started in the following communication from the Curator of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Denver, Colorado, to the Adjutant General of Missouri, which at his suggestion has been referred to this Society. The matter is one that will be further considered by it in due time. Rev. Thomas Johnson Ferril, the father of Will C. Ferril, was a chaplain during the Civil War, and at the time of his death in Kansas City, was the chaplain of the G. A. R. for the Department of Missouri:

His grandfather, William Ferril, was appointed chaplain of the Thirty-third Regiment of Missouri Militia by Governor Miller, July 18, 1827, at which time Mr. Ferril was a Methodist preacher at Independence, Missouri.

Denver, Colo., May 6, 1909.

Adjutant General,
State of Missouri,
Jefferson City, Missouri.

Dear Sir:—

I was informed several years ago, that those who built and defended Fort Cooper, Fort Hempstead and Fort Kincaid in the Boone's Lick country of the Missouri river region, during the War of 1812, had never been officially recognized by your State as a part of the volunteer or military force of Missouri during that war.

In the history of Howard and Cooper counties, Missouri, published by the "St. Louis National Historical Company, 1883," a list of the men and their elder sons in these forts, may be found on pages 95, 96, 97 and 98.

They resided in these forts, not only to protect themselves

and families, but also to resist the Indians, who, during that war, the same as in the War of the American Revolution, made attacks on the settlers on the frontier. A military force was organized in these forts, with full set of officers, Sarshall Cooper, who was killed, being captain. This history says that the "Company consisted of 112 men, who were able to bear arms. The following list comprises all the men and boys, who were in the different forts."

Then follows the lists in Forts Cooper, Hempstead, and Kincaid, to which I have referred in the pages as noted, in that volume.

I have counted in this list 214 names, all of whom, it would seem, should be enrolled as a part of the military of Missouri during that war.

In the list at Fort Cooper, I find the names of "John Ferrill," and "Henry Ferrill." This John Ferril was my greatgrandfather, and Henry Ferril, who later founded what is now the town of Miami, Saline county, Mo., was his eldest son. Four younger sons of John Ferril, namely, William Ferril, Jonathan Ferril, Jacob Ferril, and Jesse Ferril, are not in the published list of old Fort Cooper. This William Ferril, my grandfather, was then about 15 years of age, and was later, in the year 1827, appointed by Governor John Miller, as chaplain, at Independence, of the 33rd Reg't., 3rd Brigade, Missouri Militia. Jonathan Ferril was among the early ones on the Santa Fe trail. Jacob Ferril in the early days, ran the ferry at "Airry Rock" (Arrow Rock), and Jesse Ferril, who later served in the Confederacy, resided many years in Nevada, Missouri. Elizabeth Ferril (Mrs. Samuel Perry), and Margaret Ferril (Mrs. James Millsaps), daughters of my Greatgrandfather John Ferril, are not mentioned in the lists as published in that volume.

Now, I have simply checked the Ferril family in Fort Cooper for historical purposes, to assist in interpreting the meaning of the published list of those in these old forts, during the War of 1812. It will be observed that four of the younger sons of John Ferril and his two daughters, are not given, in

that list, but only the eldest son, Henry Ferril, is mentioned. Even my grandfather, the Rev. William Ferril, although about fifteen years old, when in Fort Cooper, is omitted in the names given.

All of this would indicate, that none of the women or children or small boys are included in this list, and only the men and elder sons, any of whom could have performed military duty, in an emergency, for, according to our traditions, my grandfather, the Rev. William Ferril, then a mere lad, sometimes assisted in guard duty, for even boys of fifteen, in those days, were handy with the rifle.

Should it be necessary to check the list for others, as I have for the Ferril family, I predict, you would come to the same conclusion—that all the names published in this history as inmates of these forts, were of an age which would permit military service, and that they should be enrolled as a part of the Missouri force of the War of 1812.

Those who erected and defended these forts were too far away in the American wilderness for either national or territorial aid to come to their assistance, for even at that time St. Louis was a village town. Alone and unaided they guarded and protected the frontier of the Missouri river region, except some minor forts that may be added to this list.

If enrolled as a part of the military force of Missouri, and thus given recognition as they should, it may be that their descendants would be eligible to membership in some of the patriotic societies founded on services in that war, such as the Society of the War of 1812, the United States Daughters of 1812, etc. In the older States of the East and South, many companies and organizations which performed at least not more service in the War of the American Revolution than these in Missouri during the War of 1812, have been given official recognition by their respective States, and properly enrolled as a part of the military force of the Revolution, as minutemen, militia, volunteers, etc.

I have recently read with interest that the Missouri State Senate has passed a bill making an appropriation to mark

the Santa Fe Trail in that State. It is to be hoped that if not already, it will soon meet with favorable consideration in the House. Through legislative appropriations in Kansas, my native State, and Colorado, the Daughters of the American Revolution have marked the Santa Fe Trail in these two States. Give the D. A. R.'s of Missouri a helping hand in putting through a liberal appropriation to continue the marking of this trail into Howard county, where it had its origin at Franklin, near these old forts to which I have made reference.

How appropriate it would be at this time for Missouri to enroll these, as I have suggested, as a part of the Missouri military of the War of 1812, for it was where they fought and defended the wilderness in that war that the historic Santa Fe Trail, a little later, had its origin.

Why not place markers at Fort Cooper, Fort Kincaid, Fort Hempstead, and it may be also at Fort Cole, Fort Head, and other such points.

How interesting also it would be if this enrollment could be made and the Santa Fe Trail marked to its origin in Missouri, to have a reunion of the descendants of those who built and defended these old forts, when the final markers are placed, for it will soon be the centennial of the War of 1812.

If as Adjutant General, you have not the authority to make this enrollment, the Missouri Legislature, now in session, could, by resolution or some other enactment, authorize you to perform such an act,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) WILL C. FERRIL,

Curator State Historical and Natural History Society, Denver, Colorado.

SESSIONS OF THE MISSOURI LEGISLATURE.

Compiled by F. A. Sampson.

1st Gen. Assy., regular Sess., 1820, Sept. 18-Dec. 12, 1820.
Called Sess., 1821, June 4-June 26, 1821.
2d called Sess., 1821, Nov. 5-Jan. —, 1822.
2d G. A., regular Sess., 1822, Nov. 4-Dec. 17, 1822.
3d G. A., regular Sess., 1824, Nov. 15-Feb. 21, 1825.
Called Sess., 1826, Jan. 19-Jan. 21, 1826.
4th G. A., regular Sess., 1826, Nov. 20-Jan. 3, 1827.
5th G. A., regular Sess., 1828, Nov. 17-Jan. 23, 1829.
6th G. A., regular Sess., 1830, Nov. 15-Jan. 19, 1831.
7th G. A., regular Sess., 1832, Nov. 19-Feb. 14, 1833.
8th G. A., regular Sess., 1834, Nov. 17-Mch. 21, 1835.
9th G. A., regular Sess., 1836, Nov. 21-Feb. 6, 1837.
10th G. A., regular Sess., 1838, Nov. 19-Feb. 13, 1839.
11th G. A., regular Sess., 1840, Nov. 16-Feb. 16, 1841.
12th G. A., regular Sess., 1842, Nov. 21-Feb. 28, 1843.
13th G. A., regular Sess., 1844, Nov. 18-Mch. 28, 1845.
14th G. A., regular Sess., 1846, Nov. 16-Feb. 16, 1847.
15th G. A., regular Sess., 1848, Dec. 25-Mch. 12, 1849.
16th G. A., regular Sess., 1850, Dec. 30-Mch. 3, 1851.
17th G. A., called Sess., 1852, Aug. 30-Dec. 20, 1852.
Regular Sess., 1852, Dec. 27-Feb. 24, 1853.
18th G. A., regular Sess., 1854, Dec. 25-Mch. 5, 1855.
Adjourned Sess., 1855, Nov. 5-Dec. 13, 1855.
19th G. A., regular Sess., 1856, Dec. 29-Mch. 4, 1857.
Adjourned Sess., 1857, Oct. 19-Nov. 23, 1857.
20th G. A., regular Sess., 1858, Dec. 27-Mch. 14, 1859.
Adjourned Sess., 1859, Nov. 28-Jan. 16, 1860.
Called Sess., 1860, Feb. 27-Mch. 30, 1860.
21st G. A., regular Sess., 1860, Dec. 31-Mch. 28, 1861.
Called Sess., 1861, May 2-May 15, 1861.
22d G. A., regular Sess., 1862, Dec. 29-Mch. 23, 1863.
Adjourned Sess., 1863, Nov. 10-Feb. 16, 1864.

23d G. A., regular Sess., 1864, Dec. 26-Feb. 20, 1865.
Adjourned Sess., 1865, Nov. 1-Mch. 17, 1866.
24th G. A., regular Sess., 1867, Jan. 2-Mch. 13, 1867.
Adjourned Sess., 1868, Jan. 7-Mch. 26, 1868.
25th G. A., regular Sess., 1869, Jan. 6-Mch. 4, 1869.
Adjourned Sess., 1870, Jan. 5-Mch. 25, 1870.
26th G. A., regular Sess., 1871, Jan. 4-Mch. 18, 1871.
Adjourned Sess., 1871, Dec. 6-Apr. 1, 1872.
Called Sess., 1872, June 19-June 24, 1872.
Called Sess., 1872, June 24-June 27, 1872.
27th G. A., regular Sess., 1873, Jan. 1-Mch. 24, 1873.
Adjourned Sess., 1874, Jan. 7-Mch. 30, 1874.
28th G. A., regular Sess., 1875, Jan. 6-Mch. 29, 1875.
Called Sess., 1875, Mch. 29-Apr. 1, 1875.
29th G. A., regular Sess., 1877, Jan. 3-Apr. 30, 1877.
30th G. A., regular Sess., 1879, Jan. 8-May 20, 1879.
31st G. A., regular Sess., 1881, Jan. 5-Mch. 28, 1881.
Called Sess., 1882, Apr. 19-May 5, 1882.
32d G. A., regular Sess., 1883, Jan. 3-Apr. 2, 1883.
33d G. A., regular Sess., 1885, Jan. 7-Mch. 25, 1885.
34th G. A., regular Sess., 1887, Jan. 5-Mch. 21, 1887.
Called Sess., 1887, May 11-July 2, 1887.
35th G. A., regular Sess., 1889, Jan. 2-May 24, 1889.
36th G. A., regular Sess., 1891, Jan. 7-Mch. 24, 1891.
Called Sess., 1892, Feb. 17-Mch. 24, 1892.
37th G. A., regular Sess., 1893, Jan. 4-Mch. 23, 1893.
38th G. A., regular Sess., 1895, Jan. 2-Mch. 23, 1895.
Called Sess., 1895, Apr. 23-May 25, 1895.
39th G. A., regular Sess., 1897, Jan. 6-Mch. 22, 1897.
40th G. A., regular Sess., 1899, Jan. 4-May 22, 1899.
41st G. A., regular Sess., 1901, Jan. 2-Mch. 18, 1901.
42d G. A., regular Sess., 1903, Jan. 7-Mch. 23, 1903.
43d G. A., regular Sess., 1905, Jan. 4-Mch. 18, 1905.
44th G. A., regular Sess., 1907, Jan. 2-Mch. 16, 1907.
Called Sess., 1907, Apr. 9-May 13, 1907.
45th G. A., regular Sess., 1909, Jan. 6-May 17, 1909.

NOTES.

The State Historical Society has more than ten thousand five hundred publications of the bills introduced into the General Assembly of Missouri in the last twenty-two years. During the last General Assembly more than one member applied to it for copies of bills acted upon by the General Assembly years ago.

In a letter to the editor, Mr. H. Calkins, of the Pacific Transcript, following some very complimentary words, says: "I have always admired Daniel Boone. If I ever saw any explanation or reason for his burial place, it was previous to my taking the interest in him that I have in my mature years. His remains were taken to Kentucky probably because those of his wife were before, but why were hers? Old Dr. Griswold, who died at New Haven, in this county, related to me all the incidents of the committee from Kentucky coming to exhume the remains of both Boone and his wife, and to take them back to the State he had reclaimed from the wilderness and savagery, and then dispossessed him of every inch of its surface. The doctor said they came quietly and went to digging. His father then owned the farm containing the cemetery, and he stopped their work until all of the Boone relatives that could be gotten together had congregated there and heard the story of the Kentuckyans and agreed to the proposition of removal. How strange it seems that a man who reclaimed so much of our territory for civilization should die possessed not of an acre of land and with very few dollars for his life's work."

In the same letter, Mr. Calkins, referring to a paper by Col. Montgomery Lewis, heretofore published in the Review, tells of the family of that name now living in St. Louis county, at Crescent, "where their ancestor settled very soon after that renowned exploration to the Pacific was made. One of the older generation of brothers was a member of the Legislature, and was on the train which went through the Gasconade bridge. A younger brother, who was with him, and went

through the bridge with the train, is still living, the Hon. M. D. Lewis, of Crescent. He has had a law office in St. Louis upwards of sixty years. I have more than once seen the death notice of 'the last survivor of the Gasconade Bridge disaster.' I have no doubt Mr. Lewis is now the sole person able to relate personal recollections of that affair."

[The Gasconade bridge disaster above referred to occurred November 1, 1855, at the time of the celebration of the opening of the Missouri Pacific Railroad to Jefferson City. An excursion train of fourteen cars was run from St. Louis, containing the railway officials, the mayor and city council of St. Louis, two military companies and many prominent people of the city. The bridge gave way and the engine with all but one of the cars fell to the water, thirty feet below. Among the killed were Thomas O'Sullivan, chief engineer of the Pacific Railroad; Rev. Dr. Bullard, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church; Mann Butler, the Kentucky historian; Henry Chouteau, and others, in all twenty-eight persons, and more than thirty were seriously injured.—Editor.]

Martin J. Hubble, a member of this society, an old resident of Springfield, Missouri, and much interested in early Missouri history, in a late letter says: "At that time (1840) my father, Dr. John Hubble, lived in Van Buren county, near where Sugar creek empties into Grand river. He had settled in Boone county in 1832, moved to Saline county in 1836, and to Van Buren county in 1837. On the south side of Grand river, in what is now Bates county, then called the "Red Dirt Country," because of the color of the soil, there stood three mounds rising up in the prairie, the north and south ones round, and the middle one elongated. On the summit of the north one was a pile of limestone rocks, circular in form and higher than my father's head while on his horse, and he was over six feet high and rode a large horse. The apex of the stonework was a large triangular shaped stone about a foot at the base and two or three inches at the apex. My father took me to see it, and told me he expected I would live to know of revelations about these mounds, which would be

investigated some day by men whose education and training would fit them for unraveling the secrets hid in them. I have not been there since 1847, but the mounds, although in cultivated fields, must yet be prominent, though the stones have probably all been used in foundations of buildings. I have seen many of the famous mounds of Missouri and Illinois, but none that I thought more interesting than these. Has any one ever investigated and described these mounds?" Near this place Mr. Hubble saw in 1844 a drove of elk feeding upon the prairie grass, a sight probably not visible there at a much later time.

Mormons in Missouri. The July number of the "Journal of History," published by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at Lamoni, Iowa, has a paper on "Causes of Trouble in Jackson County, Missouri, in 1833," by H. C. S., these being the initials of Heman C. Smith, one of the editors of the Journal. He shows that the question of polygamy did not have anything to do in causing the troubles, but that the reasons given at the time were that the Mormons were believed to be religiously fanatical, and that their influence upon the slaves was feared. In showing the latter point many quotations are made from a paper by George W. Martin, secretary of the State Historical Society of Kansas, published in the tenth volume of the **Kansas Historical Collections.** His paper is therefore one dealing largely with the troubles between Missouri and Kansas, as well as between citizens of Missouri and the Mormons.

The Missouri Intelligencer of January 25, 1826, had notice of the assembling of the General Assembly of Missouri on the 19th of the month. The next number of the paper contained the full text of a law which had been approved by the Governor two days later and on the third day the Legislature adjourned. That was working more rapidly than the modern legislator does.

BOOK NOTICES.

Laws of Missouri passed by the 45th General Assembly, 1909. Jefferson City, n. d. 923, lix. p.

Heretofore the general laws passed at a revising session have not been published as the laws of such session, but have been incorporated in the revised statutes. The copies above named are bound in art canvass with a plain, distinct binder's title, while those heretofore sent out by the State, like the Journals and appendixes of the General Assembly have never been to the credit of the State.

Second annual report of the Missouri State Board of Horticulture, proceedings of June, 1908, and January, 1909, W. L. Howard, secretary. Jefferson City n. d. 324, vii p., 46 pls., vi port.

If any horticulturist is not able to attend the institute meetings of the Board, he can in this report have the papers presented at such meetings, and it is a wonder how any one can pretend to be a fruit grower without being anxious to get such reports as the above.

The Machinations of the American Medical Association. An exposure and a warning by Henry R. Strong. St. Louis. The National Druggist, 1909. 131 p., 25 cents.

This is a very vigorous showing on behalf of the drug trade of the efforts of the A. M. A. to control everything relating to medicine, through the control of the State examining boards, and State boards of health.

The Transitional Period, 1788-1789, in the Government of the United States, by Frank Fletcher Stephens, Ph. M., Ph. D.

The above historical paper of 126 pages, by an instructor in American history in the University of Missouri, is published as No. 4, of Vol. II, of the Social Science Series of the University of Missouri Studies.

Thirty-third annual report of the Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners of the State of Missouri year ending, June 30, 1908. Jno. A. Knott, Chairman, Frank A. Wightman, H. R. Oglesby, Commissioners. T. M. Brodbury, Secretary. Jefferson City, Mo. 1909.

This is a work of nearly eight hundred pages with almost everything of the year about railroads that any person would want to know, and including an hundred and fifty pages of Missouri railroad law. There are twenty-four maps of different railroad companies, showing the stations of such roads in Missouri, and other data about them.

A Thrilling Record: Founded on facts and observations, obtained during ten days experience with Colonel William T. Anderson (the notorious guerrilla chieftain), by Sergeant Thos. M. Goodman, the only survivor of the inhuman massacre at Centralia, Mo., September 27, 1864; and an eye-witness of the brutal and barbarous treatment by the guerrillas of the dead, wounded, and captured of Major Johnson's command. Edited and prepared for the press by Capt. Harry A. Houston. Des Moines, Iowa, 1868.

This rare Missouri Civil War item was presented to the society by Mrs. L. B. Goodman, of Hawleyville, Iowa, a sister-in-law of the author, who has been dead for several years.

History of the United States Cavalry, from the formation of the Federal Government to the 1st of June, 1863. By Albert G. Brackett, late chief of cavalry of the Department of Missouri. New York, Harper & Bros., 1865.

This work, lately obtained by the society, has an account of the organization of the 1st Regiment Dragoons at Jefferson Barracks in 1832, and of Doniphan's March. It also has accounts of the Cavalry at Wilson's Creek and various other Missouri engagements of the Civil War.

Kinderhook Faunal Studies—V, the fauna of the Fern Glen formation, by Prof Stuart Weller. Bulletin of the Geographical Society of America, Vol. 20, pp. 265-332, pls. 10-15.

Prof. Weller of Chicago University has heretofore published papers on four localities of the Kinderhook, two of which were in Missouri. Fern Glen of this paper is on the Missouri Pacific Railroad twenty miles west of St. Louis. Considerable collections of fossils have been made at that place, and this paper figures and describes sixty-two species that have been collected there, thirty-two of which are new. Nineteen specimens from the collection of F. A. Sampson are figured on the plates, and three species were named in his honor.

NECROLOGY.

Rev. James McDonald Chaney, for more than a half century a member of Lafayette Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, died at his home in Independence, September 18, 1909. He was born near Salem, Ohio, March 18, 1831, and after graduating at Princeton Theological Seminary he came to Lexington, Missouri, as president of the Elizabeth Aull Seminary, and afterwards was president of the Kansas City Ladies' College at Independence. He has preached regularly at Lamonte, Hughesville, Pleasant Hill, Corder and Alma. Rev. Chaney was the author of two books, "William, the Baptist," which was first published in 1877, and of which the society has a copy of the twelfth edition; and "Agnes, Daughter of William the Baptist, or the Young Theologian," which the society has also.

Rev. Father James J. Conway, dean of philosophy, science and ethics in St. Louis University, died July 11, 1909, at St. John's Hospital in St. Louis at the age of 55 years. He was prominent as a preacher, teacher and author, two of his works being in the Historical Society's library, "The Beginnings of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Archdiocese of St. Louis," and "Historical Sketch of the Church and Parish of St. Charles Borromeo."

Dr. Willis Percival King was born in Macon county, Missouri, December 21, 1839, commenced the study of medicine in Pettis county, Missouri, in 1862, and graduated from the St. Louis Medical College in 1866. In 1885 he was appointed assistant chief surgeon of the Missouri Pacific Hospital at Sedalia, and afterwards was moved with the hospital to Kansas City. From 1894 to 1898 he was secretary of the State Board of Health. His "Stories of a Country Doctor" went through four editions; "Perjury for Pay" was published in 1906, and medical papers by him were published in the medical journals, and in the Transactions of the Missouri Medical Association. He died at Kansas City, July 12, 1909, and was buried at Sedalia.

Hon. Thomas Essex was a member of the Senate in the

25th, 26th, and 27th General Assemblies, 1869-1875, and was president pro tem of the latter. Later he was for twenty years General Land Commissioner of the Iron Mountain Railroad, with his headquarters in Little Rock. For the last ten years he has resided in St. Louis with a brother-in-law, where on July 19, 1909, he fell, probably from an attack of vertigo, striking his head upon stone steps, which caused his death a half hour later. He was 72 years old.

James Calvin Evans, the father of Paul Evans director of the Fruit Experiment Station at Mountain Grove, and for thirty-five years president of the State Horticultural Society of Missouri, died July 10, 1909, in a hospital in Kansas City close to the spot where he was born, April 25, 1833. Mr. Evans moved to Clay county, Missouri, in 1861, and acquired a farm of 250 acres two miles north of Harlem, now known as North Summit Farm, situated on the bluffs commanding a fine view of the Missouri bottom and surrounding country. Mr. Evans was one of the founders of the Olden Fruit Farm in Howell county. He was prominent in farming and in horticultural matters, and a frequent contributor to publications on those subjects.

Maj. Sam Keller was one of the best known newspaper men in the State. He ran newspapers at Leavenworth, Kansas, Lebanon and Richland, and since 1901 has been the Globe-Democrat correspondent at Jefferson City. He was a candidate for presidential elector for the Eighth Congressional district last year. He died at Jefferson City, August 23, 1909.

Alexander Hale Smith, the fourth son of Joseph Smith, the martyred prophet of the Mormon Church, was born at the town of Far West, Missouri, June 2, 1838. He was a brother of Joseph Smith of Independence, Missouri, the head of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, and he held the position of Presiding Patriarch. He had traveled extensively in this and foreign countries, doing missionary work. In 1891 he moved from Independence to Lamoni, Iowa, where he has since resided. He died suddenly August 12, 1909, at Nauvoo, Illinois, in the house which was once the home of his parents.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

H. R. Tucker, St. Louis, President.
J. L. Shouse, Kansas City, Vice President.
Eugene Fair, Kirksville, Secretary-Treasurer.
N. M. Trenholme, Columbia, Editor.

We are glad to present in this issue a paper by Professor E. M. Violette of the Kirksville Normal School dealing with important questions of methods and presentation in history teaching. A paper of this character cannot but be of great interest and value to teachers who are beginning their year's work in history courses, and it is hoped that all members of the society will read and profit by his discussion of "Setting the Problem."

Setting the Problem.

(President's address before the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government at the May, 1909, meeting.)

The reasons for my appearance on this program are threefold. In the first place, I have met with an unusual number of disappointments in making up the program. Notwithstanding the fact that I began early to arrange for it. I was unfortunate in soliciting the help of those who for various reasons could not respond. Much time was thus consumed, and when at last I felt that it was too late to continue the search for others to go on the program, I got the consent of myself to do duty by way of filling in. In the second place, I feel that the office of president of this society ought to entail the duty of preparing an address of some sort for the annual meeting, and I am willing to make an attempt at establishing a precedent. Perhaps if the idea suggests itself as a good one, the constitution may be amended so as to impose this duty upon the president and thus relieve him of any embar-

rassment he may have in putting himself upon the program. In the third place, I feel that I have a subject which is of some importance in the teaching of history. Whether I have anything of real value to say, I shall leave you to judge.

This closes the first year of our society's work. As yet very little has been accomplished outside of holding a very successful mid-year meeting at Kansas City during the Christmas holidays in connection with the State Teachers' Association. But there is much more for us to do as an organization than to arrange for two programs a year and meet and discuss the papers read, greet old acquaintances and make new ones. A year ago a committee was appointed to report on the advisability of making some investigation concerning the teaching of history in our high schools, and at the Christmas meeting another committee was appointed to make some report on the teaching of history in elementary schools. Both committees are ready to report at this meeting, and I am sure there will be suggested in these reports some things that may be very profitably undertaken by this society. While the holding of one or two meetings a year would justify the maintenance of our society, yet I feel that we shall neglect a great opportunity if we do not inaugurate some specific work which shall be carried on consecutively aside from our meetings.

The main work of this society must be, for a long time at least, pedagogical in character. Its programs must deal largely with questions pertaining to the teaching of history and kindred subjects. One or two papers which embody the results of some special research in historical subjects, should be presented at the annual meeting, and perhaps the mid-year program should include occasionally one or two such papers. But the stress should always be put upon the pedagogy of history.

That we shall be justified in doing this can be very easily established. Of all subjects in our school curricula today, history is the least developed, excepting possibly literature. The educational doctrine of mathematics, the sciences, and the languages has been well worked out, or, to say the least,

has been worked out in better shape than the pedagogy of history and literature. Mathematicians, scientists, and linguists are fairly well agreed as to how their subjects should be taught and their agreement has met with the approval of the teachers of theoretical pedagogy. But the teachers of history and literature are yet unagreed among themselves as to what are the best methods of teaching their subjects. They are trying various methods and are still reaching different conclusions, though it appears to me that some approach towards an agreement is being made on some points. It is therefore the unfinished condition of this phase of our field of labor that in my opinion justifies, if it does not demand, that for some time to come the special object in our meetings and in our other endeavors will be to work upon questions which are largely pedagogical in character. From the discussions and investigations that we carry on there should come a body of doctrine which should wield a marked influence upon our profession in this State. Is it too much to hope that in the near future this organization shall undertake to set forth in some formal manner the ideas it has worked out, and offer them as its contribution to the profession? For one I shall be very glad to support such an effort, and I shall not feel that we are doing what we ought to be doing unless we undertake something like this.

In view of this idea I wish to direct your attention to one phase of the pedagogy of history and ask for your severest criticisms. I have called it "Setting the Problem." By that I mean the setting forth by the teacher the task or the tasks which the student under his direction is to undertake.

Two remarks served to call my attention in a special manner to this subject. The first was made in the course of a discussion in a meeting of the faculty to which I belong, to the effect that the failure of the teacher to set the problem before his students, it mattered not what the subject may be, was to entail a great waste of energy on the part of the students. Failing to set the problem properly, the teacher leaves the students to struggle aimlessly; the latter do not know

what is expected of them and usually spend much of their energy without results, and hence become discouraged. The second remark was made by a high school student to his history teacher in answer to the inquiry why he did not work at his history lesson with the same enthusiasm and spirit that he did at his mathematics lesson. The student replied that the mathematics lesson was something definite so that he knew when he had finished it, while the history lesson was indefinite in content if not in form, so that he never knew when it was finished. If the assigned work were so many pages in a given book, the pages might be read and yet he would not be sure that he had gotten out of them what he was expected to get; if the assigned work were not so specific as to the number of pages in the book to be consulted, then the indefiniteness was many times multiplied.

At first glance it would appear as though the young man's contention that a task in mathematics is more definite than in history, has some foundation of truth. But doubtless the difficulty lay not so much in the actual difference between the fundamental principles underlying the tasks in mathematics and history as in the manner in which those tasks were presented to him. Experience proves that it is easier to present the tasks in mathematics than in history. in fact the teacher in mathematics may go so far as to assign a given number of problems without a word of explanation or direction and come nearer being assured that the student will know what to do, than will the history teacher who in a similar manner assigns the next chapter or so many pages. The more comprehensive character of the problems in history over those in mathematics makes the setting of the former more difficult than the latter, but I am convinced that the tasks in both may be presented with at least approximately the same definiteness, and it is in support of this idea that I present the following remarks.

I would divide the problems in history which the student is asked to solve into two large groups: First, those which are to be solved in regular class work; second, those which

are to be solved outside of class work. The first group is made up of all those questions and topics to which the entire class is directed and upon which teacher and pupils put a common effort; the second group is made up of those questions and topics which are assigned to the stndents for special investigation, the results of which may or may not be brought before the class. The first group pertains to regular class work from day to day; the second largely to theme or thesis writing. In discussing these two groups I shall spend more of my time upon the first, and in presenting what I have to say I wish to draw upon my experience in teaching to illustrate the points I shall try to make.

In the first group of problems in the study of history, as just outlined, that is in those presented to the whole class to undertake to solve, I distinguish three different kinds.

The first are those which are to be solved at the next meeting of the class. It is this kind of problems that make up the bulk of our history study in our school work. The question at once arises how may these problems which come up for daily consideration be best put before the students. I do not wish to commit myself as favoring only one method, but I do wish to express my emphatic disapproval of that way of assigning the work for the next day in a hurried, haphazard fashion as the class is passing out, yelling to them, as one teacher has put it, to take the next twenty pages or make a study of the Imperial Government of Charles the Great, and then expect them to come back the next day and be prepared to discuss things they had never dreamed about. Students are not expected to be mind readers, though they are sometimes treated in the assignment of lessons as though they were endowed with the faculty of knowing what is in the mind of the teacher; they are entitled to know in advance something as to what they are expected to do when they come to do a certain piece of work.

On the other hand the students are entitled to do their own thinking. It is just as bad for the teacher to go to the other extreme, and, instead of leaving the students unin-

formed as to what they shall do, present so complete a synopsis of the new work that all they will need to do is to appear and ring the changes on that synopsis and give a little additional information which they had gathered from the assigned reading.

The question is how much the teacher should do in the assigning of work. It is evident that when he does too much he deadens the work just as much as when he does too little. In fact I am inclined to think that he deadens it more by doing too much than by doing too little. The element of uncertainty as to outcome of the investigation will likely lend an interest a litttle more readily than that of dead sure certainty as to what it will be. To say the least, the teacher should suggest by way of an outline of some sort the topics or subjects that will come up in the next day's work. Occasionally a word of explanation should be given here and there so that the students may know in advance how to proceed, but the explanations should never be more than hints or suggestions unless there is no available material which the students may use themselves. The aim should be to have them get at the thought of the authors they follow, and they should be given an opportunity of getting that largely for themselves.

Not only are the students entitled in advance to some idea as to what they are expected to do, but they are also entitled under ordinary circumstances to specific references to those books which will give them the information they are expected to get. Some one may immediately arise and say this is the "spoon and dish" method. In reply I would say that I would prefer it many times for all occasions to that method by which a student is regularly referred on a given subject to a long list of works with no direction as to what portions to use or how to use them. There are times when the student may be wisely thrown on his own resources and given a chance to work out his subject for himself without direction as to what he should look for and where he should get it; but this can not be made a regular rule if there is to be any class progress. If left at every assignment of work to hunt up his own ma-

terial and arrange it for use, the student may lose much valuable time which may rightly belong to other subjects. It is all very easy to say to him that two or three days will be spent on the Athenian Constitution and the material will be found in Grote's Greece or some other voluminous work, but it is not likely good results will follow, especially if the student is a beginner. It would doubtless be better to follow some good manual and then develop some phase or phases of the subject by way of specific references to those works that may be really helpful. In this connection it might be said that the successful teacher will be careful to select only those references that the student can readily use. The teacher should keep in mind the body of knowledge which the student has already acquired upon a given subject, and be sure to suit his assignment of reading according to the student's state of advancement. To assign Stubbs, for example, to a high school student is to commit, ordinarily, great folly—it is frequently as great a mistake to assign it to freshmen and sophomores in college.

But enough of this. The point I am trying to make clear is that the teacher should be sure to make definite announcements as to what he expects his students to do from day to day, and under ordinary circumstances give them specific directions as to just where they will be able to find what is expected of them.

The second kind of problem which is to be attacked by the whole class is one which cannot be fully solved until after some days of study have been given to the subject out of which the problems arise. This sort of problem arises in connection with the study of institutional development and of great movements in history. As the study of these matters progresses, certain questions come up to which attention should be called and out of which certain problems should be formed; and by the time the study has been closed the student should be prepared to discuss the questions that have been raised, in other words solve the problems that have been formulated.

For example, I have found that the study of the Thirty

Years' War has been best undertaken by the class, even in courses of college rank, by having the students read and discuss at the first meeting of the class after the subject has been taken up, some short account of the whole war. In this survey of the whole matter the attempt has been made to call attention to those facts or phases which are to receive further development, and to set forth the various problems that are to be solved. In the general survey it is learned that the dissatisfaction of the Treaty of Augsburg was one of the chief causes of the war. This is then taken as one of the problems, and the students are asked to find out why dissatisfaction had arisen. Other matters connected with the war are treated in the same manner.

The Reformation presents many different problems, among which is the part taken by the rulers of the different countries in this movement. If the students are asked at the time they study of the Reformation is taken up, to keep this question in mind and prepare themselves to compare the attitude of the different rulers towards the movement when the proper time comes they will have had time to gather up the material as they go along and construct a body of knowledge somewhat their own.

In this way the teacher may frequently set various problems to which no direct solution may be found in the books of reference, but which may be answered by the students in their own way after they have had some time in which to think them over. The exhilaration which comes from this kind of work is similar to that which comes to students in chemistry or physics who have been working for some time upon an experiment, uncertain as to how it will turn out, and yet interested to the very last in what the end may be.

In dealing with this sort of a problem which requires several sessions of the class and several assignments before it can be solved, there are many ways in which it can be presented. When it has to do with the evolution of an institution or the development of a movement the method will ordinarily be to trace the evolution or development from the beginning.

But in some of my work I have found it interesting and profitable to reverse the order. For example, I have found some measure of success and satisfaction in working back to the origins of feudalism from the fully developed feudal institutions. I hold that no one can well understand the feudal system without knowing something of its origins. I have found that the easiest method has been to have the students study the institutions of feudalism in their fully developed form and then gradually trace them back to their origins.

Other illustrations might be offered on the point I am trying to make, but these are perhaps sufficient.

The third kind of problem which the entire class is to be equally interested in solving, is one which requires several months' work, during which time many other subjects having no direct bearing upon it may perhaps be introduced, and yet from time to time steps will be taken towards its solution. I can best illustrate this kind of problem by the way the development of the Papacy may be traced. I have found a lamentable amount of ignorance concerning the Pope and the Catholic Church at the present time on the part of the students who come to study of Medieval and Modern History. This is frequently true even of those who take up the college course on this subject. It is generally known that there is a Pope, that he lives in Rome, and that he is elected by a College of Cardinals. But as to the duties of the Pope, the relations of Pope and Cardinals, the functions of Archbishops and Bishops, and matters of that sort, there is generally nothing known. Inasmuch as the study of Medieval and Modern History involves much consideration of the Church, I take it that the course will ultimately bring the student to know something definite about the condition of the Church and the Papacy at the present time. Here is therefore a most excellent opportunity for placing before the class early in the course a problem which can not be fully solved until the course is about closed. In my own work I have found that it is advantageous to assign for special study the organization of the Roman Catholic Church as it is today just before taking

the study of the beginnings of the Church. This study of the present organization of the Church sets the problem in the history of the Church which the student is to keep before him all during the course—"How did the Church become what it is now?" Knowing in advance of any study of Church history the Pope is at present the acknowledged infallible head of the Catholic Church, that he is elected by a body of men called the College of Cardinals, that he has absolute control in ecclesiastical and doctrinal matters, and that he has a great array of officials under his control, the student is therefore able to begin the task of tracing the steps by which he ascends to this exalted position. While tracing these steps the student's attention is often directed to many other things; but from time to time the development of the Papacy will come up for consideration and every effort should be made to have it understood that each step in that development is bringing the student just that much nearer to the present condition of the Papacy. Such a problem as this serves to keep the final end in view for a long time, and at the same time offers an opportunity to go back and review the stages in the development that have already been traced. This can be kept up until the end has been reached.

Other subjects may be dealt with in the same manner as the Papacy, and out of them many interesting and helpful problems may be formulated.

This brings me to the end of what I have to say on the first group of problems in history work—those presented to the whole class. Just a word or two on the second group—those which are assigned to students for special investigation, the results of which may or may not be brought before the whole class.

I have stressed the advisability of specific references in dealing with the problems of the first group. But I do not wish to leave the impression that I would never leave the student to his own devices. I have already said there are times in regular class work when the student should be given

an opportunity to hunt up his own material, but I would not confine this method of procedure to occasional opportunities in ordinary class work. Aside from the problems which come before the entire class there are those which can be assigned to individual members and upon which special reports are to be made. These reports may be written or oral. Oral reports will ordinarily be before the class, but written reports which may be short papers or more formidable theses, may or may not be submitted to the class. In these exercises the student should be left very largely to himself after he has had the character of the work already explained to him. He should be required to find his own material, though doubtless it would be fair to him if the teacher would designate one or two books that would give him a start in his task; and perhaps it would be well for the teacher to cite him to those books he has overlooked or failed to find after he has made some considerable search of his own. In this sort of work I have found that the student usually derives a certain amount of pleasure in setting his own problem. His general study may lead him to desire to undertake some special investigation. If not he should be given a rather general topic and required to work it over so that he can select for himself some special phase.

Not all students are ready to undertake the more difficult thesis work, but all in the more elementary courses are ready to do a little study beyond what the class is doing in the ordinary every day recitation. To such there should be assigned topics for special investigation of a more direct and elementary character, the result of which should be given in brief reports to the class.

The true test of methods in pedagogy is whether they contribute to the realization of those ends which are sought for in the pursuit of a given subject. The object of history study is at least four fold: First, to give the student information concerning the past; second, to train him in the handling of books; third, to develop his reasoning powers; and fourth, to give him a larger view of life. Will the method of settling the problem, as I have tried to present it stand the test? As

for myself I have found that it is fairly satisfactory. Doubtless there are some here who have had similar experiences. The subject is now open for discussion, and it is to be hoped that something has been said that will challenge thought so that we may have the benefit of a free and open discussion of the merits or demerits of what has been said.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

Kirksville, Missouri.

HISTORY NOTES AND NEWS.

At the University of Missouri the summer session courses in history were especially well attended. Out of a total of over six hundred students over two hundred devoted themselves largely to History. The courses in Ancient History and in English History were most largely elected, but there were also large classes in American History and Modern History. A very large number elected Professor Loeb's work in Civil Government. Ten graduate students were enrolled in an advanced course, giving credit towards the A. M. degree, offered by Professor Trenholme, "Studies in Mediaeval European Culture." The teaching force for the summer work in History consisted of Professor Trenholme, Dr. Stephens and Dr. Perkins. Professor Loeb handled the work in Political Science.

The University regrets the loss of Dr. Clarence Perkins, Instructor in European History, who has accepted an assistant professorship at the Ohio State University, of Mr. Eugene Fair, who has returned to his duties at Kirksville, and of Drs. Wright and Golder who filled the places of Professor Viles and Dr. Eckhardt during the last session. In place of the men who have gone the following new appointments have been made—Dr. A. T. Olmstead (Cornell University) as Instructor in Ancient and Mediaeval History, Mr. Clarence Stone (Kirksville Normal and University of Missouri), as Assistant in History, and Mr. Frank Barton (Warrensburg Normal and Uni-

versity of Missouri), as Assistant in History. Mr. George Kirk (University of Missouri), has been appointed Graduate Scholar in History and will assist in the written work of the department, and Mr. Floyd Shoemaker (Kirksville Normal and University of Missouri), has been appointed as teaching assistant in Political Science. The prospects are bright for a large enrollment in History and Political Science courses this fall.

The Summer School work in history in the Kirksville Normal School was very satisfactory. Courses were given in Greek History, Roman History, Mediaeval History, English History, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century History, and American History, in addition to the courses of high school rank in Ancient History, American History and Civil Government. Many of the graduates of the school returned for the summer to take some of the more advanced courses. Professor Fair resumed his work after nine months leave of absence at the State University, during which time he was studying and teaching there. The Historical Society, one of the Departmental Societies of the school, held some very interesting meetings during the summer. This society was organized three years or more ago and has a limited membership of about twenty students who are particularly interested in history, many of whom are preparing to teach history in the schools of the state. Special problems relating to the teaching of history in the grades and high schools were discussed at several of the meetings, and the discussions attracted a great deal of attention among the students of the school. The history classes have opened up well for the fall quarter. A student assistant has been added to the teaching force in history. He will devote his time to American History and Civil Government.

Professor B. M. Anderson, of the Springfield Normal faculty, has secured a year's leave of absence which he will spend in graduate study at the University of Illinois where he has been appointed as a graduate fellow in economics.

We regret to announce the resignation of Professor Jesse

Lewis as head of the Department of History at the Maryville Normal. Professor Lewis was an enthusiastic member of this society and will be much missed at our meetings.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The History Teachers Magazine. Vol. 1, No. 1. September, 1909. McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, Pa. $1.00 a year, 10 cents a number.

This is the first number of a journal devoted exclusively to history teachers and their needs. It is designed to meet the practical problems of the teacher of history and government and the first number is a creditable one. The publishers announce their willingness to send sample copies to any address.

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HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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THE JOURNALS OF CAPT. THOMAS BECKNELL FROM BOONE'S LICK TO SANTA FE, AND FROM SANTA CRUZ TO GREEN RIVER.

The expeditions of Capt. Becknell from the old town of Franklin to Santa Fe were important because they directed the attention of the people to the possibilities of the new and unexplored source of trade to be opened up to Missourians, and extended the lines of trade and adventure centering largely in St. Louis, which city had a greater scope of country tributary to it than any other point in the United States ever had as a trade center.

By the first expedition made by Becknell he became the founder of the Santa Fe trade, and the father of the Santa Fe trail;(1) he led the first successful trading expedition to that place, taking with him the first wagon that ever passed over the route. The records of his expeditions and of other parties soon after, are found in the Missouri Intelligencer, the first newspaper published in Missouri outside of St. Louis; and because of the rarity of this paper, the State Historical Society of Missouri, having probably the only file of it in existence, the various notices found in it are given fully.

(1) The American Fur Trade of the Far West by W. M. Chittenden. Vol. II, p. 501.

The outfitting of these expeditions remained at Franklin, where the Missouri Intelligencer was published, until 1830, when the headquarters for this were transferred to Independence, and the history of the early expeditions from that place is not as well preserved as those that went from Franklin.

Capt. Becknell seems to have had financial troubles, as various publications of a suit for debt by attachment are found in the Intelligencer between January 15, 1822, and May 7, of the same year, in a suit by Henry V. Bingham, administrator brought in the Howard Circuit Court at the November term, 1821, and renewed at the January term, 1822, for the sum of $495.75. As his second expedition was at a later date the matter was no doubt satisfactorily arranged.

Shortly after the starting of the second expedition the following appeared in the Intelligencer:

"About three months since a number of persons, principally of this county, forming two parties, one under the direction of Col. Cooper, and the other of Capt. Becknell, left here for Santa Fe, upon a trading expedition. The former party preceded that of the latter several days, and we regret to learn, by the following extract of a letter from a gentleman of respectability, at Fort Osage, to his friend in this place, that it has met with a serious disaster.

"Fort Osage, Aug. 20.

"It is reported that Col. Cooper's party were robbed by the Indians, and left in a starving condition. The news came here by Gen. Atkinson from the Council Bluffs. Mr. Immell, of the Missouri Fur Company, who had been out with the party, brought the information to the Bluffs. The party of Col. Cooper had sent to Mr. Immell for relief, who was not in a situation to afford them any—and they must either have arrived at Santa Fe before this or perished. The presumption is, that if they were not deprived of their guns and ammunition they could be able to live; consequently their being left,

as the report says, in a starving condition, implies that they were robbed of the means of procuring the necessary food.

"I am inclined (exclusive of the reports coming from so correct a source) to believe that it is true, as Mr. Glenn, who came in from Santa Fe some weeks ago, stated that he met Col. Cooper's party at the Big Bend of the Arkansas, and he had no doubt but they would fall in with several war parties of Indians in a few days, who would rob and probably kill them, as he had been stopped by the same Indians, and with difficulty got clear of them, and had he not have had an interpreter, would doubtless have shared a similar fate—Cooper being without an interpreter, will render his traveling through the country extremely dangerous.

"I mention this in order that you may let their friends know the source from which the news came, and will vouch that what I have stated is correct (as it was told me by Gen. Atkinson) in every essential particular." (2)

"A company of about fifty persons, principally from St. Louis and its vicinity are now in town, on their way to Santa Fe. Their purpose is to hunt and obtain furs. We wish them greater success than has befallen to the lot of those mentioned above." (2)

"Santa Fe of New Mexico.

"It is becoming a familiar operation for our citizens to visit this capital. Mr. Glenn, of Cincinnati, who had a trading house on the Arkansas, has just returned; also Mr. Jas. M'Night, who had been a prisoner for a good part of ten years, and his brother, Mr. John M'Night, who went in search of him upwards of a year ago. Col. Cooper, the courageous settler of the Boone's Lick country, has also gone out with a numerous company, and others in this town contemplate an early departure. From all that we can learn from these travelers, the people of Santa Fe and of the internal provinces,

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(2) Missouri Intelligencer, Sept. 3, 1822.

are exceedingly ignorant, destitute of commerce, and of all spirit of enterprise. We have heard much of the aridity of these countries, and learn additional facts upon that head as curious as astonishing. Mr. Glenn says there had been no rain at Santa Fe for about three years, and no complaint about it, the people irrigating their fields by ditches and canals, from the river del Norte and from the streams which issue from the highlands and neighboring mountains." (3)

The party under Col. Cooper was the first to return, as stated in the following notice:

"The arrival of the greater part of the company under the superintendence of Col. Cooper from Santa Fe, happily contradicts the report afloat a few weeks since, of their having been 'robbed and left in a starving condition.' The company met with some trifling losses on their return, but we understand, from a respectable gentleman of the company, with whom we have conversed, that nothing serious occurred to interrupt their progress during their absence.

"Many have also returned who composed the party under the direction of Capt. Becknell. Those of both these parties who remained at Santa Fe (among whom is Capt. Becknell), may be expected in a few weeks." (4)

In a speech by Mr. Floyd in the U. S. House of Representatives on the Bill for the occupation of the Columbia river he referred to the Becknell expedition, and the same paper has this editorial:

"We are well pleased with the remarks made by this gentleman, and confidently hope that the subject of them will be considered in the important light to which it is so justly entitled. There is, however, a trifling inaccuracy in that part of the speech in which it is stated that a waggon returned from Santa Fe last summer, "bringing with it $10,000," etc.

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(3) Missouri Intelligencer, Sept. 17, 1822, quoted from St. Louis Enquirer.

(4) Missouri Intelligencer, Oct. 8, 1822.

Although we do not doubt that $10,000, or even a much larger sum, was brought into this State during last summer, from Santa Fe, yet the amount was conveyed upon pack-horses, etc., and not in a waggon. But one waggon has ever gone from this State to Santa Fe, and that was taken by Capt. Wm. Becknell (from the vicinity of this place, and not from St. Louis, as stated by Mr. Floyd), in the early part of last spring, and sold there for seven hundred dollars, which cost here $150. This information we obtained from Capt. B. personally, who at the same time mentioned his intention of starting again for Santa Fe next fall, with three waggons for the same purpose.

"We are promised by Capt. B. that in a few weeks he will furnish us with such information relative to Santa Fe as will be useful and entertaining to our readers." (6)

"A paragraph is going the rounds of the public prints, stating that a son of Col. Cooper, who lately returned from Santa Fe, was killed by the Bhamanche Indians. This is not correct. A nephew of Col. Cooper joined the Spaniards in an expedition against these Indians, and was killed in an engagement which terminated in favor of the Spaniards." (6)

During the summer of 1823 another expedition left Franklin for Santa Fe, as narrated in the following:

"A company, consisting of about thirty individuals, left this county during the last week, on a commercial adventure to Santa Fe. They will proceed to Fort Osage, from whence they will take a direct course to the place of their destination. Each of them is provided with one or two pack-horses, and takes, on an average, about two hundred dollars worth of goods. We are gratified to learn that they have selected Col. Cooper, one of our most respectable citizens (who visited that place last summer), to command them. His knowledge of the route, and his experience in Indian warfare, admirably qualify

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(6) Missouri Intelligencer, Feb. 13, 1823.

him for the task, and render him a very valuable acquisition to the company. The whole party is well armed, and will no doubt be able to resist successfully an attack from any of the wandering tribes of savages which it may encounter on the way. We wish the greatest success to so worthy a spirit of liberal enterprise." (7)

The misfortunes of the party are stated:

"We regret to have to state, that the company, whose departure for Santa Fe we mentioned about four weeks since, have sustained the loss of nearly all their horses. Some Osage Indians conjectured to be about twenty, followed them eighty miles undiscovered, with a view, as appears in the sequel, of committing outrage. On the morning of the first instant, at about dawn, while all the company were asleep except two, who, not apprehending danger, had retired from an advanced position to the campfires, they were alarmed by the discharge of guns, and the yells of the savages. Although the guns were discharged towards the encampment, it is not the belief of those from whom we had our information that they designed personal injury. Their object was to frighten away the horses, in which they completely succeeded. Being on horseback they took advantage of the alarm and momentary confusion occasioned by such an unexpected attack, and evident appearance of assault, to drive off the horses unmolested, whose speed was increased by shouting and other exertions. Four men pursued them about ten miles, when their horses failing they were obliged to desist.

"The Indians killed several horses during the chase because they would not keep up. This misfortune, by which they lost forty-five horses, being all but eight, took place over three hundred miles from this place, on the waters of the Arkansas. Various circumstances combine to fix this outrage on the Osages, who receive regular annuities from Govern-

(7) Missouri Intelligencer, May 13, 1823.

ment, and have a school among them through its beneficence and the charity of individuals. They have before been guilty of similar offences, and have long been distinguished for their predatory habits, and are daily becoming bolder; and unless checked by prompt measures we fear they will cause a great interruption to western intercourse. Six men who returned for a new supply of horses are already on their way back, so the enterprise, although subject to vexatious delay and disappointment, will not be defeated by it." (8)

JOURNAL OF TWO EXPEDITIONS FROM BOONE'S LICK TO SANTA FE, BY CAPT. THOMAS BECKNELL.

"Our company crossed the Missouri near the Arrow Rock ferry on the first day of September, 1821, and encamped six miles from the ferry. The next morning being warm and cloudless, we proceeded on our journey over a beautiful rolling prairie country, and traveled 35 miles, crossing the Petit Osage Plain,(9) which is justly accounted one of the most romantic and beautiful places in the State. The traveler approaches the plain over a very high point of adjoining prairie; suddenly the eye catches a distant view of the Missouri on the right, and a growth of lofty timber adjoining it about two miles wide. In front is a perfectly level, rich and beautiful plain of great, extent, and diversified by small groves of distant timber, over which is a picturesque view of nearly twenty miles. On the left it is bounded by a branch of the La Mine river,(10) which is handsomely skirted with timber; while still further in this

(8) Missouri Intelligencer, June 17, 1823.

(9) The "Petit Osage" also called "Petit O'Sage" plains are in Saline Ccounty, on the north side of Salt Fork, now covered with cultivated farms, and held at about $150 per acre.

(10) This branch was Salt Fork, which does not empty directly into the La Mine, but into Blackwater river, a branch of the La Mine. It flows almost due east from its source in Lafayette County. The Santa Fe trail here was what had been the "Osage trace," being north of Salt Fork. Marshall, the County seat of Saline County, is south of Salt Fork.

direction the view is bounded by the fanciful undulations of high prairie. Description cannot do justice to such a varied prospect, or the feelings which are excited in beholding it. This being about the time of equinoctial storms, we sufered some inconvenience for two or three days on account of rains and a cool and humid atmosphere. Arrived at Fort Osage,(11) we wrote letters, purchased some medicines, and arranged such affairs as we thought necessary previous to leaving the confines of civilization. The country, for several days' travel from Fort Osage, is very handsomely situated, being high prairie, of exceeding fertility; but timber, unfortunately, is scarce. On the fourth day after leaving the Fort, I was taken sick in consequence of heat and fatigue induced by chasing two elks which we had wounded the day before, but which had strength sufficient to elude our pursuit. Some other of the company complained of illness about this time; but determining not to surrender to trifles, or indulge in delay, until it became absolutely necessary, we continued to travel slowly.

"On the 20th we crossed the main Osage, (12) being nearly all sick and much discouraged. It rained severely, and we were under the necessity of stopping to dry our baggage. On the second day after crossing the Osage, we saw many buffaloe, one of which we killed; we also saw several goats (13), but they were so sharp sighted and wild we could not shoot them. This day we encamped on the waters of the Arkansas, after travelling over much uneven prairie,

(11) Fort Osage was the first fort west of Bellefontaine. It was located and built by Gen. Clark and George Sibley, and the town of Sibley in Lafayette County, is on the site of it.

(12) The Santa Fe trail crosses the headwaters of the Osage at what is now Burlingame in Osage County, Kansas. The headwaters of the Neosho, which flows to the Arkansas, and those flowing to the Osage are not far apart, and are separated by a ridge, and on the second day from the present town of Burlingame he was on the Arkansas watershed.

(13) These were evidently antelope. Judge W. B. Napton of Marshall tells me that when he passed over the trail in 1857 he first saw buffalo on Turkey creek in what is now Marion County, Kansas, not far from the locality given by Capt. Becknell.

almost entirely covered with flint rock. About this time we encountered two days of incessant rain. We halted in a small grove to refresh ourselves, rest our horses and wash our clothes. We sent out two hunters who killed a deer, and saw some goats and a large herd of buffaloe. Late in the evening of Monday the 24th, we reached the Arkansas, having traveled during the day in sight of buffaloe, which are here innumerable. The Arkansas at this place is about three hundred yards wide, very shallow, interrupted by bars, and confined by banks of white sand—the water has every appearance of being as muddy as that of the Missouri; we, however, crossed one of its branches whose waters were limpid and beautiful, and which was one hundred yards wide a mile from its mouth. We gave this the name of Hope Creek. These streams afford no timber except a few scattered cottonwoods. It is a circumstance of surprise to us that we have seen no Indians, or fresh signs of them, although we have traversed their most frequented hunting grounds; but considering their furtive habits, and predatory disposition, the absence of their company during our journey, will not be a matter of regret. The next day we crossed the Arkansas at a place where it is not more than eighteen inches deep, and encamped on the south bank. We left our encampment early the next morning, and about noon came to a large settlement or town of prairie dogs, which appeared to cover a surface of ten acres. They burrow in the earth, are of a dark brown color, about the size of a pup five or six weeks old, which they nearly resemble in every respect except the ears, which are more like those of the possum. Having a desire to taste its flesh, I killed one, a small part of which I roasted, but found it strong and unpalatable. Their sense of hearing is acute, and their apprehension of danger so great that the least noise of approach frightens them to their holes, from which they make continual and vehement barking until a person approaches within fifty or sixty yards of them; they then take to their holes with their heads elevated above the ground and

continue barking until the approach is very near, when they disappear instantaneously. They often sit erect, with their fore legs hanging down like a bear. We found here a ludicrous looking animal, perfectly unknown to any one of our company; it was about the size of a racoon, of a light grey color, had uncommonly fine fur, small eyes, and was almost covered with long shaggy hair; its toe nails were from one and a half to two inches in length; its meat was tender and delicious. We also killed one of the rabbit species as large as a common fox; it was of a grey color, but its ears and tail were black. It exhibited an agility in running a short distance after it was shot which exceeded anything of the kind we had ever witnessed. We regret the deficiency of our zoological information, which prevents our giving a more scientific and satisfactory account of these animals.

"The evening of the 28th brought us to some very high hills for this country, composed entirely of sand, which had been in sight all day, exhibiting at a distance a luminous or whitish appearance; they are very extensive, and entirely destitute of vegetation. We encamped here, substituting buffaloe manure for fuel. Our lodging was very uncomfortable, in consequence of being exposed to torrents of rain, which poured upon us incessantly till day. The next morning we started early, and killing a buffaloe for breakfast, proceeded again on our journey. At about one o'clock found ourselves on the celebrated salt plain of the Arkansas. It was about one mile wide; its length we did not ascertain. Its appearance was very different from the idea I had formed from the several descriptions I had seen. This, however, might have been owing to the late heavy rains, that had covered the earth three inches deep with water, which we found to be a strong brine. Under the water was an apparent mixture of salt and sand; and in dry weather I have no doubt the appearance of salt would be much greater. So far as the eye can reach, on every side, the country here appears alive with buffaloe and other animals.

About this time we saw five wild horses, being the first we had seen. They had the appearance, at a distance, of being fine large animals. Some difficulties now presented themselves, especially the scarcity of food for our horses, and timber for fire.

"A continual and almost uninterrupted scene of prairie meets the view as we advance, bringing to mind the lines of Goldsmith,

"Or onward where Campania's plain, forsaken, lies
A weary waste extending to the skies."

The immense number of animals, however, which roam undisturbed, and feed bountifully upon its fertility, gives some interest and variety to the scenery. The wolves sometimes attack the buffaloe; and whenever an attack is contemplated, a company of from ten to twenty divide into two parties, one of which separates a buffaloe from his herd, and pursues him, while the others head him. I counted twenty-one wolves one morning in a chase of this kind.

"We still continue meandering the Arkansas, but travel very slowly in consequence of the still continued ill health of some of the party. Our horses here for the first time attempted to leave the encampment; and one strayed off which we never saw afterwards.

"The water of the river is here clear, although the current is much more rapid than where we first struck it. Its bed has gradually become narrower, and its channel consequently deeper. The grass in the low lands is still verdant, but in the high prairie it is so short that a rattlesnake, of which there are vast numbers here, may be seen at the distance of fifty yards; they inhabit holes in the ground.

"On the 15th, we discovered a lake, which had every appearance of being strongly impregnated with saltpetre. Our horses having become very weak from fatigue and the unfitness of their food, we encamped three days to recruit them and dress some skins for moccasins; during which time we killed three goats and some other game.

"On the 21st we arrived at the forks of the river, and took the course of the left hand one. The cliffs became immensely high, and the aspect of the country is rugged, wild and dreary. On the evening of the 23d, we heard the report of a gun, which is the first indication of our being in the neighborhood of Indians.

"As yet we have encountered no difficulty for water, but have been destitute of bread or even salt for several weeks.

"On the 26th we saw large flocks of mountain sheep, one of which I killed. It had long thick hair, its color was of a dirty blue, with a very fine fur next the skin; a black streak extended from its head to its tail, which is short, and of a lighter color than its body; its rump and hams were very similar to those of our domestic sheep.

"We had now some cliffs to ascend, which presented difficulties almost unsurmountable, and we were laboriously engaged nearly two days in rolling away large rocks, before we attempted to get our horses up, and even then one fell and was bruised to death. At length we had the gratification of finding ourselves on the open plain; and two days' travel brought us to the Canadian fork, whose rugged cliffs again threatened to interrupt our passage, which we finally effected with considerable difficulty.

"Nov. 1st, we experienced a keen northwest wind, accompanied with some snow. Having been now traveling about fifty days, our diet being altogether different from what we had been accustomed to; and unexpected hardships and obstacles occurring almost daily, our company is much discouraged; but the prospect of a near termination of our journey excites hope and redoubled exertion, although our horses are so reduced that we only travel from eight to fifteen miles per day. We found game scarce near the mountains, and one night encamped without wood or water. On the 4th, and several subsequent days, found the country more level and pleasant—discovered abundance of iron ore, and saw many wild horses. After several days' descent towards Rock

river, on Monday the 12th we struck a trail, and found several other indications which induced us to believe that the inhabitants had here herded their cattle and sheep. Timber, consisting of pine and cottonwood, is more plentiful than we have found it for some time.

"On Tuesday morning the 13th, we had the satisfaction of meeting with a party of Spanish troops. Although the difference of our language would not admit of conversation, yet the circumstances attending their reception of us, fully convinced us of their hospitable disposition and friendly feelings. Being likewise in a strange country, and subject to their disposition, our wishes lent their aid to increase our confidence in their manifestations of kindness. The discipline of the officers was strict, and the subjection of the men appeared almost servile. We encamped with them that night, and the next day about 1 o'clock, arrived at the village of St. Michael, the conduct of whose inhabitants gave us grateful evidence of civility and welcome. Fortunately I here met with a Frenchman, whose language I imperfectly understood, and hired him to proceed with us to Santa Fe, in the capacity of an interpreter. We left here early in the morning. During the day passed another village named St. Baw, and the remains of an ancient fortification, supposed to have been constructed by the aboriginal Mexican Indians. The next day, after crossing a mountain country, we arrived at SANTA FE and were received with apparent pleasure and joy. It is situated in a valley of the mountains, on a branch of the Rio del Norte or North river, and some twenty miles from it. It is the seat of government of the province; is about two miles long and one mile wide, and compactly settled. The day after my arrival I accepted an invitation to visit the Governor, whom I found to be well informed and gentlemanly in manners; his demeanor was courteous and friendly. He asked many questions concerning my country, its people, their manner of living, etc.; expressed a desire that the Americans would keep up an intercourse with that country, and said

that if any of them wished to emigrate, it would give him pleasure to afford them every facility. The people are generally swarthy, and live in a state of extreme indolence and ignorance. Their mechanical improvements are very limited, and they appear to know little of the benefit of industry, or the advantage of the arts. Corn, rice and wheat are their principal productions; they have very few garden vegetables, except the onion, which grows large and abundantly; the seeds are planted nearly a foot apart, and produce onions from four to six inches in diameter. Their atmosphere is remarkably dry, and rain is uncommon, except in the months of July and August. To remedy this inconvenience, they substitute, with tolerable advantage, the numerous streams which descend from the mountains, by daming them up, and conveying the water over their farms in ditches. Their domestic animals consist chiefly of sheep, goats, mules and asses. None but the wealthy have horses and hogs. Like the French, they live in villages; the rich keeping the poor in dependence and subjection. Laborers are hired for about three dollars per month; their general employment is that of herdsmen, and to guard their flocks from a nation of Indians called Navohoes, who sometimes murder the guards and drive away their mules and sheep. The circumstance of their farms being wholly unfenced, obliges them to keep their stock some distance from home. The walls of their houses are two or three feet thick, built of sun-dried brick, and are uniformly one story high, having a flat roof made of clay, and the floors are made of the same material. They do not know the use of plank and have neither chairs nor tables although the rich have rough imitation of our settee, which answers the treble purpose of chair, table and bedstead.

"My company concluded to remain at St. Michael, except Mr. M'Laughlin, and we left that village December 13, on our return home, in company with two other men who had arrived there a few days before, by a different route. At the time we started the snow was eighteen inches deep, but

the quantity diminished as we reached the high lands, which we thought an extraordinary circumstance. On the 17th day of our journey we arrived at the Arkansas, and thence shaped our course over the high land which separates the waters of that and the Caw rivers. Among the Caw Indians we were treated hospitably, purchased corn from them, and in forty-eight days from the time of our departure reached home, much to our satisfaction. We did not experience half the hardships anticipated, on our return. We had provisions in plenty, but Boreas was sometimes rude, whose unwelcome visits we could not avoid, and whose disagreeable effects our situation often precluded us from guarding against. We had, however, but one storm of snow or rain on our return, but were sometimes three or four days without a stick of timber. In such exigencies we again had recourse to buffaloe manure, which is a good substitute for fuel, and emits great heat.

"Having made arrangements to return, on the 22nd of May, 1822, I crossed the Arrow Rock ferry, and on the third day our company, consisting of 21 men, with three wagons, concentrated. No obstacle obstructed our progress until we arrived at the Arkansas, which river we crossed with some difficulty, and encamped on the south side. About midnight our horses were frightened by buffaloe, and all strayed—20 were missing. Eight of us, after appointing a place of rendezvous, went in pursuit of them in different directions, and found eighteen. Two of the company discovered some Indians, and being suspicious of their intentions, thought to avoid them by returning to camp; but they were overtaken, stripped, barbarously whipped, and robbed of their horses, guns and clothes. They came in about midnight, and the circumstance occasioned considerable alarm. We had a strong desire to punish the rascally Osages, who commit outrages on those very citizens from whom they receive regular annuities. One other man was taken by the same party to their camp, and probably would have shared like treatment, had not the presence of Mr. Choteau restrained their savage

dispositions. He sent word to me that he had recovered the horses and guns which had been taken from our men, and requested me to come on the next morning and receive them. On our arrival at his camp we found it evacuated, but a short note written on bark instructed me to follow him up the Autawge river. This we declined, thinking that his precipitate retreat indicated some stratagem or treachery. These Indians should be more cautiously avoided and strictly guarded against than any others on the route.

"Mr. Heath's company on the some route joined us here. The hilarity and sociability of this gentleman often contributed to disperse the gloomy images which very naturally presented themselves on a journey of such adventure and uncertainty. After six days of incessant fatigue in endeavoring to recover all our horses, we once more left our camp, and after traveling eight days up the Arkansas, struck a southwest course for the Spanish country. Our greatest difficulty was in the vicinity of Rock river, where we were under the necessity of taking our waggons up some high and rocky cliffs by hand.

'We arrived again at St. Michael in 22 days from the Arkansas. We saluted the inhabitants with 3 rounds from our rifles, with which they appeared much pleased. With pleasure I here state, that the utmost harmony existed among our company on the whole route, and acknowledge the cheerfulness with which assistance was always rendered to each other. We separated at St. Michael for the purpose of trading more advantageously. Some of the company, among whom was Mr. Heath, remained there, and others I did not see again until my return. On our return we took a different course from that pursued on our way out, which considerably shortened the route, and arrived at Fort Osage in 48 days.

"Those who visit the country for the purpose of vending merchandise will do well to take goods of excellent quality and unfaded colors. An idea prevails among the people there, which is certainly a very just one, that the goods hitherto

imported into their country, were the remains of old stock, and sometimes damaged. A very great advance is obtained on goods, and the trade is very profitable; money and mules are plentiful, and they do not hesitate to pay the price demanded for an article if it suits their purpose, or their fancy. The administration of their government, although its form is changed, is still very arbitrary, and the influence which monarchy had on the minds and manners of the peole still remains, which is displayed by the servility of the lower orders to the wealthy.

"An excellent road may be made from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. Few places would require much labor to make them passable; and a road might be laid out as not to run more than thirty miles over the mountains." (14)

"WILLIAM BECKNELL."

JOURNAL OF EXPEDITION FROM SANTA CRUZ TO THE GREEN RIVER BY CAPT. THOMAS BECKNELL.

On the 5th of November last, I left Santa Cruz, with a party of nine men , employed in my service, with a view of trapping on the Green river, several hundred miles from Santa Fe.

In the course of my route towards the point of destination, I passed through the gap in a mountain, which was so narrow as to greatly resemble a gate-way. This mountain, which had the appearance of an artificial mound, was about three or four hundred feet high, and not more than ten feet in breadth at the base. The country here is poor, and only timbered with pine and cedar. I met, in this vicinity, several parties of Indians, who were poor and inoffensive. It was, however, reported that some of the Indians who spent some time with us afterwards committed murders upon the persons of some of the engages of Mr. Provost of St. Louis, and robbed the remainder. We suffered every misery incident to such an enterprise in the winter season, such as hunger and cold—

(14) Missouri Intelligencer, April 22, 1823.

but were exempted from robbery. The flesh of a very lean horse, which we were constrained to break our fast with, was, at this time, pronounced excellent. But when his bones were afterwards served up, as a matter of necessity, they were not as well relished, but had nearly proved fatal to the whole party. We found to our cost, that our stomachs, although tolerably commodiously disposed, were not equal to the task of digesting bones. You can readily imagine, that we were in that deplorable condition where it would be justifiable to adopt the philosophy of the ancient Romans, and give odds to die. But such is not the practice of Missourians. Although we were forty days from settlements, the snow three or four feet deep, and our small stock of horses, our principal reliance for effecting a retreat, considered sacred, so that to have eaten them would have been like dining upon our own feet, we still contrived to supply our tables, if not with the dainties of life, with food of the most substantial kind. For instance, we subsisted two days on soup made of a raw hide reserved for soaling our moccasins; on the following morning the remains were dished up into a hash. The young men employed by me had seen better days, and had never before been supperless to bed, nor missed a wholesome and substantial meal at the regular family hour, except one, who was with me when I opened the road to Santa Fe. When afterwards we were enabled to procure indifferent bear meat, we devoured it in that style of eagerness, which, on a review of our operations at this time, very forcibly reminds us of the table urbanity of a prairie wolf.

While at our winter camp we hunted when we could, and the remainder of the time attempted to sleep, so as to dream of the abundance of our own tables at home, and the dark rich tenants of our smoke-houses.

In the vicinity of our encampment, I discovered old diggings, and the remains of furnaces. There are also in the neighborhood the remains of many small stone houses, some of which have one story beneath the surface of the earth.

There is likewise an abundance of broken pottery here, well baked and neatly painted. This was probably the site of a town where the ancient Mexican Indians resided, as the Spaniards, who seldom visit this part of the country, can give no account of it.

On our way back to the settlement, we halted at the encampment of a band of Indians, who shocked our feelings not a little by the disposition they were about to make of an infirm (and no longer useful) squaw. When the principal part of the band had left their camp, two of the remaining proceeded to lay the sick woman upon her face, by the side of some of her effects. They then covered her with a funeral pile of pine wood, to which they set fire, and thus made a Hindoo sacrifice of the patient old matron.

As the depth of the snow, and the intense cold of the season rendered trapping almost impracticable, we succeeded, on a third attempt, in making good our retreat from this inhospitable wilderness, and reached a Spanish village on the fifth of April, after an absence of five months.

It was reported in the Spanish settlements, by a man who had been employed by George Armstrong, of Franklin, who accompanied me to Santa Fe, that he had been murdered by the Indians; but I have good reason to believe, and I most sincerely hope, this may be only an idle fabrication.

The trade to this province has been greatly injured by the reduction of prices—white domestics are only fifty cents per yard. An export duty of three per cent. is collected on all specie brought out of the province in this direction. Although my essays have been unfortunate speculations, I am disposed to make another experiment.

I traveled from the Spanish village of Taos, to Fort Osage, on the Missouri, in thirty-four days. I had supplied myself with provisions for the journey, consisting of meat, beans and peas. By the route which I traveled on my return, I avoided the so much dreaded sand hills, where adventurers have frequently been forced to drink the blood of their mules to

allay their thirst. Mr. Bailey Hardeman, of this county, was to have set out on his return, accompanied by a large party, on the first of the present month.

I cannot better conclude than by annexing this remark, that the toils endured, and the privations suffered in these enterprises, very naturally give a tone and relish to the repose and plenty found at the civilized fire side. (15)

WM BECKNELL.

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(15) Missouri Intelligencer, June 25, 1825.

PECULIARITIES OF LIFE IN DANIEL BOONE'S MISSOURI SETTLEMENT.

(Fifth Paper.)

By Will S. Bryan.

One of the picturesque characters whose eccentricities gave color to the Boone settlement was James Davis, the man who was indicted by the first grand jury that assembled in Louisiana Territory under American auspices for the killing of William Hayes. This killing was the result of one of those unfortunate "shooting scrapes" common to all our frontier communities, and as it possessed none of the elements of murder, Davis was acquitted by the jury that tried him.

This unique individual was a relative and companion of Daniel Boone, and a hunter and trapper by profession. He was as rough and courageous as any of his class, but owed his principal distinction to an adventure which he had with the Otoe Indians, in the western part of Missouri, during the winter of 1813. The Otoes were the most civilized as well as the most sanguinary and cruel of all the tribes west of the Mississippi river. They lived in substantial log houses, with roofs of dirt and sod, and were so fierce and warlike that no satisfactory treaty was ever made with them until the latter part of 1825. Davis had been a frequent companion of Boone in their long tramps to the west and southwest, where they went in quest of game or to procure salt; for the settlement had to be supplied with that essential condiment from the "licks" in what is now Howard County. Such a journey was full of danger, and was rarely undertaken alone except by the boldest spirits.

As the seasons rolled by Boone began to grow feeble and became less inclined to incur the fatigues of the winter hunts. Moreover, his official duties occupied much of his time, while

the domestic enjoyments which he found in the association of his children and grandchildren made him all the more disposed to give up wandering and remain at home. Accordingly, Davis went alone on the customary hunts, and spent long months of each winter in the western forests.

On one of these occasions he was captured by a party of Otoes, who stripped him of everything he possessed, taking away not only his gun and ammunition, but his clothing as well. They expected him to perish in the cold, and took this method of applying the torture. But as if in mockery of his helplessness, and to make him feel the horrors of his situation all the more keenly, they gave him an old British musket containing a single charge, and bade him depart. The musket, more humane than its savage owners, saved his life. He traveled through the snow barefooted and naked most of the first day, but toward evening ,while looking for a shelving place in a ledge of rocks where he might pass the night, he came upon a hibernating bear. This was his opportunity; but it required a steady nerve and a sure aim, both of which the old hunter possessed in a famous degree. A flash in the pan, or a missent bullet, might cost him his life; but it is not probable that either of these sentimental possibilities entered into the calculations of the unimaginative mind of old Jim Davis. Crawling up until the muzzle of the gun almost touched the head of the torpid bear, he fired a bullet into its brain, and with a tremor the animal lay dead at his feet. He then contrived by means of his gun flint to remove the hide, which he drew on over his own body, inserting his legs and arms where the legs of the bear had been, and drawing the head well up over his own head and face. The skin made a complete and delightfully comfortable suit of clothing, and Davis felt that he was himself again. He slept that night by the side of the beast, whose skin he had appropriated, and set out at daylight on his long journey to the settlement, taking with him enough of the meat to last him through. He had more than a hundred miles of wilderness and snow to traverse, and no implements

with which he could make a fire, but his fur suit kept him warm, and raw bear meat was better than none. He made the journey in three days, arriving at the house of Jonathan Bryan, in the Boone settlement, late in the evening of the third day. The latch-string, as usual, hung on the outside, and as Davis grasped it and pushed the door open he was observed by an old Scotch schoolmaster, who was sitting alone by the fire in one of the rooms. It was a moonlight night, and he could plainly see the rough outlines of a figure, which his excited imagination transformed into an evil shape—for the people of that day were more superstitious than they are now. The schoolmaster yelled and fled into the hall, shouting that the devil had come. Here he encountered Jonathan Bryan, who, recognizing Davis in his strange garb, soon quieted the apprehensions of the Scotchman. The bear skin had become so dr y and hard that it required considerable effort to restore the old hunter to human shape; and his remarkable adventure made him ever afterward famous in that locality.

There were no regular schools in the Boone settlement until after the close of the Indian war, which lasted until 1816; but the planters made laudable efforts to educate their children, by employing, for a brief season each winter, some traveling schoolmaster, who usually applied to himself the distinguishing title of "professor." It was one of this class who was so grievously frightened by the old hunter on his first appearance in his bear-skin suit. The school house was a log cabin, centrally located, and furnished with split log seats and puncheon writing desks. To this "academy" the youth of the community came, to study a little and play a great deal more, while the "professor" amused himself by reading some ancient book, or slept off the effects of a too intimate association with the fiery product of a neighboring still-house. The celerity with which these mountebanks claimed to be able to impart a classical education was remarkable. A few months were sufficient to master all the intricacies of the English language, while Latin, Greek and Hebrew were a mere holiday

diversion. Some of them added the profession of the clergy to that of pedagogy, and piously asked a blessing over their whiskey punches, while they quoted Hebrew in the most astonishing manner in support of their peculiar dogmas and to the profound admiration of the wondering pioneers.

A traveler of some distinction, who sojourned in the Boone settlement for several years at the beginning of the past century, left some interesting descriptions of the people and their customs. Referring to the male pioneer and head of the house, he said:

"You find that he has vices and barbarisms peculiar to his situation. His manners are rough. He wears, it may be, a long beard. He has great quantities of bear or deer skins wrought into his household establishment, his furniture and his dress. He carries a knife, or a dirk, in his bosom, and when in the woods has a rifle on his back and a pack of dogs at his heels; but remember that his rifle and his dogs are among his chief means of support and profit. Remember that all his first days here were spent in dread of savages. Remember that he still encounters them, still meets bears and panthers. Enter his door and tell him you are benighted, and wish the shelter of his cabin for the night. The welcome is, indeed, seemingly ungracious; 'I reckon you can stay,' or, 'I suppose we must let you stay.' But this apparent ungraciousness is the harbinger of every kindness that he can bestow, and every comfort that his cabin affords. Good coffee, corn bread and butter, venison, pork, wild and tame fowls, are set before you. His wife timid, silent reserved but constantly attentive to your comfort does not sit at the table with you, but like the wives of the patriarchs, stands and attends on you. You are shown the best bed that the house can afford. When this kind of hospitality has been extended to you as long as you choose to stay, and when you depart and speak about your bill, you are most commonly told, with some slight mark of resentment, that they do not keep tavern. Even the flaxen-haired urchins will run away from your money."

Of hard cash, or cash of any kind, for that matter, there was but little; and indeed it was not needed, except in making payments to the government for public lands. Stores and shops were to be found no nearer than St. Louis, and there was nothing to buy or sell. Commerce had not yet made its busy way into this western Arcadia. Furs and peltries constituted the principal output of the settlement, and these were exchanged in St. Louis or New Orleans for the silver that was essential to the securing of land titles. Spanish silver dollars constituted the only currency that found its way into the settlement, and for convenience in making change these were cut into pieces of four and eight to the dollar and passed for quarters and "bits," the latter representating 12 1-2 cents. "Two bits," "four bits," and "six bits" are still common expressions in the older settled regions of Missouri, where their meaning is well understood; but they would scarcely be intelligible in other parts of the country.

There was no lack of children in the Boone settlement. The usual average was ten or twelve to each family, but occasionally the number was expanded to eighteen or twenty, all healthy, hearty, active little fellows. Ten children were reared in the Bryan house, of whom four lived to be upwards of ninety years of age, and one, my father, reached the extraordinary age of ninety-seven. The latter, having been born in 1799 and living until 1896 enjoyed a span of life that covered nearly the whole century. From this ancient patriarch most of these recollections were obtained. The air, the country, and the mode of living seemed conducive to long life. Most of these large families were reared in single log cabins. Where they slept, or how they lived, were questions which they answered to their own satisfaction. They spent much of the time out of doors, the cabin being used only as a place of shelter in bad weather. It was "camp life" reduced to daily experience.

Domestic furniture was necessarily of the roughest description, and always of home manufacture. A four-posted sassafras bedstead was regarded with admiration. Earthen-

ware cups, saucers and plates were unknown, and knives and forks did not exist until after the first quarter of the century had passed. Plates were made of pewter and kept bright by daily scourings. A housekeeper's neatness was estimated by the shining qualities of her pewter plates, which were generally displayed, in a spirit of ostentation, in prominent places about the cabin. Hunting knives and fingers supplied the lack of knives and forks. Dignified officials, who often visited Boone, descended to first principles, and ate with their fingers like the rest. A brass kettle was an evidence of wealth, as well as a source of envy. The people ate very little boiled food, preferring it to be roasted or baked. Women walked thirty miles, and carried their babies, to see and hear the first piano that came into the Boone settlement; and one of them declared that "The Campbells are Coming" was the "divinest music the Lord ever heard."

Boone's discovery of the salt springs in Howard county, early in the century, supplied a prime necessity; for salt was about the only article of food that the settlers did not possess in abundance. The discovery was made during one of his annual hunts, and in 1807 his sons, in conjunction with several other parties, began the manufacture of salt there. For a number of years the Boone's Lick salt works supplied all the settlements north of the Missouri river. They also led to the opening of the Boone's Lick Road, which for more than half a century remained the great thoroughfare to the West. Over this road traveled all the pioneers of Kansas and Nebraska, as well as those who located in the less distant regions of western Missouri. The Boone's Lick road achieved a national reputation, and was well known even to the first German immigrants who came from across the sea.

Long after Boone had discontinued hunting and trapping as a regular occupation, the old habit lingered with him. He could not entirely put away his love for the gun and the forest. Twice a year, therefore, he made an excursion to some remote hunting ground, accompanied by a negro man, who attended to

the camp, skinned the game and looked after the wants of his aged master. On such an occasion, while camping in the Osage river country, he was taken seriously ill, and lay for several weeks in a dangerous condition. The weather was stormy and disagreeable, which had a depressing effect both on Boone and his servant. At length, the weather having moderated, and the old pioneer feeling somewhat better, he made his way, with the assistance of his companion, to the top of a near-by eminence, where he marked out the dimensions of a grave . Here he directed that in case of his death his body should be buried. The most minute instructions for the preparation and interment of the body were given, just as he would have arranged for the funeral of a friend. Posts were to be placed at the head and foot of the grave, and the surface of the ground covered with poles to prevent the depredations of wild beasts. Trees surrounding the spot were to be marked as a guide to his friends or relatives who might desire to find his last resting place, and there he was to be permitted to sleep in peace, in the midst of the forest that he loved. It was a highly poetic idea of sepulture, whose consummation was prevented by the trend of future events.

W. S. BRYAN.

COL. ROBERT T. VAN HORN.

An address, delivered before the Greenwood Club of Kansas City, Mo., on the Life and Public Service of Colonel Robert Thompson Van Horn, March 10, 1905, by J. M. Greenwood.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

My apology for presenting a sketch of the life, the public service and the private virtues of Colonel Robert Thompson Van Horn, while he is still living among us, enjoying excellent health, and contemplating the weightiest problems that ever occupied the thoughts of man, is that we may the more fully appreciate a type of manhood that made it possible for the people of this country to enjoy in the fullest measure the richness of this life which is their inheritance. In the writer's opinion, it is poor consolation to bestow all the praise on a benefactor of his race, after he has passed to that realm where praise and blame fall alike unheeded. It is, therefore, my pleasant duty this evening to sketch a picture of a life not yet ended, and to give tone and color to it, of one who, for more than forty years, stood as the embodiment of that kind of energy which has made the name of Kansas City a synonym for enterprise intelligently and honestly directed, in all sections of the United States.

Already you ask, what of the man? How was he trained? What subtle influence of home life wrought a character that grew from childhood to manhood, from manhood to honored age, and now is revered by all who ever knew him in public or private life. In what school did he study and equip himself for the manifold duties that devolved upon him, and marked him as the moving spirit among a coterie of men of remarkable practical sagacity, in knowing how to seize upon opportunities that would command and hold the avenues of commerce from the Lakes to Galveston, and to determine in advance what should be the gateway between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific? In brief, the idea of "about facing"

the American people from the rising to the setting sun. Here again, did the circumstances make the man, or did he mould and control the forces that lay dormant when he came upon the scene of action? To all of these inquiries, the sequel will show that one living here saw far in advance, how manifest destiny would move resistlessly westward.

Ancestry and Early Life.

Robert Thompson Van Horn was born in East Mahoning, Indiana County, Pennsylvania, May 19, 1824. His ancestors were from Holland and came to this country more than two hundred and sixty years ago, and settled at New Amsterdam, in 1645. One of the descendants settled at Communipaw in New Jersey, in 1711, and from this branch of the family, the subject of this sketch is descended. His greatgrandfather, Henry Van Horn, was a captain of a company of Pennsylvania troops in the Revolutionary Army, and died in the service, while his son, Isaiah, served in the same company to the end of the war. Isaiah had a son, Henry Van Horn, who was a soldier in the War of 1812, and his wife was Elizabeth Thompson, who, when a child, came with her parents from Ireland to America.

Their son, Robert Thompson Van Horn, was reared on the paternal farm. His first work on the farm as a small boy, consisted in picking up stones in the meadow and putting them into piles, or heaping them in fence corners, cutting and piling brush, pulling weeds in the garden, raking hay, feeding chickens, churning, turning a grindstone, and going to mill on horseback. In the winter time, he went to the subscription school, studying spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic, but not grammar, because it was not then taught in the schools of that section of Pennsylvania.

At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to learn the printing business in the office of the Indiana, Pennsylvania, Register, where he worked for four years. From 1843 to 1855, he worked as a journeyman printer in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio and Indiana—much of the time varying his occupation

by boating for a time on the Erie Canal, teaching school occasionally during the winter months, sometimes publishing and editing a newspaper, and two seasons he was engaged in steamboating on the Ohio, Wabash and Mississippi, as he found employment. For a time he also acted as clerk on a river steamer, and when he came to Kansas City, he was called "Captain," which title he bore till the Civil War. During this storm and stress period of his life, he studied law in the office of Hon. T. A. Plants, Meigs County, Ohio, with whom he was engaged in the practice of law for a short time. Twenty years later, they were both members of Congress together.

During his residence in Meigs County, he married Miss Adela H. Cooley, fifty-seven years ago, at Pomeroy, Ohio. At the time of their marriage, he was the editor and proprietor of a newspaper published there.

To give a proper setting to all these varied experiences through which he passed, it is necessary to pause a moment, and to glance at the preparation he had received educationally to play the part in life in which he was destined to become a most conspicuous actor. A sentence or two will suffice. A friend visiting the Colonel and Mrs. Van Horn at their pleasant country home only a few years ago, complimented the Colonel on his wide and scholarly reading and the firm grasp he had on scientific and philosophic subjects, and his comprehensive knowledge of public men and national affairs. Without replying, he went to a library shelf and brought back three small books,—a United States Spelling Book, Introduction to the English Reader, and an Old Arithmetic,—"The Western Calculator," published in 1819, written by J. Stockton: "These," said the Colonel, "were the sources of my information. I studied them in the winter when the weather was too bad to work out doors." His ethical training consisted chiefly in the Shorter Catechism of the Presbyterian Church, of which his grandfather, father, and a brother were elders. A mother's influence had no little to do in shaping the active virtues of his life as one reads between the lines.

Looking at Kansas City and a Surprise.

How well his contact with different types of men with whom he had mingled, had prepared him as a torch-bearer for the forefront of this western procession, is not now a question of speculation, but one of deeds accomplished. By accident, in the summer of 1855, being temporarily in St. Louis, he met a gentleman from Kansas City who was on the lookout for a printer to take charge of a small weekly paper, "The Enterprise," that had been launched in Kansas City a few months before and was then on the point of suspension. "The Enterprise" was owned by an association of citizens who hired an editor and printers to publish it. So, taking a river steamer, he arrived in Kansas City July 31, 1855. The town was then a mere straggling village. He came to look over the situation. Being cordially greeted by the citizens, he was delighted with their hospitality. After talking the matter over, and listening to the glowing reports the citizens gave of the country and its possibilities, he caught somewhat of their spirit and agreed to purchase "The Enterprise" for $500, by paying $250 cash on the first of October, and giving them a note for $250, due twelve months later. He returned immediately to Ohio to get ready to move to Kansas City. Sure enough, on the first day of October, he was here with Mrs. Van Horn and their three little children. He came in compliance with the conditions of the verbal contract made in the summer. He called at once at the business place of Jesse Riddlebarger, one of the gentlemen who had been authorized to sell the paper, and he informed Mr. Riddlebarger that he was ready to take possession of the office. I quote Mr. Van Horn's own words concerning this meeting and the transfer of the paper: "He seemed surprised and frankly told me that he was very glad to see me, as he had not expected to do so, and was waiting till that day simply to keep his own word. To my inquiry why he was so surprised, he said that everybody had said that he was a fool for taking the word of an utter stranger and keeping others from buying. But as he had never said anything about it before, he was mighty glad I had come to

take it. He gave me a receipt for the first payment, took my note for the other, and walking back with me a block from Delaware to Main street on the Levee, put me in possession of the office and paper. But at the end of the year came my surprise. On my calling to pay the note when due, it was handed to me receipted—'by valueable service'—and so it was that the actual price paid was $250."

Beginning in Kansas City.

Kansas City was then a village of 457 persons, and the next summer, according to an item in the Journal, the total population was 478. At this date there was very little of the town above the Levee. The business part was along the Levee, and the stores were brick and frame, none over two stories high. There was no formal society. Everybody kept open house and all were neighborly. There was not a carriage in town, and only one hack. No cards of invitation were issued then, but—"we want you and your family to come over this evening," was the usual form. There was not a graded street south of the river bluff—just a country road from the steamboat landing to Westport.

"The Enterprise," on its first anniversary, was changed to "The Kansas City Journal." It was a four-page, six-column weekly, and developed into a daily paper in June, 1858. The office was in the second floor of a building at the corner of Main street and the Levee. Within the four walls of this one room, the editor and proprietor wrote the editorials, setting up the type, secured and made contracts for advertising, and worked the hand press in doing the job work and running off the paper. Thus his experience of four years in a Pennsylvania printing office, was the best school possible for the work he was now engaged in.

In 1855-56, Colonel and Mrs. Van Horn lived in the second story of a brick building at the corner of Walnut street and the Levee, over John Bauerlein's store. After this they moved into a log house on the hill at the corner of Third and Delaware. This new home had one room and a "lean to"

for a kitchen. In 1857, a new addition to the town was laid out between Main street and Grand avenue, bounded on the north by Eleventh street and on the south by Twelfth street. On the east side of Walnut street, between Eleventh and Twelfth, a lot fifty feet wide was bought, and a small brick house erected on it, and this remained their home for thirty years. In 1856, the year after Colonel Van Horn came to Kansas City, an association was organized under the name and title of the Kansas City Association for Public Improvement, and of which he was an original member. and this organization later became the Chamber of Commerce.

The Kansas City Journal as a Mine of Information.

The writer spent three days in the library room of the Kansas City Journal, in looking carefully through the old files of the early editions, in order to form an opinion of the editor's range of vision and his grasp on local and national issues prior to 1861. The early history of Kansas City and this western country is there, and from this mine of historical information, the full history of Kansas City will yet be written. An extract or two in this connection will give a better picture of the condition of affairs and the thoughts of the editor than any words of mine can express.

Editorial Announcement on Tuesday, June 15, 1858, Vol. 1, No. 1.

"Kansas City Western Journal of Commerce is before the public this morning, and we ask a comparison between it and any other daily journal in the West. Look at its clean, neat face, its ample columns filled with 'live business' advertisements sparkling with news, local intelligence and general reading. We say it is the largest, neatest, best got up, and most readable daily journal that has seen the light in the valley of the Missouri. Look at its plan, the original matter, markets, port lists, etc., and then imagine how long it would take you to get up such a paper and see how you would like to do it for fifteen cents a week. It is said that printers live

on air, and we think these figures come pretty nearly to that description of rations."

"When solicited to start a daily, we told our citizens that it would require a heavy outlay, constant labor and toil, to publist a good one, and we had no idea of hazarding our reputation as newspaper men by running out any other. We have redeemed our promise, now we call upon the solid men, the bone and the sinew of this young metropolis, to redeem theirs. Every morning we will send you the news embracing 'The very age and body of the times,' that you may sip your Java over the night toil of the poor typo, while you are in the arms of Morpheus or of your wives, is straining his eyes and keeping midnight vigils for your amusement and edification. Printers, like the dews of Heaven, are casting over the earth their beneficent influences when the world is asleep—and a cheerful morning salutation from every one is all they ask in between, and we know the generosity of Kansas City will not deny it to them in this instance."

Two days later a short editorial entitled, "How Is This?" speaks for itself:

"Since we commenced publishing a daily newspaper, and began to look around us with more circumspection for locals, city news, etc., we find that a great reformation has taken place; nobody fighting, no runaway horses, no circus, no theater no dance on the boats, Officer Barnes arrests no one, no accidents, or fighting of any description.

"We say, again, how is this? Must we let our own horses run away, or get into a row ourselves, in order to make a spicy local for those who find nothing interesting in the Journal?"

Through the columns of the Journal, the mind of the editor is everywhere manifest in the editorials written and they are almost as applicable today to the needs of Kansas City as they were then. Not only was the "Overland Trade" with the Southwest and westward to the Pacific to be extended with the ultimate object of reaching China, Japan and

India, but the trade of the western coast of South America and Mexico must be secured to make a great city. Editorial after editorial urged the establishment of manufactories for making furniture, argicultural implements, wagons and carriages, and a paper mill, too, was greatly needed. The hills must be cut down the streets graded; committees should be organized to devise ways and means for establishing good roads throughout the country leading out from Kansas City, so that the farmers could bring their products to market or for shipment; churches and school houses must be built, fire engines secured and hook and ladder companies formed. A German newspaper should be established, and a "thousand other things," so the editorials ran, and the citizens as one man, were entreated to "put their shoulders to the wheel to help to build up the commercial center of mountain and prairie commerce." Every editorial was optimistic, encouraging and stimulating, and entirely free from sarcasm and bitterness.

Gathering News.

On August 17, 1858, the following message was flashed through the ocean from Valencia, Ireland, to Trinity Bay, New Foundland: "Europe and America are united by telegraph. Glory be to God in the highest; on earth peace and good will toward men." It took three days for this message to reach Kansas City and be published. In commemoration of this great event through the untiring energy of Mr. Cyrus W. Field, the Journal of August 19, has the following in very large headlines:

Magnetic Telegraph to Boonville and by Express to Kansas City.

What is before us? We must meet it. News from London in three days. The Great Event Completed.

One week later, the Journal announced the arrival of nine men, all miners, from the New Eldorado, with gold dust from Kansas Territory, found in the Pike's Peak mines. For deluding the people through the columns of the Journal in regard to the gold news, at Leavenworth and St. Joseph,

there was strong talk of coming to Kansas City to lynch the editor on account of his brazen audacity.

Kansas City now had 375 real estate owners within her corporate limits, and one of the local needs was a bank and a new charter for the rapidly increasing expansion of the town. A bank was soon organized, and on December 30, 1858, the New Charter, which had been framed, was adopted by a vote of 85 for and 58 against.

Railroad Agitation.

To understand and to interpret public sentiment correctly in the United States since the close of the Revolution, one must bear in mind that two different sets of ideas, facing in opposite directions, have been and still are in active operation, on account chiefly of inherited tendencies and geographical influences. One class of citizens inhabiting the Atlantic seaboard, have kept their eyes steadfastly fixed across the Atlantic as the real objective point and in connection therewith, they believe that this country would achieve its highest order of development commercially, politically, and socially by the closest possible relations with the leading nations of western Europe. On the outer rim of this civilization, another set of ideas have colored the thoughts and feelings of a much larger class whose faces have been turned westward, and who depended almost wholly on their own individuality to achieve renown by developing of their country through to the Pacific, and then by cultivating commercial relations with the nations bordering on both sides of the Pacific. When the migration from the eastern portion of our country reached Missouri, it paused for a series of years, except as the more adventurous hunters, trappers and explorers pushed far beyond the most distant outskirts of civilization. But at this period the man of all others who did more from 1833 to 1843 to bring prominently before the American people, the possibilities of the Great West, was Senator Lewis F. Linn of Missouri. In reply to Senator Duffie of South Carolina on the Oregon Bill, he used the following language: "Sir, I confess

that this wealth of the surface, and the still vaster treasures that lie beneath, unmined, but not unknown, have awakened in men, and to me seem to justify, the expectations of which the Senator considers so visionary. Over such a region, the passage from the richest valley in the world—that of the Mississippi—to a new and wide commercial empire, that must presently start up on the Pacific, I can not think that railroads and canals are mere day dreams."

What was anticipated by Senator Linn just before his death was more than six years later taken up and advocated by Senator Benton. In the Senate of the United States, February 7, 1849, he spoke as follows:

"Mr. President, the bill which I propose to introduce provides for the location and construction of a national central highway from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean. The idea of a communication across our part of North America is no new idea. It has belonged to every power that has ever been dominant over this part of the continent. In the year 1680, La Salle took leave of his friends at Montreal to go upon his discoveries west, the last word he uttered in parting from them was China—La Chine—and the spot has retained the name ever since.

"When the Spaniards were afterwards masters of Louisiana, the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General of that province, with the approbation and sanction of Charles IV., undertook this great project—the discovery of a practical route across the country by way of the Missouri river. He employed an enterprising man (Don Jacques Clamorgan), to undertake the discovery—a great reward in land being offered to Clamorgan, and a gratuity of three thousand dollars was promised to the first man who should see the Pacific ocean. It miscarried, although a hundred men set out upon the expedition.

"The British, owning large possessions in North America, having in vain endeavored to find a northwest passage to Asia, turned their eyes inland in the hope of finding some

route across the continent, and Mr. Alexander McKenzie, who was afterwards knighted for the energy and faithfulness with which he conducted an enterprise for that purpose, was the successful undertaker. He traversed the continent over that portion of it belonging to Great Britain lying in high latitudes, reached the sea, but pointed to the Columbia river as the only desirable route on the other side of the mountains; and that was the cause of all the long efforts made by the British Government, first to make the Columbia a boundary between us open to the navigation of each, and afterwards to obtain its free navigation. An inland commercial route across the continent was what she wanted.

"When we acquired Louisiana, Mr. Jefferson revived this idea of establishing an inland communication between the two sides of the continent, and for that purpose the well-known expedition of Lewis and Clark was sent out by him. Practical utility in the business of life, as well as a science, was his object. To find a route to answer the purposes of a commercial communication, as well as enlarging the boundaries of geographical science, was the object; and so the instructions declared. That expedition was successful in finding a communication; Mr. Jefferson did not remain in power to carry out the practical design; and no President since his day has taken it up.

"About thirty years ago, I turned my attention to this subject, and conceived a plan for the establishment of a route extending up the Missouri river, and down the Columbia. I followed the idea of Mr. Jefferson, La Salle, and others, and I have endeavored to revive the attention to their plans. The steam car was unknown, and California was not ours; but I believe that Asiatic commerce might be brought into the valley of the Mississippi on that line, and wrote essays to support that idea. The scope of these essays was to show that Asiatic commerce had been the pursuit of all western nations, from the time of the Phoenicians down to the present day—a space of three thousand years; that during all this

time this commerce had been shifting its channel and that wealth and power had followed it, and disappeared upon its loss; that one more channel was to be found—a last one, and our America has its seat; and I then expressed the confident belief that this route would certainly be established—immediately, with the aid of the American Government, and eventually, even without that aid, by the progress of events and the force of circumstances. Occupied with that idea, I sought to impress it upon others, looking to a practical issue I sought information of the country and the mountains, from all that could give it—from the adventurous hunters and traders of the Great West. Knowledge was the first object. The nature of the country—whether inhabitable or not—between the Mississippi and the Pacific—the passes in the mountains—were the great points of inquiry, and the results were most satisfactory. Inhabitable country and practical passes were vouched for; but it was not until the vear 1842 that the information took the definite form which would become the basis of legislation. In the year 1842 Mr. Fremont solicited and obtained leave to extend his explorations to the South Pass of the Rocky mountains, not for the purpose of discovering that pass, for it was done almost precisely forty years ago by the hunters, but for the purpose of fixing its locality and character. At that time it was not known whether that pass was within our territory or in Mexican territory. Mr. Fremont, therefore, wished to extend his explorations to that pass for the purpose of ascertaining its locality and character with a view to a road to Oregon, and the increase of geographical knowledge. He was then employed on topographical duty, having just returned from two years of great labor on the upper Mississippi, assistant to the distinguished astronomer, Mr. Nicollet, who, by his great exertions during the five years that he was engaged there, brought on a prostration which ended in his death. Mr. Fremont solicited and obtained from Colonel Abert the privilege of going to the South Pass, and he made his examinations there in a wav to satisfy every

inquiry. His description of it was satisfactory to all minds; and the reading of that description now will show the ease with which the mountain can be passed at that place.

"August 7, 1842, we left our encampment with the rising sun. As we rose from the bed of the creek, the snow line of the mountain stretched grandly before us, the white peaks glittering in the sun. They had been hidden in the dark weather of the last few days, and it had been snowing on them while it had been raining on us. We crossed a ridge, and again struck the Sweet Water—here a beautiful swift stream, with a more open valley, timbered with beech and cottonwood. It now began to lose itself in the many small forks which makes its head; and we continued up the main stream until near noon, when we left it a few miles, to make our noon halt on a small creek among the hills, from which the stream issues by a small opening. Within it was a beautiful grassy spot, covered with an open grove of large beech trees, among which I found several plants that I had not previously seen. The afternoon was cloudy, with squalls of rain; but the weather became fine at sunset, when we again camped on the Sweet Water, within a few miles of the South Pass. The country over which we have passed today consists principally of the compact mica slate, which crops out on all the ridges, making the uplands very rocky and slaty. In the escarpments which border the creeks, it is seen alternating with a light colored granite, at an inclination of 45 degrees. About six miles from the encampment brought us to the summit. The ascent had been so gradual, that with the intimate knowledge possessed by Carson, who had made this country his home for seventeen years, we were obilged to watch very closely to find the place at which we had reached the culminating point. From the impressions on my mind at the time (and subsequently on our return), I should compare the elevation which we surmounted at the Pass to the ascent from the avenue to the capitol hill at Washington. The width of the pass, or rather the width of the depression

in the mountain which makes this gap in its chain, is about twenty miles, and in that width are many crossing places. Latitude (where crossed), 42 degrees, 24 minutes, 32 seconds; longitude, 109 degrees, 26 minutes. Elevation above the sea, 7,490 feet. Distance from the mouth of the Kansas, by the common traveling route, 962 miles; distance from the mouth of the Great Platte, 882 miles.''

(To be concluded.)

A SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF LILBURN W. BOGGS, BY HIS SON.

Lilburn W. Boggs, -Ex-Governor of the State of Missouri, was born in Lexington, Kentucky, the 14th day of December, 1792, and died March 4, 1860, at his farm in Napa Valley, California.

At the age of eighteen years he went to St. Louis and was cashier of one of the first banks of that city. He married a daughter of Judge Silas Bent, one of the oldest families of St. Louis, by whom he had issue two sons, Angus and Henry. His wife, Julia Ann Bent, died at an early age. His second wife, Panthea Grant Boone, was a daughter of Jesse Boone, a son of old Daniel Boone, of Kentucky fame, by whom he had issue ten children. She was born in Greenup County, Kentucky, where the city or town of Maysville is that was once the land or home of her father, and was the mother of the writer of this sketch. Ex-Governor Boggs was a brother-in-law to Judge Carr of St. Louis, whose wife was also a daughter of Judge Silas Dent. The Carr place in St. Louis is called after Judge Carr. Lilburn W. Boggs, the subject of this sketch, was acquainted with nearly all the early settlers of St. Louis,—the Chouteaus, the Robidoux, the Sublettes, and Campbells, of early days. Old Bill Sublette was a famous mountaineer and had three brothers, Andrew, Perry and Solomon. Old Antoine Rubidoux was the founder of St. Joseph, Missouri. L. W. Boggs was engaged in merchandising in different towns along the Missouri river, such as old St. Charles, old Franklin, opposite to the City of Boonville in Cooper County, Missouri, Fort Osage (near where the writer of these lines was born in 1826, October 21st), from which point L. W. Boggs hauled his goods out to his trading posts among the Osage and Kaw Indians. He finally settled down in the old frontier town, Independence, Missouri, in

Jackson County, and at one time was engaged in the Santa Fe trade about the year 1832 or 1833. He was well acquainted with all the leading business men of the City of St. Louis, such as Hon. Edward Bates, Judge Dent, Grant's father-in-law, who lived in the country on his farm. He was Lieut. Governor of the State of Missouri and later was elected Governor, holding the latter office from 1836 to 1840. He officiated at laying the corner stone of the present State capitol of Missouri. His name and that of other State officers are engraved on a large stone over the front entrance to the capitol where six large granite columns encircle the rotunda in front. L. W. Boggs was Governor of Missouri at the time of the trouble with the Mormons by the citizens of Jackson County, Missouri, his old home, but did not take part in the first riots and troubles with the Mormons and citizens of Jackson County. But after he was elected Governor he was induced to call out the State Militia and had the Mormons removed from the State, for which act the Mormons sent an emissary to Independence to assassinate him for revenge for having them removed from the State. They settled in Illinois and founded the town of Nauvoo at which place their prophet and leader, Joe Smith, prophesied from their temple, that the Ex-Governor of Missouri would die by violence inside of twelve months. In order to fulfill his prophecy, he hired an assassin to go to Missouri, and waylay the Ex-Governor and kill him. The assassin came to Independence in disguise as a common laborer and hired to a man to take care of a stallion, and after familiarizing himself with the Ex-Governor's habits and his family residence, slipped up one dark rainy evening and discharged a load of bullets from a large German holster pistol at the back of the Governor's head as he sat in his private family room reading his newspaper close to the front window, only a few feet distant, not over four feet, firing through the window while the other members of the family were with their mother yet in the dining room finishing their evening meal. Four balls took

effect in his neck and head, two of which penetrated his skull and lodged in the left lobe of his brain, and one went through the hollow of his neck and passed through the roof of his mouth which he swallowed with blood as his head hung over the back of his chair, while stunned from the shock. One ball lodged in the neck, among the muscles of the neck. There were seventeen balls altogether in the charge, those which did not strike the Governor passing over and around the head of his little daughter, six years old, who stood directly in line with her father and the window, rocking a crib cradle with an infant sister in it, striking the plastered wall of the opposite side of the room. The pistol had kicked out of the assasin's hand, which he did not take time to pick up again in the dark, and it was picked up by the assembled crowd, some one having tramped upon it. The pistol was recognized by its owner who said it had been stolen out of his store. He always thought that negroes had stolen it, but he remembered that a man by the name of Orin P. Rockwell, who kept the stable for Mr. Ward, the owner of the stallion, tried to buy it. Rockwell waited until he had been discharged and broke into this store and stole the pistol, a large German holster pistol, that chambered four balls or large buck shot. That clue was followed up and the Mormon's plan to revenge themselves on the people of Missouri was exposed and led to the arrest of this Orin P. Rockwell at the City of St. Louis, while trying to make his escape from Nauvoo at the time the authorities and citizens had offered a reward of $3,000 for his arrest. The officer who arrested him at the steamer landing while he was trying to get away, disguised, was named Fox, a detective. The writer does not remember Mr. Fox' first name, but heard him relate the circumstance and of bringing him to Independence from St. Louis by stage all alone, handcuffed. The sheriff placed a guard of fifty men around the jail to protect the prisoner. After a long time the criminal got a change of venue to another county across the river, where, by the aid of counsel and money furnished

by the Mormon leaders, he made his escape in the night, but he lived to die a drunken sot and confessed murderer after many years at Salt Lake, where he had been accused of murders on the plains near Salt Lake City. The attempt on the life of Ex-Governor Boggs was made in 1842, after which he lived nineteen years. In 1846 he emigrated to California with his family where he lived the remaining fourteen years of his life. Having held various public offices for about 30 years. it was his intention after settling in California to retire from public life, but at the urgent call of the U. S. Military Governor, General Bennett W. Riley, during the establishing of law and order at the close of the war with Mexico, he was induced to accept the office of alcalde of the Northern District of California,—an important position, having jurisdiction over all the territory of Northern California extending to the Oregon line, including Sutters Fort and the Sacramento Valley and around to the coast, including all the territory north of the bay. All his official acts and his private business were conducted at Sonoma, the only town then north of the bay, being the home and headquarters of General Marino Guadalupe Vallejo, Commandant General of upper California, whose authority ceased at the close of the war with Mexico. Governor Boggs kept a large amount of his official documents, and his official acts are matters of record in the county records of Sonoma County at Santa Rosa, the county seat. All transactions in sales of lands, contracts, and criminal proceedings, by trials with juries, and even the performing of the marriage ceremony were performed by him as alcalde. His official and private papers after his death and long before had been kept in an iron safe, and were overhauled by various members of the family, and in search of many notes and accounts remaining unpaid by his customers during his mercantile pursuits at Sonoma, California, there was found a large amount of his public correspondence and other data during his term of office as alcalde of the Northern District of California, but these were consumed by being carelessly

burned by some of the junior members of the family at his farm in Napa Valley. I have written several short biographical sketches of his public and private career from memory, commencing from the time of his birth until his death, that are published in several historical works, and have supplied the State Librarian of California with a photograph of him and a short history of his life, which are kept on file in the Historical Department of the State Library in the capitol at Sacramento.

I have written this sketch from my own personal knowledge and dates taken from his family record of the births and deaths of the various members of the family, as recorded on pages in the old family record in my possession. His life was an eventful one and he had much to do with framing the laws of the State of Missouri. A full and complete biography of his life would fill many pages of history, and as I am in my eighty-third year I do not believe I could do the subject of so great a task justice on account of failing memory.

WILLIAM M. BOGGS.

Napa, California, April 3, 1909.

HISTORY OF THE COUNTY PRESS OF MISSOURI.

It is among the chief glories of Missouri that the first newspaper west of the Mississippi river was established within her borders.

In 1808 Joseph Charless, an ambitious young Irishman, came to St. Louis with a primitive printing outfit and on July 12th of that year took from the forms of his little Ramage press the first issue of The Missouri Gazette. It was an interesting little sheet measuring only 12x14½ inches, and contained not so much matter all told as would equal the special dispatches printed in its successor (1) of today. It was a county newspaper in those days and remained so until its first daily issue, September 20, 1833, (2) and therefore should have a place in this sketch.

St. Louis, in 1808, was a village of about one thousand inhabitants. It possessed a postoffice, with a mail only once a week. Its trade consisted only of "lead, furs and peltries," (3)

One hundred and seventy of the one thousand inhabitants of St. Louis subscribed for the Missouri Gazette, subscriptions being "payable in flour, corn, beef, or pork." (4) Under such circumstances Charless founded this first Missouri newspaper. No wonder he left his wife behind him in Kentucky. But he had the optimism of the true pioneer and it was the fate of this, our trans-Mississippi Franklin, to build far better than he knew.

Eleven years after the Missouri Gazette was founded, Nathaniel Patten, with a more modern Ramage press, passed through St. Louis from Virginia and moved on westward into

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1. The St. Louis Republic.
2. Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, vol. i, p. 909.
3. Ibid, p. 903.
4. Ibid, p. 904.

the "Boon's Lick Country." (5) He set up his printing outfit at Franklin in what is now Howard County, and April 23, 1819, began the publication of the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser. We know little of Patten except that he was a Virginian, a "very reputable citizen, small in stature and exceedingly deaf." (6) He took as his partner in this enterprise Benjamin Holliday, also a Virginian, who had recently located in Franklin. (7)

Surely none but the most optimistic of printers could have seen in the "Boon's Lick Country" a hopeful field for the establishment of a newspaper. The problems that confronted these pioneer printers were serious ones. The villages were small and widely scattered. The settlers were of the farming class, their farms so far apart that a visit to one's neighbor meant a day's journey. There were no roads. The first stage line from St. Charles to Franklin was not established until 1820. It was two years later before the stage run oftener than once every two weeks. Steamboats began to go up the Missouri river as early as May, 1819, but it took from two to three weeks to make the trip. (8)

It was a serious question how to get printing supplies from the East and to deliver the papers to subscribers outside of Franklin. But our Boon's Lick editors were not discouraged by these obstacles nor by the fact that most of their snbscriptions had to be paid in produce. They had a large faith in the future of Missouri, and saw our State not as it was then but as they knew it must become.

The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser prospered from the first. Its establishment in the extreme

5. The Boon's Lick Country was the name given to that portion of Missouri now included in the counties of Boone, Howard, Cooper, Clay, Ray, Chariton, Cole, Saline and Lillard (changed to Lafayette in 1834). Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 26, 1822.

6. History of Boone County, p. 138.

7. Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, April 23, 1819.

8. Files of the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, 1819-22.

outposts of civilization created quite a sensation. The Albany, New York Ploughboy said: "One of the last mails brought us the first number of the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser. What think you, Reader, of a newspaper at Boon's Lick, in the wilds of Missouri in 1819, where in 1809 there was not we believe a civilized being excepting the eccentric character who gave his name to the spot." (9)

This pioneer county paper was deservedly popular from the start, its popularity undoubtedly arising from its devotion to the interests of the West and its untiring zeal in advertising the resources and advantages of Missouri and especially of that part of Missouri.

Holliday retired from the paper July 23, 1821, and John Payne, a young lawyer, was associated with Patten as editor. From August 5, 1822, until April 17, 1824, J. T. Cleveland a relative of the late Ex-President Cleveland, was joint editor and publisher with Patten. In June, 1826, the paper was moved from Franklin to Fayette on account of the continued illness of Mr. Patten. He hoped for better health away from the Missouri river.

Fayette was at that time a town of about thirty-five families, three hundred inhabitants all told. (10) John Wilson, a young lawyer of Fayette, found time in connection with his law cases to assume the duty of editor of the paper. He continued as editor until July, 1828.

It was about 1828 that political parties first began to assume definite shape. When Missouri was admitted to statehood in 1821 the slavery interests drew it towards Democracy. Other interests, mineral production, internal improvements, manufacturers, which caused a demand for tariffs for protection, drew it towards the National Republican and later the Whig party. In the campaign of 1824, no recognized political parties existed, but during the presidential election of 1828

9. Quoted in the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser of Aug. 5, 1819.

10. Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, June 29, 1826.

national issues and national leaders occupied much of the public attention and the people very naturally united with Democrat or National Republican according as they favored Andrew Jackson or John Quincy Adams and the principles these men advocated. It is interesting to note that the newspapers of this period that favored Democracy were invariably spoken of as Jackson papers instead of Democratic.

The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser was a strong advocate of the Whig doctrines and in 1828 adopted as its motto: "The American system and its friends, throughout the Union."

Nathaniel Patten moved his paper to Columbia in April, 1830. It was published there until 1835 when it was offered for sale. Both political parties wanted it as the presidential and state elections were approaching. Austin A. King, afterwards Governor of Missouri, but at that time a practicing lawyer in Columbia, entered into negotiations for its purchase for the Democratic party, but it was bought by Major James S. Rollins, Dr. William Jewell, Warren Woodson, Moses W. Payne, R. N. Todd, Thomas Miller and other Whigs. The name was changed to Columbia Patriot and the first number issued Dec. 12, 1835. Major James S. Rollins and Thomas Miller were the editors. They edited in until after the presidential election of 1840 when Major Rollins sold his interest to W. T. B. Sanford.

Col. William F. Switzler, the Nestor of the Missouri Press, and Missouri historian, became the editor in July, 1841. Thomas Miller died in 1842 and his interest in the paper was sold to J. B. and W. J. Williams. J. B. Williams is known to many Missouri editors through his long connection with the Fulton Telegraph as its editor and publisher. Dr. A. J. McKelway, a native of Howard County, bought W. T. B. Sanford's interest in August, 1842, and became its editor. He sold out to Colonel Switzler in December of the same year. At the same time J. B. Williams sold his interest in the paper to Y. J. Williams. The name was now changed to The Missouri

Statesman with Colonel Switzler as editor, a position he filled for forty-two years. In January, 1845, Colonel Switzler became sole proprietor of The Statesman and remained so for thirty-six years. Under Colonel Switzler's editorship, The Statesman was a powerful advocate of the Whig and later of the Democratic party.

Irvin Switzler bought The Statesman August 1, 1881. He sold it in February, 1888, to W. G. Barrett, editor and publisher of The Columbian, who consolidated the two papers retaining the name Missouri Statesman. H. T. Burckhartt and L. H. Rice took charge of The Statesman June 1, 1896. It is at present edited and published by William Hirth. (11)

The second newspaper in Missouri outside of St. Louis was the Missouri Herald established at Jackson, Cape Girardeau County, in 1819, by T. E. Strange. The date of the first issue is not known. It was a little five column folio paper. Strange published it but a short time. James Russell, afterwards Representative and State Senator from Cape Girardeau County, was its next publisher. He sold it in 1825 to William Johnson who changed the name to The Independent Patriot and later to The Mercury. It was inclined to be neutral in politics but opposed Andrew Jackson. R. W. Renfroe and Greer W. Davis, later one of the most prominent lawyers of Southeast Missouri, became the publishers in March, 1831 and changed the name to The Jackson Eagle. In the fall of 1835 Dr. Patrick Henry Davis bought it and moved the press and materials to Cape Girardeau. He gave it the high sounding name of Southern Advocate and State Journal. In political matters the editor does not commit himself except to say that "he cordially approves of the present administration." (12) Robert Brown was the next publisher. Unlike his predecessors he did not change the name but published it as the Southern Advocate and State Journal until 1845 when he sold it to

11. Files of the Columbia Patriot and Missouri Statesman, 1841-1909.

12. Missouri Intelligencer, Oct. 17, 1835.

Niedner and McFerron. They moved the press and materials back to Jackson and commenced the publication of the Jackson Review. H. S. McFarland became the editor and proprietor in December, 1849. He changed its name back to Southern Advocate and gave it the motto: "The Constitution in its purity—the bulwark of American liberty." It became the Southern Democrat in 1850. J. W. Limbaugh, first mayor of Jackson, was its editor and publisher. Under Mr. Limbaugh's editorship it was a strong anti-Benton paper. (13) Upon the death of Mr. Limbaugh in 1852, Robert Brown again became the editor and renamed it The Jeffersonian. He published it until November, 1853, when it became The Jackson Courier, Joel Wilkerson, editor and publisher. It suspended with the opening of the Civil War, and was the last paper in Jackson until after the war. (14)

As early as December 3, 1819, there appeared in the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser proposals to publish a newspaper, The Missourian, at St. Charles by Briggs and McCloud. Briggs, whose first name even is not known, withdrew before the paper was printed. Robert McCloud was a practical printer and stepson of Joseph Charless, founder of the Missouri Gazette. (15) The proposals for publishing The Missourian were printed last in the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser of March 5, 1820. It must have been founded about that time as the following editorial appeared in that paper August 5th: "We have received several numbers of a new paper published at St. Charles, in this State, by Mr. Robert McCloud, entitled The Missourian. It is printed on a sheet of respectable size, and executed in a neat and elegant manner. It is but a short period since one printing establishment sufficed for this immense region, including the Arkansas. Now there are five and we believe all likely

13. Jefferson City Metropolitan, Jan. 15, 1850.

14. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 429. Files of Columbia Patriot and Jefferson City Metropolitan.

15. History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren counties, p. 216.

to prosper." The papers referred to beside the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, were the Missouri Gazette and the Western Journal at St. Louis, the Missouri Herald at Jackson, and The Missourian at St. Charles.

An act of the Legislature approved November 18, 1820, fixed the temporary seat of government of Missouri at St. Charles until October 1, 1826, at which time it was to be moved to Jefferson City. (16)

The Missourian was the organ of the State Government and prospered greatly during the early years of its existence. (17) It is not known how long it was published, but it certainly continued as long as St. Charles was the capital of Missouri.

The first settlement in Missouri was Ste. Genevieve, but it was the fifth town in the State to have a newspaper of its own, although there is a tradition among its inhabitants that a French newspaper was published there some time after 1780. The earliest English newspaper was begun there in the spring of 1821. It was ambitiously styled The Correspondent and Ste. Genevieve Record. The Missouri Intelligencer of April 30, 1821, acknowledges the receipt of the first number. It was published through 1823. (18)

By this time St. Charles had become large enough to support more than one newspaper. The Missouri Gazette was established there in November, 1823, by Stephen W. Foreman. (19) In its first issue it came out strongly for Henry Clay for President. A year later Foreman sold out to Robert McCloud, who was still publishing The Missourian, and with Charles Keemle founded the Missouri Advocate. (20) The first number was issued Dec. 24, 1824. Its motto was: "Mis-

16. Laws of Missouri, First G. A. sess. 1, p. 37.
17. History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, p. 217.
18. Rozier, 150th Celebration of the Founding of Ste. Genevieve, p. 17.
19. Missouri Intelligencer, Dec. 23, 1823.
20. Files of The Missouri Advocate in the Mercantile Library, St. Louis.

souri and Missouri's friends." In their first issue the publishers announce that they are "not in any manner connected with the Missouri Gazette. All debts contracted by or due that office will be settled with Mr. McCloud."

The Missouri Advocate was moved to St. Louis in February, 1825, the publishers believing that a larger field was offered for their activities there than in St. Charles. The first issue in St. Louis was on February 28th under the name Missouri Advocate and St. Louis Advertiser. It was sold in 1827 to the St. Louis Inquirer. Keemle entered the office of the St. Louis Herald and later that of the People's Organ and Reveille, one of the most noted papers of its time. He was a kindly, gracious man, quite a beau Brummel, and for years a well known figure on the streets of St. Louis. (21) Foreman staid on the staff of the Inquirer and was an ardent supporter of Andrew Jackson but later joined a band of counterfeiters and had a disastrous ending, being hanged in Tennessee. (22)

The Missouri Advocate of February 12, 1825, contains a prospectus issued by Calvin Gunn to publish The Jefferson Patriot at Jefferson City. The prospectus says the paper will be conducted on "purely republican principles, the great interests of Missouri shall be supported, truth shall be its polar star, and public opinion and private justice its guide." Its motto was to be: "Vitam impendere vero." It is presumed he did not receive encouragement enough to publish a paper at Jefferson City for we find him setting up his printing press at St. Charles and commencing the publication of The Jeffersonian in October, 1825. In the first issue he takes time by the forelock and announces his intention of removing his office at "some future period to the City of Jefferson, the future capital of our State." (23) The "future period" was the summer of 1826, some two months before the time of-

21. Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, p. 920.
22. Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, June 21, 1834.
23. Ibid, Oct. 28, 1823.

ficially fixed for Jefferson City to become the capital. When the Legislature convened there in November, 1826, Gunn was ready to print the proceedings of that august body. His reward came quickly as he was immediately appointed State printer, (24) a position he held for eighteen years.

The Jeffersonian became The Jeffersonian Republican in 1827. Its motto was "E Pluribus Unum." (25) William Franklin Dunnica, one of the founders of Glasgow, Missouri, was associated with Calvin Gunn in its publication until 1831. (26) Gunn was an ardent champion of Andrew Jackson and a bitter opponent of Whig principles. He died in 1844 and with him the paper he founded. (27)

It is worth noting here, as indicative of the rapid movement westward of emigrants and the growth of Missouri that in 1827 both the Jeffersonian Republican and the Missouri Intelligencer mention the prospectus of a paper to be published at Liberty, Clay County, under the name Missouri Liberator by a Mr. Hardin, a deaf and dumb man. As no further mention is made of this paper it is presumed the time had not come for setting up a press in what was then the extreme outposts of western civilization.

Meanwhile politics and political leaders began to absorb the attention of the public. The presidential campaign of 1827 excited more than the ordinary amount of attention in Missouri. Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams were the presidential candidates. The friends of Jackson in the West felt that the interests of their candidate called for the establishment of more printing presses for the purpose of "rendering through their instrumentality the people's candidate acceptable to the people." (28) With this end in view, early in 1827, the Rev. William Kinney, Lieutenant Governor

24. Laws of Missouri, Fourth G. A. sess. 1, p. 80.

25. Files of Jeffersonian Republican.

26. History of Howard and Cooper Counties, p. 438.

27. History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries and Osage Counties, p. 270.

28. Missouri Republican, May, 1827.

of Illinois, with other citizens of that State, purchased two presses. One was for Fayette, Missouri, and the other for Vandalia, Illinois. The paper at Fayette was to be published by James H. Birch of the St. Louis Inquirer. The Inquirer says that in establishing a paper at Fayette, Mr. Birch "will be in the midst of the Hero's friends." (29) Had a volcano burst forth in the midst of the Boon's Lick country it could not have caused much greater excitement. The Missouri Intelligencer of May 17, 1827, came out with a scathing editorial against the St. Louis Inquirer, Mr. Birch, "the reverend gentleman from Illinois," and Democracy in general. "We can inform Mr. Birch and the St. Louis Inquirer that they are totally mistaken as regards the politics of this region for we know of no place in the Union where the citizens are more unanimously opposed to General Jackson's pretentions to the next presidency." It goes on to say: "We believe the citizens of the Boon's Lick Country, whatever their predelictions may be, either for Jackson or Adams, have too much independence, intelligence and virtue to be dictated to by a reverend gentleman of anti-slave holding memory."

With this welcome from a brother editor, the Western Monitor was established at Fayette in August, 1827, by James H. Birch, lawyer and later State Senator, member of the State Convention of 1861 and Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. (30) Judge Birch, through the columns of his paper, supported the Democratic policy with a vigor not relished by the Whigs of that day. He changed the name of his paper to The Missourian in 1837. In 1840 he sold it to Cyril C. Cady who renamed it the Boon's Lick Times. Cady sold it in a few months to James R. Benson and Colonel Clark H. Green. They made it Whig in politics and gave it the motto: "Error ceases to be dangerous, when reason is left free to

29. Andrew Jackson was popularly called "The Hero of Two Wars," the War of 1812 and the Seminole War in Florida. His admirers were sometimes called "Heroites."

30. Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri. Vol. 1, p. 275.

combat it." (31) It was moved to Glasgow in October, 1848, and published there until 1861 when it was suppressed by the Confederates on account of its Union sentiments. Colonel Green went into the Union army and remained during the war. (32)

It was not until four years after the Western Monitor was started at Fayette, that the next newspaper was established in Missouri. William Baker, in 1831, commenced the publication of the State Gazette at Ste. Genevieve. It became the Southern Gazette in 1833. A few months later it was The Missouri Democrat edited by Philip G. Ferguson. Charles C. Rozier bought it in 1850 and changed the name to The Creole. He published The Creole for one year and then moved his press and materials to St. Louis. He published there a French paper, the Revue de Lanst. He returned to Ste. Genevieve in 1852 and started The Independent which he published until 1854 when he sold it to his brother, Amable. The Independent was published until the beginning of the Civil War when the office was closed. (33)

The first newspaper published in Cape Girardeau was the Cape Girardeau Farmer. William Johnson was the editor and proprietor. Its first issue dates back to 1831, but practically nothing is known of it save a single reference to its publication. (34)

The Missouri Intelligencer for February, 1831, contains the prospectus of a new paper, The Missouri Whig, to be published at Fayette by Robert N. Kelley. The editor promises to support the protective tariff or American system, and Henry Clay for President because Clay "is an honest man and one calculated to save our country from ruin and degradation." The paper was to be published as soon as enough

31. Boon's Lick Times, Aug.-Oct., 1840.

32. History of Howard and Cooper Counties, p. 262. Files of Missouri Intelligencer and Columbia Statesman.

33. Rozier, 150th Celebration of the founding of Ste. Genevieve, p. 17.

34. Missouri Intelligencer, Sept. 10, 1831.

subscribers were obtained. But Mr. Birch's paper, The Western Monitor, evidently satisfied the needs of the inhabitants of Fayette for the Missouri Whig was not published.

About the same time a prospectus was issued to publish the Missouri Gazette at Boonville by Joshua Young. (35) Boonville had no paper and it seemed a promising field for the establishment of one. Mr. Young's prospectus is a model of political diplomacy: "However friendly either to the Champion of the American system, or to the Hero of Two Wars, the editor feels that the Man who shall be called forth by the voice of a Free and Powerful People will receive his cordial support." The prospectus apparently did not appeal to the people of Boonville as not enough subscribed for the paper to justify Mr. Young in purchasing a printing outfit.

We come now to a newspaper that during its short existence of a few months stirred up a strife that was far reaching in its consequence and of enough importance to be dignified by the name of a war. This paper was The Morning and Evening Star published by the Mormons at Independence, Missouri.

As early as 1831 Joseph Smith visited western Missouri on a tour of inspection. Evidently the country pleased him for soon afterwards bands of Mormons began to arrive and settle in and around Independence. Their number was largely increased in 1832 by new arrivals who brought with them a complete printing outfit. This was set up and The Morning and the Evening Star appeared in May, 1832. (36) W. W. Phelps was the editor. It was devoted exclusively to "publishing the revelations of God to the Church" and denouncing the "ungodly Gentiles." (37) The result was that the Gentiles threw the press and type into the Missouri river. (37) The Mormon War in Missouri had begun. The Mormons were also publishing on this press The Upper Missouri Advertiser.

35. Ibid, Apr. 30, 1831.
36. Ibid, June 2, 1832.
37. Ibid, Aug. 10, 1833.

This paper was used to advertise that section of Missouri as "the place revealed for the center stake of Zion." Its publication stopped also when the Missouri river received the press and type.

Later some enterprising driftwood harvesters raised the press and sold it to William Ridenbaugh, who used it to establish the St. Joseph Gazette in 1845. He sold the press to Captain John L. Merrick in 1859. Captain Merrick took it to Denver and started the first paper published in Colorado. (38)

The next paper established in Missouri was the ancestor of the Hannibal Courier-Post, The Missouri Courier. It was commenced at Palmyra in 1832 by Jonathan Angevine and Robert W. Stewart. Stewart was the editor. During 1837-38, James L. Minor, Secretary of State from 1839 to 1845, was the editor. The Missouri Courier was a strong Jackson paper and the organ of the Democratic party in Northeast Missouri. The Missouri Intelligencer of May 26, 1832, regrets that the inhabitants of the "Salt River Country are likely to be so little benefited by the press located amongst them." The Missouri Intelligencer differed from the Missouri Courier in politics.

Joseph B. Ament became the editor and proprietor of the Missouri Courier in 1841. He gave the paper two mottoes: On the first page, "Principiis obsta;" on the second page,

"Truth the object of our search,
Usefulness the end we desire to attain." (40)

Mr. Ament moved his paper to Hannibal in 1848 where it was consolidated with the Hannibal Gazette, retaining the name Missouri Courier. It was taken back to Palmyra in 1855. In 1863 it was moved again to Hannibal and consolidated this time with the Hannibal Messenger. The consolidated papers

38. Maryville Republican, June 12, 1902.

39. The Salt River Country was the name given to that section of Missouri included now in the counties of Pike, Marion, Ralls, Monroe, Macon, Shelby, Adair and Audrain.

40. Missouri Courier, Feb. 5, 1846.

were given the name North Missouri Courier. The publishers were Winchell, Ebert and Marsh. It became The Hannibal Courier in 1865. Its publishers, on April 24, 1881, bought out The Hannibal Post and consolidated the two papers under the name Hannibal Courier-Post. (41) W. J. Hill is its present publisher.

The first newspaper at Boonville was established in July, 1833, by James H. Middleton and John Wilson. It was The Herald. In the first issue the editors state that it will be "emphatically a free and independent press." But, "are proud to acknowledge the principles of Thomas Jefferson as the text of their political faith." Its motto was: "Virtue and intelligence are freedom's fortress." Middleton became the sole proprietor in September, 1834, and sold one-half interest to Robert Brent in April, 1838. They changed the name to The Western Emigrant. Later C. W. Todd bought it and named it the Boonville Observer. It had various owners up until 1861 when it suspended. (42)

The first newspaper in the Salt River Country proper, was the Salt River Journal. It was established at Bowling Green in October, 1833 by Adam Black Chambers and Oliver Harris. Chambers came to Bowling Green in 1829 with seventy-five cents in his pocket. He studied law, but before he could practice in Missouri, he must take out a license. To do this he had to attend court which sat at Fayette. One friend loaned him a horse and another enough money to pay his expenses at Fayette. (43) He was admitted to the bar and returned to Bowling Green to practice his profession. He was sent to the Legislature from Pike County in 1832. As editor of the Salt River Journal he became a leader among Missouri journalists. He and his partner sold the Salt River Journal in 1837 and went to St. Louis where with George

41. History of Marion County, p. 190 ff. Files of Missouri Intelligencer and Columbia Statesman.

42. History of Howard and Cooper counties, p. 730. Files of Columbia Patriot and Boonville Observer.

43. Centennial edition of the St. Louis Republic.

Knapp they took charge of the Missouri Republican. Subsequently Harris became interested in various newspaper enterprises in St. Louis and later moved to Ste. Genevieve where he edited the Plaindealer and served as postmaster. Col. Chambers remained on the staff of the Missouri Republican until his death in 1854. (44)

The Salt River Journal in 1840 became the property of Aylett H. Buckner, later Judge of the Third Congressional Circuit, and Congressman for six successive terms from the Thirteenth, now the Ninth Congressional District. (45) Judge Buckner made the paper independent in politics and tried to keep it above mere party interests. But in November, 1841 he changed the name to The Radical and came out strongly for a strict construction of the Constitution and against a National Bank and the protective tariff.

Judge Buckner sold The Radical on March 7, 1842, to James H. D. Henderson. Mr. Henderson made some important changes in the plan of the paper. Party politics were to be dispensed with, and all party strife and political contentions were to end in the Salt River Country. He took as the motto for his paper: "Peace on earth and good will towards all men." Isaac Adams became, on April 23, 1842, associated with Mr. Henderson in the publication of the Radical. They decided to keep the paper neutral and reconcile Whig and Democrat. This course as might have been expected did not escape criticism. The scholar, the critic, the wise man, and the fool, as the editors put it, each had something to say and were ready with their advice. Many wanted a political paper. Some withdrew their support. The editors' reply: "We thankfully receive the patronage of all those disposed to encourage us; and to those disposed to censure and find fault we say: withdraw your patronage—we don't care a fig, we intend to do the thing we believe to be right regardless of consequences." Such was the dream of these journalists in a country intensely

44. Scharf, History of St. Louis City and County, p. 910.
45. Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri, vol. 1, p. 416.

alive with political passion. It did not materialize. The Radical in September, 1844, openly became a Democratic paper and supported James K. Polk for President. It was sold on January 29, 1845, to S. E. Murray and A. J. Pickens. They changed the name to Democratic Banner. N. P. Minor was the editor. In April, 1846, it was moved to Louisiana.

In the election of 1846 Pike County went Whig and the Democratic Banner lost the county printing. The publishers struggled on for a couple of years when Murray sold his interest to S. P. Robinson. The paper suspended in 1852. (46)

A second newspaper was started at Fayette in December, 1834, the Boon's Lick Democrat. The founder of this paper was Judge W. B. Napton, an able lawyer and jurist, at one time Attorney General, and for twenty-four years a Supreme Judge of Missouri. (47) Judge Napton gave the Boon's Lick Democrat the motto: "Veritas cum Libertate." Its next editor was Judge William A. Hall who stands preeminently as one of the best Circuit Judges in the history of Central Missouri. (48) He changed the name of the paper to Missouri Democrat. Under Judge Hall, The Missouri Democrat was the organ of the Democratic party in interior Missouri. It finally suspended in August, 1850. (49)

During the year 1834, The Red Rover was published in Columbia. Nothing is known of it except a few quotations from it in the Missouri Intelligencer of 1834.

In this year The Upper Missouri Enquirer was established at Liberty. The first issue was on January 11th. It was Whig in politics and eagerly welcomed by the people in that section of the State. Robert N. Kelly and William H. Davis were the publishers. In 1835 Kelly became the sole proprietor. The paper suspended about 1840. (50)

46. History of Pike County, pp. 482-86. Files of the Columbia Patriot and Statesman.
47. History of the Bench and Bar of Missouri, p. 123.
48. Ibid, p. 404.
49. Files of Missouri Intelligencer, Columbia Patriot and Statesman.
50. Ibid.

The Palmyra Post was established June 1, 1834. In the prospectus published in the Missouri Intelligencer, May 3, 1834, the editor, who does not give his name, says he cannot support the acts of the present administration (Andrew Jackson's) in regard to internal improvements, the currency and the veto power, but is heartily in favor of a State bank. The Post was published for only a few months. (51)

Sometime between 1834 and 1841 a paper,called The Far West, was published at Liberty by Peter H. Burnett. Burnett emigrated to Oregon in 1843 and became U. S. District Judge. He moved to California in 1849 and was elected Provisional Governor and later to the Supreme Bench. No copy of his paper, The Far West, is extant. (52)

The St. Charles Cosmos-Monitor was founded in 1835 by Nathaniel Patten. It was known then as The Clarion. Patten, it will be remembered, established the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser at Franklin in 1819. He published The Clarion until his death in 1837. His widow continued the paper with W. M. Campbell as editor. It was sold in 1839 to Julian and Carr. Berlin and Knapp became the publishers in 1840 and changed the name to the Free Press. Julian and Knapp took charge of it again with W. B. Overall as the editor. It now became The Advertiser. In 1846 Dr. E. D. Bevitt bought it and changed the name to the Missouri Patriot. It had been Whig in politics up to this time, but as the Missouri Patriot it was Democratic. It became The Western Star in 1847 with Douglas and Millington as proprietors. Jacob Kibler, Sr., became the publisher and N. C. O'Rear the editor in 1849. Mr. Kibler changed the name to The Chronotype, made it neutral in politics and filled its columns with articles on agriculture, literary subjects and general information. In 1854 this much named paper became The Reveille. Benjamin Emmons and Andrew King were the publishers.

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51. Files of Missouri Intelligencer, 1834-35.

52. Sketch of the Literary Development of Liberty, Mo., by Hon. D. C. Allen, in Liberty Tribune, Jan. 22, 1909.

It was consolidated in 1867 with the St. Charles Sentinel, which had recently been established. It was now called The Cosmos-Sentinel and Emmons and Orrick were the publishers. W. W. Davenport bought it in 1868 and shortened the name to The Cosmos. It has had many owners since 1868 and one further change in name. In 1903 it was consolidated with the St. Charles Monitor and given the name Cosmos-Monitor under which it is still published. (53)

Early in 1836 The Patriot was established at Cape Girardeau by Edwin White. It was a Whig paper. Robert Sturdivant, who had been in the mercantile business in Cape Girardeau, bought it in 1837, and was guilty, as he expressed it, of undertaking to edit and publish a political newspaper. At the end of two years he went back to his mercantile business and The Patriot was published successively by Robert Renfroe and Charles D. Cook. The latter sold it in 1842 to John W. Morris who changed the name to South Missourian. It suspended publication in 1846. (54)

The Marion Journal, a Democratic paper, was published at Palmyra during 1836-37 by Frederick Wise of St. Louis. The editor was General Lucian J. Eastin of Palmyra, who, during his career as a newspaper man, covering a period of nearly fifty years, was connected with more newspapers than any other editor in Missouri.

General Eastin's second newspaper was The Missouri Sentinel, which he established at Paris in 1837. He continued its publication until 1843 when it was purchased by Major James M. Bean and John Adams, who changed the name to Paris Mercury, the name it bears today. Major Bean published The Mercury until his death on January 26, 1874. During this time he served two terms in the Lower House of the Missouri Legislature and at the time of his death was State Senator from the Seventh Senatorial District. Abraham G.

53. History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, pp. 218-220. Files of Columbia Patriot and Columbia Statesman.

54. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 417. Files of Statesman.

Mason, who entered the Mercury office in 1845 as an apprentice, became assistant publisher in 1851. He remained with the paper until 1886 and associated with himself at different times, William L. Smiley, Thomas P. Bashaw and Joseph Burnett. Alexander and Staveley are the present publishers.

The Mercury was Whig in politics until the dissolution of that party in 1856 when it joined the ranks of the Democrats. It suspended once during its existence. When Colonel Joseph Porter raided North Missouri in 1861 and while the Federals occupied Paris, some of the soldiers who were printers, suppressed the regular edition and issued one to suit themselves. The Mercury has always been published at Paris and during the last sixty-six years under its present name. (55)

The Commercial Advertiser was started at Hannibal in November, 1837, by Jonathan Angevine, who founded the Missouri Courier at Palmyra in 1832, and J. S. Buchanan. They sold it in 1838 to Rev. S. D. Rice, a Methodist minister. The Commercial Advertiser not turning out happily on the financial side, Rev. Rice stopped its publication in 1839. It was established solely to advertise the new town of Hannibal and is said to have fulfilled its mission. (56)

The Political Examiner, a Whig paper, was commenced at Palmyra in 1837. Samuel Haydon was the publisher and William Cason, the editor. It suspended in 1839. (57)

In the same year that these two Marion County papers were started, the Mormons commenced the publication of The Elder's Journal at the town of Far West in Caldwell County. Far West had been founded in 1836 by some of the Mormons who had settled in Caldwell County after being driven out of Jackson County in 1832. The Journal was suppressed in 1838. The trouble this time resulted largely from the election riots of August, 1838, when an attempt was made to keep the Mormons from voting.

55. History of Monroe and Shelby Counties, p. 199 ff. Files of Columbia Statesman.
56. History of Marion County, p. 898.
57. Ibid, p. 833.

The first newspaper in the Ozark region was the Ozark Standard. It was established at Springfield in 1838 by Cyrus W. Stark. He sold it in a short time to Mitchell and McKinney, who changed the name to The Ozark Eagle. It belonged to the radical wing of the Democratic party. A Whig contemporary says of it: "The noisy and crimsoned beaked Eagle of the Ozark Mountains is outrageously pugnacious and rabid as a mad cat." (58) Warren H. Graves, one of the first newspaper men of Southwest Missouri, became the publisher in 1842 and changed the name to the Springfield Advertiser. As the Advertiser it numbered among its publishers, John S. Phelps, afterwards Governor of Missouri. After 1850 it became a strong anti-Benton paper. Its last issue was an extra published on April 12, 1861, to announce that Fort Sumpter had been fired upon. (59)

It was not until 1838 that the capital of Missouri had grown important enough to support two newspapers. On March 31st of that year the Inquirer was started by General E. L. Edwards and John McCulloch. It was Whig in politics and adopted the following quotation from Martin Van Buren as its political guide: "Coming into office the declared enemy of both a National Debt and a National Bank, I have earnestly endeavored to prevent a resort to either."

McCulloch died within a year, and in 1840 General Edwards sold the paper to William Lusk who made it a power for Democracy in that section of the State. Lusk died in 1844 and his son, James Lusk, published it until his death in 1858. William H. Lusk then took charge of it and through its columns fearlessly advocated loyalty to the Union. The paper suspended in March, 1861, when Mr. Lusk entered the Union army where he attained the rank of major. (60)

The Western Star was founded at Liberty in May, 1838,

58. The Columbia Patriot, June 18, 1842.

59. History of Springfield, Mo., by M. J. Hubble in Springfield Republican, July 4, 1909. Files of Columbia Patriot and Columbia Statesman.

60. Files of the Inquirer.

by John Rennie. In the fall of 1841 George Leader landed at Liberty and bought the Star, changing its name to Western Journal. Leader was from Pennsylvania and had worked in printing offices in Ohio and Kentucky while on his way to Missouri. William Ridenbaugh became his partner in 1842, coming from Bedford, Pennsylvania, for that purpose. They sold the Western Journal in the fall of 1844. It soon afterwards suspended publication. Leader went to Platte City and helped start the Argus while Ridenbaugh went to St. Joseph and founded the Gazette. (61)

The second newspaper in Boonville was The Missouri Register, founded by W. T. Yeoman in July, 1839. It was established for the purpose of aiding the Democrats carry that section of Missouri in the campaign of 1840. It April, 1841, E. A. Robinson bought a half interest in it and in August, 1843, Captain Ira Van Nortwick became the editor and publisher. Captain Van Nortwick used its columns to vigorously oppose the policy of Senator Thomas H. Benton. It was afterwards owned successively by Quisenberry, Price, Ward and Chilton. The last named published it until 1853. This was the year of the great temperance excitement in Missouri. B. T. Buie, in that year, became publisher of the Register and filled its columns exclusively with temperance discussions. It began to be unsuccessful financially and Buie sold the paper to Allen Hammond, but it soon suspended on account of a lack of patronage. (62)

The pioneer paper of Callaway County is the Missouri Telegraph. It was founded at Fulton in 1839 by Warren Woodson, Jr., and was known then as The Banner of Liberty. Curd and Hammond bought it in January, 1842, and changed the name to Callaway Watchman. William A. Stewart became the editor in 1844 and gave it the name of Western Star. The Star continued to shine until the spring of 1845 and was decidedly Whig in politics. In that year it became the prop-

61. Maryville Republican, Dec. 19, 1904.
62. History of Howard and Cooper Counties, p. 730.

erty of J. B. Duncan and James M. Goggin, who changed the name to Fulton Telegraph. They sold it in 1850 to John B. Williams and he gave it the name it is published under today, The Missouri Telegraph. J. B. Williams entered the office of the Columbia Patriot as an apprentice in 1835, became journeyman printer on its successor the Columbia Statesman in 1842, and in 1843 bought a half interest in it. Seven years later he was editing and publishing the paper with which he was so long identified, The Missouri Telegraph. He went to Mexico in 1857 and established the Mexico Ledger. Returning to Fulton in 1859 he again became identified with the Telegraph, and continued to edit and publish it until his death on April 6, 1882. He was succeeded by his son, Wallace Williams, who published it until January 1, 1909, when it was bought by the Sun Printing Co., of Fulton, and the two papers consolidated under the name Missouri Telegraph and Weekly Sun. The Missouri Telegraph has never been published outside of Fulton, and for fifty-seven years it was under the control of the Williams, father and son. (63)

This record is surpassed by one other county newspaper, The Palmyra Spectator. The Spectator has been owned and controlled during the entire seventy years of its existence by members of the Sosey family. It was founded at Palmyra on August 3, 1839, by Jacob Sosey and was known then as The Missouri Whig and General Advertiser. A few years later the name was shortened to Missouri Whig. Mr. Sosey turned the management over to his son, Harper R. Sosey, in 1859. For a period of four years, up to April 10, 1863, the founder of the paper was not known as its owner or editor, but he still controlled it. On that date he resumed management and changed the name to the Palmyra Spectator. Frank H. Sosey became a member of the firm in January, 1884. At the death of Jacob Sosey, Sept. 8, 1888, the firm became Sosey

63. History of Callaway County, pp. 100-101. Missouri Telegraph, Apr. 14, 1882.

Brothers, the members being the present publishers, Frank H. and John M. Sosey. (64)

One other current county newspaper dates back to 1839, The Howard County Advertiser. It was started at Glasgow by W. B. Foster under the name Glasgow News. It was neutral in politics and had rather an obscure existence for several years. The editor changed the name to Howard County Banner in September, 1848, and made it a Democratic paper. He sold it to W. B. Tombley who moved it to Fayette in 1853. The Columbia Statesman of May 13, 1853, says of it: "The Banner hitherto published at Glasgow by Mr. Tombly has been moved to Fayette. It continues a Democratic paper of the anti-Benton pro-Claib Jackson stripe, and is now edited by one of the cleverest and most ultra Democrats this side of sun down, Leland Wright, Esq." Mr. Tombly sold it in 1858 to Randall and Jackson, who continued its publication until the breaking out of the Civil War when they entered the Confederate Army. The office was sold to Isaac Newton Houck who published the paper until 1864 under its present name, Howard County Advertiser. In the summer of that year the Federals destroyed the office. Mr. Houck went to Illinois and remained there until 1865 when he returned to Fayette and resumed the publication of the Advertiser. General John B. Clark became associated with him in its publication in 1868 and for ten months the paper was published under the firm name of Houck and Clark, when Houck sold his interest to General Clark. In 1871 Houck again purchased the Advertiser and published it until 1872 when it became the property of Charles J. Walden (65) present owner and publisher of the Boonville Advertiser. Mr. Walden successfully conducted the paper for a number of years. Subsequent owners and editors were W. S. Gallemore, S. M. Yeoman, M. B. Yeoman and L. B. White. Mr. White sold it to the present editor and proprietor, Henry T. Burckhartt, who took possession September 1, 1905. (66)

MINNIE ORGAN.

(To be continued.)

64. The information in regard to the Spectator was furnished by Mr. John Sosey.

65. History of Howard and Cooper Counties, p. 262-63. Files of the Columbia Statesman.

66. Howard County Advertiser, Jan. 4, 1906.

NOTES.

The fact that a part of the Bicknell Journals had been republished by the historical society in St. Louis was overlooked in selecting them for this number.

The German-American Annals for September-October, 1909, has the first part of a paper by Dr. Wm. G. Bek, of the University of Missouri, on the Community at Bethel, Missouri, and its offspring at Aurora, Oregon, the same subject as the paper by him in the last volume of the Review.

A rare Eugene Field item has been presented to the Society by B. T. Galloway of the Department of Agriculture, through his sister, Mrs. Ida Cunningham of the University of Missouri. The title page is "College Songs. Missouri State University—Columbia, 1873. Columbia, Mo.; Missouri statesman book and job office print, 1874." It consists of 48 pages of selected and original college songs. "Amo.—key of A," is by Eugene Field, and six are by his brother, Roswell M. Field.

As an indication of how important the Library of Congress considers the preservation of periodicals, it may be stated that it has lately issued a "Want List of Periodicals," not including newspapers, which makes a book of 241 pages. Eighty-one of the periodicals wanted were published in Missouri.

There is no dispute as to the benefits that an international language that was generally understood in all parts of the world would be. To supply this want various languages have been formed, that of Esperanto being the best known, and most widely studied, there being twenty national societies, thirty to forty journals printed in it, and nearly a thousand organized societies studying it. It has its adherents in all countries in the world, and four international congresses have been held where all the addresses and the transaction of business has been in that language. The fifth congress will be held at Chautauqua in this country. While movements

have been directed for a universal language a more restricted effort has been that for a reformation in the spelling of the English, and a board has made various suggestions in this direction, which had the approval of President Roosevelt. Some of the suggestions have been generally adopted, and others will be. A more extensive change in the spelling is being advocated by Nikolas Aleshi of Kansas City, which he calls the "Virtuana System" or the "niu speling experiment." He has issued various circulars, and a map relating to it. The latter explains " "the eksperiment of the Virtuana lengueje;" it has a table with a center of "Fontalina Missouri and her didaktikal," surrounded by the names of various cities of different States spelled according to his "system," Fontolina being his name for Kansas City; and a map of the "United States" shows the spelling of each according to the "niu speling."

The Missouri Folk-Lore Society held its fourth annual meeting December 18, 1909, at St. Louis, and the following officers were elected for 1910:

President—Miss Mary A. Owen, St. Joseph.

Vice Presidents—Dr. W. L. Campbell, Kansas City; Miss Mary A. Wadsworth, Columbia; Prof. J. L. Lowes, St. Louis.

Secretary—Prof. H. M. Belden, Columbia.

Treasurer—Miss Idress Head, St. Louis.

Directors—Miss Jennie M. A. Jones, St. Louis; Miss Virginia E. Stevenson, St. Louis (to fill out unexpired term of Dr. F. A. Golder, resigned).

The American Historical Association and a half dozen other associations held their annual meetings during holiday week in New York, with a larger attendance than usual, and with interesting programs. In listening to some of the papers one cannot avoid thinking that if a person is honored by being thought competent to write a paper for such an association, and he does not have the voice or manner to properly delivery it he should get some other person to read it for him.

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION.

The Society has lately obtained an interesting addition to its collection of manuscript material—the proclamation issued by Gov. Fletcher following the adoption of the ordinance of Emancipation by the Missouri Convention of 1865. It is as follows, the signatures being by the Governor and Secretary of State:

STATE OF MISSOURI,
Executive Department.

City of Jefferson, Jany 11th 1865.

"It having pleased Divine Providence to inspire to righteous action the sovereign people of Missouri, who, through their delegates in convention assembled, with proper legal authority and solemnity, have this day

Ordained, "That hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free."

Now, therefore, by authority of the supreme power vested in me by the Constitution of Missouri, I, Thomas C. Fletcher, Governor of the State of Missouri, do proclaim, that henceforth and forever no person within the jurisdiction of this State shall be subject to any abridgement of liberty, except such as the law may prescribe for the common good, or know any master but God.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto signed my name and caused the Great Seal of the State to be affixed, at the City of Jefferson, this 11th day of January, A. D., 1865.

THOMAS C. FLETCHER.

By the Governor: (Signed)

FRANCIS RODMAN,
Secretary of State."

BOOK NOTICES.

For love of You, by **Clyde Edwin Tuck.** Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen & Co., 1909, (c. 1908). Port. 87 p.

The author was born and reared near Springfield, Missouri, but is now temporarily in Indiana. His book of poetry is issued in a very neat and attractive style. The work will soon be followed by a novel on "The Bald Knobbers."

The following will remind the readers of other such nights in their own experience:

ON SUCH A NIGHT.

On such a night
The stars shown bright
O'er fields and hills of sparkling snow;
The saffron moon
Arose, and soon
The fitful winds all ceased to blow;
'Twas by the sea
You stood with me
When first we loved, that crystal night—
Just you and I
Beneath the sky—
The happy world ne'er seemed so bright!

On such a night,
How sweet the light
Streamed o'er the sea, one year ago!
Now hand in hand
Again we stand;
About us lies the sparkling snow;—
It seemed to me
No night could be
So fair here by the sleeping sea;—
Thy heart is mine,
My heart is thine,
My love, and shall forever be!

On such a night
My heart beat light;
Although the world was hushed in snow,
'Twas sweeter far
Than nights that are
Born when mild summer breezes blow;
Like burning brands
Our clasp of hands
Love's flame then kindled in my breast,
And since that night
When stars shown bright
The happy world is full of rest!

The Gentry family in America, 1676 to 1909, including notes on the following families ... ... By **Richard Gentry, Ph. B. M. S.,** Kansas City, Mo. New York, The Grafton Press, 1909. 406 p. 44 plts. Price $5.25.

The Gentry family is one of the largest in the United States, and its beginning in this country dates back to 1684, when Nicholas and Samuel Gentry settled in Virginia. It has become numerous in that State and also in Missouri, the Carolinas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, and other States. The Gentry pioneers marched across the country, established homes as farmers, planters, stock raisers, soldiers and professional men, and have impressed themselves indelibly on the history of the country.

The author of the above book is descended from Nicholas Gentry, and from him to his grandson there are nine generations as follows:

I. Nicholas, immigrant.
II. Nicholas, of Albemarle Co. Va.
III. David, of Albemarle Co., Va.
IV. Richard, Rev. soldier, of Madison Co., Va.
V. Gen. Richard, Columbia, Mo
VI. Richard Harrison, Columbia, Mo.
VII. Richard, Kansas City, Mo.
VIII. Richard Hardin, Mobile, Ala.
IX. Richard Blythe, Mobile, Ala.

Six Richard Gentrys in succession. Richard Gentry, the Revolutionary soldier and Kentucky pioneer, settled in Madison Co., Ky., in 1786. Married Jane Harris in Virginia and reared twelve children. She died and he married Nancy Guthrie and reared seven more, altogether nineteen children, sixteen sons and three daughters; eight of these sons settled in Missouri. Reuben E., born in Virginia in 1785 settled in Missouri in 1809, and is the ancestor of most of the Pettis County Gentrys; David Gentry settled in Boone County and later in Monroe County, Mo.; Rev. Christy Gentry in Ralls Co., Mo.; General

Richard Gentry in Old Franklin in 1816, and in 1820 was one of the organizers and owners of the town of Columbia, where he lived until 1837, when he was killed in the Florida war, commanding a Missouri regiment; Joshua Gentry settled in Marion Co., Mo., was president and General Manager of the Hannibal and St. Joe R. R., which he built; James Gentry settled in Boone, but later moved to Galena, Ill., where he died; Rodes Gentry settled in Ralls Co., and William James Gentry in Ray Co., Mo. The balance of the family remained in Kentucky. Nicholas Gentry of the 11th generation has seven sons, and their descendants are distributed all over the United States. The book is well and beautifully made, and can be obtained from the author at 2600 Troost Avenue, Kansas City, Mo.

A History of Grundy County [Missouri]. By **James Everett Ford.** Trenton, Missouri. 1908.

This is one of the best of the County Histories. The historical part consisting of 233 pages is a well selected and well written record of the history of the county from its earliest days to the present. The balance of the book of 875 pages is taken up with the biographical sketches, and these, while not of the general interest of the other parts of the work, are of value, and will preserve much geneological data.

Exercises at the inauguration of Albert Ross Hill, LL. D., as President of the University, December 10 and 11, 1908. Columbia, 1909.

This preserves in fitting form the addresses of Gov. Folk; Ex-Gov. Francis; President Schurman, of Cornell University; Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt University; President Maclean of the State University of Iowa; State Superintendent of Schools of Missouri, Gass; President Thompson of Tarkio College; Wm. Walton Wright, representative of the students; Prof. John C. Jones, representing the faculty; the addresses of President Schurman, on The ideal of a University in its historical development and modern significance; and the inaugural address of President Hill.

Recollections of a Fire Insurance Man, including his experience in U. S. Navy (Mississippi squadron) during the Civil war. By **Robert S. Critchell** of Chicago. Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1909. 164 p. 5 plts. of portraits, &c. Price $1.25.

The gift of this book was especially acceptable because it was by a former resident of St. Louis, and so is a part of the bibliography of Missouri biography, and also that it is included in the bibliography of the Civil war, the author having been a spectator of the fighting in St. Louis at the time of the capture of Camp Jackson, and a witness of other war scenes.

The Story of a Century. A brief historical sketch and exposition of the religious movement inaugurated by Thomas and Alexander Campbell, 1809-1909. By **J. H. Garrison.** St. Louis, Christian Publishing Company, 1909. 278 p. 8 plts. Price $1.00 net.

The above is a new book by the editor of "The Christian Evangelist," a Missouri author whose publications number more than a score. This one was of special interest in connection with the Centennial celebrated at Pittsburg during the fall of 1909. It furnishes a brief statement and exposition of the movement started by Alexander Campbell and of the progress that this movement has made during the century. The style is clear and simple, and the work is a valuable one to the religious history of the country.

Register of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Missouri, 1907-09, compiled by Henry Cadle, Registrar. St. Louis, [1909.]

Very appropriately the Society of Colonial Wars issues a finely printed and bound register of 148 pages, and 87 plates, with photographs of more than that number of members of the Society in Missouri. The work is of historical value for more than to simply give a list of the members of the Society.

Radioactivity of the thermal waters of Yellowstone National Park, by **Herman Schlundt** and **Richard B. Moore,** Washington, D. C., 1909. Bull. No. 395 U. S. Geol Surv.

Dialectic constans of the halogen hydrids, by **Oscar C. Schaffer** and **Herman Schlundt.** Reprint from Journal of Physical Chemistry, December, 1909.

The above are two of the late publications of Dr. Schlundt of the University of Missouri. He has become a prominent authority on the subject of radium and radioactivity.

NECROLOGY.

DR. JOHN H. BRITTS was born November 1, 1836, at Ladoga, Indiana. His grandfather came from Germany in 1754, and the family lived in Pennsylvania and Virginia until 1832, then coming to Indiana, and in 1857 to Henry County, Missouri. He studied medicine before the Civil war, and at the outbreak of the war he became Captain of Company B, Third Missouri State Guards. Afterwards he raised a regiment in Cass County and became its surgeon, serving in Mississippi and Tennessee. At Vicksburg, June 9, 1863, while on duty at the City hospital, he was wounded by a 15-inch shell, thrown by the Porter fleet, which exploded in his room. This carried away his right leg.

In 1865 he returned to Clinton and practiced medicine there until his death. In 1882 he was elected State Senator to the 32d General Assembly, and two years after to the 33d General Assembly. He succeeded in passing a bill for the creation of a geological survey, and was appointed one of the managers of the Bureau of Geology and Mines by Gov. Francis, and four years later for another four years' term by Gov. Stone. He was much interested in geological matters, and made several collections in paleontology, the "Fossil Flora of the Lower Coal Measures of Missouri," published by the Government, being written largely from collections made by him in Henry County, the fern and other vegetable

fossils from some of its coal banks not being surpassed by those from any other part of the world.

Dr. Britts was married November 1, 1865, to Miss Anne E. Lewis, whose grandparents on both sides came to Upper Louisiana when it was under Spanish domination. During the Civil war her father was living in Cass County, and being on the southern side was evicted under the "Order No. 11."

For some months Dr. Britts was in failing health, and November 14, 1909, he passed away, universally mourned in the community that had known him so long, and his body was laid away under Masonic auspices.

THOMAS DUDLEY CASTLEMAN was born at Moscow Mills, Lincoln County, Missouri, January 13, 1830, and died at Potosi, Missouri, November 14, 1909. He was a grandson of Ambrose Dudley, who was a captain in the Revolutionary war, and removed from Virginia to Kentucky, May 17, 1786, and upon his arrival at Bryan Station, five miles east of Lexington, Kentucky, he built an "Old School Baptist Meeting House," and was its first pastor. He was succeeded as pastor by his son, Thomas Parker Dudley, the father and son being pastor of that church continuously for one hundred years and one month. The Castleman family came to Missouri in October, 1828, from Woodford County, Kentucky, and located in Lincoln County. Lewis, the father of the subject of this sketch moved to Washington County in 1842, and from 1848 till his death the latter resided in Potosi. In 1861 during the Civil war he organized a cavalry company of Home Guards, and was its captain. In 1862 he was elected sheriff of the county, and later was the collector. He married Miss Sallie Boyce McIlvaine November 28, 1865, and of seven children born to them only one is now living—Mrs. Anna M. Smith of Oakland, California. Captain Castleman was probably more conversant with the history of Washington County than any other person, and it is said that at one time he knew every man and woman in the county. He was an uncle of Henry C. Bell of Potosi, one of the trustees of this Society.

HON. DAVID A. DE ARMOND, Representative in Congress from the Sixth Missouri District, was burned to death at his home in Butler, Missouri, and with him his grandson, David A. DeArmond, Jr., son of James A. DeArmond, editor of the Bates County Democrat and Adjutant General of the State under the administration of Governor Folk. He was a member of the State Senate in the 30th General Assembly, 1879, and reelected to the 31st General Assembly. He also held the offices of Circuit Judge and Supreme Court Commissioner. Judge DeArmond was born in Blair County, Pennsylvania March 18, 1844, and brought up on a farm; educated in the common schools and at Dickinson Seminary at Williamsport; was Presidential Elector in 1884; was elected to the Fifty-second Congress as a Democrat, and has been reelected to each Congress to the present time. He was one of the most prominent leaders of his party, and loved by members of all parties.

CHARLES GILDEHAUS was born and lived all his life in St. Louis, and for twenty-seven years was the senior member of a wholesale grocery house. He was a graduate of Washington University, and was well known in literary as well as in business circles. His library was said to be one of the most complete of the private libraries of the city. He published several works: "Hester of the Fields," a story with its plot laid in the Ozarks; "In Rhyme and Time;" "In the Ozarks;" "Die Rebellin;" "Aeneas," a drama; and "Die Musen am Mississippi," plays. He was 53 years old at the time of his death, November 26, 1909.

WILLIAM GODFREY, born in Ireland, the son of a major in the English army, came to St. Louis in 1859. During the Civil war he served in the 47th Illinois Regiment. For years he was Superintendent of the Sunday School of Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, and had been a member of the city Board of Education. He was a member of the Forty-third General Assembly of Missouri, 1905, and was the author

of the breeders' racing bill passed at that session. He died in St. Louis, October 29th, at the age of 74 years.

WM. TORREY HARRIS, author of a number of books while living in St. Louis, and afterwards, died in Providence, R. I., November 5, 1909. He was born in Killingly, Conn., in 1835, and from 1867 to 1880 was Superintendent of the public schools of St. Louis. From 1889 to 1906 he was United States Commissioner of Education and received from the Carnegie Foundation its highest rate of pension, $3,000 per year. While in St. Louis he started the Journal of Speculative Philosophy, which became a very prominent publication in its field.

MRS. MARY MOODY celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of her birth September 10, died November 15, 1909, at Monett, Missouri.

HON. WESLEY A. JACOBS, who was a Senator from the Fifth District in the 31st General Assembly, 1881, and re-elected to the 32d, 33d and 34th General Assemblies, died suddenly at Norfolk, Virginia, November 20, 1909.

GEORGE E. BOHLEY, a member of the House in the 43d General Assembly of Missouri, 1905-06, died in St. Louis November 13, 1909. He was born in St. Louis, educated in the public schools, for eleven years a deputy circuit clerk in St. Louis, and politically a Republican, died of pulmonary disease at the age of thirty-five years.

REV. DR. ROBERT AFTON HOLLAND, rector emeritus of St. George's chapel of Christ Church Cathedral, noted churchman, philanthropist, preacher and author, died in St. Louis, December 30, 1909. In 1874-79, Dr. Holland, with William T. Harris, Lieut. Gov. Brokmeyer and others, was a member of the German Philosophy Club and published the Journal of Speculative Philosophy, later issued by the Concord School of Philosophy, which became world-wide famous. At a later period he organized the Social Science Club of which such men as R. Graham Frost, Conde Pallen and Isaac H.

Lionberger were members and active participants. His lectures before the University of Michigan were published in a book called "The Commonwealth of Man." He was born in Nashville, Tenn., June 1, 1844, and in his teens became a Methodist minister, and at the breaking out of the Civil War was a Confederate chaplain. Later he was pastor of the largest Methodist Church in Baltimore, and editor of the Baltimore Christian Advacate. In 1872 he became a minister of the Episcopal Church, and rector of St. George's Church in St. Louis. In 1879 he was rector of Trinity Church in Chicago, and in 1886 moved to New Orleans, soon after returning to St. Louis. During the last two years he did much literary work, completing a volume which is not yet published.

HON. DE WITT CLINTON LEACH, one of the founders of the Republican party, and a member of Congress from Michigan for three terms, the editor of the Springfield Patriot-Advertiser, died December 21, 1909.

GEN. DANIEL H. McINTYRE was born in Callaway County, Missouri, May 5, 1833. At the beginning of the Civil War he was a student in Westminster College at Fulton, but left it to organize a company for the Confederate army, and of which he was elected captain. The college, however, graduated him after he left for service in the war. At the Wilson Creek battle he lost one-half of his men, was himself wounded, made prisoner and kept such for nine months. In 1871 he settled at Mexico, Missouri, admitted to the bar and elected prosecuting attorney in 1872, and in 1874 was elected Senator from Audrain, Boone and Callaway Counties, known as the A B C district. In 1876 and 1878 he was a member of the House and in 1880 he was elected Attorney General of the State. During his term of office he recovered for the State more than three million dollars from the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Company. Remaining in Jefferson City after his term of office he was again a member of the House from 1887 to 1891. At one time he was chairman of the State Democratic Committee, but on the adoption of the free coin-

age platform in 1896 he became a Republican. For the past ten years he was almost blind, and for some years had been an invalid, and on January 1, 1910 he died.

PROF. JOHN T. VAUGHN, of Kirksville Normal School, a member of this Society, suddenly died at his home in Kirksville October 14, 1909, and since the burial many of his friends think that he was poisoned. The body will probably be exhmed yet for a chemical analysis.

THE MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

Semi-Annual Meeting, St. Louis, Dec. 28-29, 1909.

H. R. Tucker, St. Louis, President.

J. L. Shouse, Kansas City, Vice President.

Eugene Fair, Kirksville, Secretary-Treasurer.

N. M. Trenholme, Columbia, Editor.

The first session was called to order by the President, Mr. Tucker. The opening address was given by Wm. Schuyler, St. Louis. His subject was "The Eternity of Rome."

Mr. Schuyler's paper was followed by one by Miss Ellen B. Atwater, St. Louis, on "What Topics in Ancient and Medieval History Need Special Emphasis to Prepare the Pupil for the Modern Period." Following this was to be a review of recent books by Professor N. M. Trenholme, Columbia. Dr. Trenholme was unable to be present and so that part of the program had to be omitted. The two papers just mentioned were thrown open for discussion. The discussion was spirited. Among those taking part were Dr. Usher, St. Louis; Mr. Violette, Kirksville; Mr. Schuyler St. Louis and Mr. Little, Lexington.

The attendance at this session was fairly good. After a motion, which was carried, that one member of the society be appointed to consult with other societies with regards to the time and place of meeting in the spring the society adjourned until Wednesday afternoon.

Wednesday Afternoon.

Mr. Tucker in the chair. The program was carried out as advertised. Miss Grace Graves, Hannibal, read a paper on "Geographic Influences in American History."

This was followed by a lively discussion participated in by Mr. Tucker, St. Louis; Mr. Baker, Joplin; Dr. Loeb, Columbia; Mr. Johnson, Richmond; Mr. Duncan, Warrenton; Miss Hodge, Kirkwood; Mr. Little, Lexington; Miss Newman, St. Louis.

Following this was a paper by Miss Fannie Bennett, St. Louis, on "Victories of War vs. Victories of Peace."

In order that a definite communication might be made with other societies with regard to the time and place of meeting of the third annual meeting, a motion was carried that the society meet at Kirksville the second Saturday in May next.

Mr. S. A. Baker, Joplin, then read a paper on "The Future Citizen and Civics Instruction in the High Schools." Interesting discussions followed in which Miss Atwater, Dr. Loeb and Mr. Baker took leading parts.

A business meeting followed. The minutes of the last meeting were read and accepted. The financial report of the secretary was also accepted. The vice president of the society having left the State, Mr. J. M. Wood, Fredericktown, was chosen in his place. Mr. J. L. Shouse of Westport was chosen a member of Educational Council for a term of three years. A motion was carried that in case of any doubt about the time and place of the next meeting the matter should be settled by the Executive Council.

Mr. Violette, the chairman of the Committee on High Schools, then made a preliminary report. This chairman also made some remarks about the committee on teaching in the Elementary Schools. The chairman of the Elementary School Committee having left the State, it was agreed that the president should appoint another chairman.

A motion was then carried that the society leave the time of the meeting of the next State Teachers' Association to the Executive Committee of the association. The meeting then ajourned. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that the society is just beginning its day of usefulness. It is much to be deplored that persons who are often very enthusiastic when on the program are conspicuous by their absence when left off. The society needs a larger membership. It has now a paid membership of about forty. Its funds are meager. During the last year it has been permitted to do some very useful work through the kindness of State Superintendent Gass.

EUGENE FAIR, Secretary.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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HISTORY OF THE COUNTY PRESS OF MISSOURI.

The political campaign of 1840 excited more than the usual amount of interest in Missouri. The Whig candidate for president was General William Henry Harrison, "the hero of Tippecanoe." The Democratic candidate was Martin Van Buren. The campaign was known as the "log cabin, coon and hard cider campaign." At political meetings the Whigs displayed minature log cabins, real coons and hard cider. The Democrats, followers of Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory," had hickory boughs and game cocks for political emblems.

The press of the state voiced the excitement of the people and was, with few exceptions, intensely partisan. Our Missouri editors in their political discussions, have never been characterized by any great deference to an opponent's opinions or by a charitable view of his personal shortcomings. In this campaign their editorials were of an exceedingly strenuous and personal nature and the columns of their papers were ornamented with coons and cocks fighting, the fur or feathers flying according to their sympathies.

A number of new papers were established to assist in the contest. The Argus was published at Boonville during the heat of the campaign by Ward and Chilton. It advocated the claims of Martin Van Buren for president. As soon as the

campaign was over and Van Buren defeated, the Argus suspended. (1)

The most noted paper established in 1840 was The Express, published at Lexington. It was the pioneer paper of Lafayette county. The money necessary to publish it was furnished by John and Robert Aull, Eldridge Burden, Samuel Stramke and James Graham. Charles Patterson was the editor. He soon became the proprietor and took as his partner in the enterprise William Musgrove, Sr. They sold the paper in the fall of 1852 to J. M. Julian and John R. Gaunt. William Musgrove continued as editor and in 1854 again bought a part interest in it. Walter M. Smallwood bought the interest of Musgrove and Guant in 1856. General Richard C. Vaughan bought Smallwood's interest in 1859 but sold out in 1860 and entered the Union army. The Express suspended in 1861 on account of hard times. This left Lexington without a newspaper and in 1862 in order to supply the demand for a paper, S. S. Earl took the press and materials of the Express and commenced the publication of the Central Union. Henry K. Davis was the editor. The old name, Express, was resumed in 1866. Henry Davis and George Vaughan were the proprietors. The editor was John Laughborough, well known as editor of the St. Louis Times and afterwards as surveyor-general of Missouri. Henry Davis became the sole proprietor in the fall of 1866 and changed the name to The Caucasian. He sold it in 1867 to Jacob M. Julian, Ethan Allen and William Musgrove, Jr., practical newspaper men. Ethan Allen was a descendant of the Ethan Allen of Ticonderoga fame. The Caucasian was published until 1875 when it was consolidated with the Intelligencer, a paper which had been recently started at Lexington.

Among the noted editors of the Express and Caucasian were Colonel Jacob T. Child, legislator, diplomat and author, whose editorials were of the scholarly, dignified type, and Col. Peter or "Pat" Donan. During Col. Donan's editorship the

1. History of Howard and Cooper counties, p. 730.

paper belonged to that branch of the Democratic faith styled in his own phraseology "red hot." The Caucasian claimed the honor of nominating Horace Greeley for president. It is said Donan made a special trip East in order to induce Greeley to accept the nomination. Returning to Lexington he issued a special edition of The Caucasian with glaring headlines: "Horace Greeley, the devil or anybody to beat Grant."

Col. Donan was a fearless, versatile writer. His articles in defense of the Confederacy were of such force that the St. Louis Globe-Democrat called him "the sounding brass on the tinkling cymbal of the rebel Democracy of Missouri." He was never "reconstructed" and for some years after the war was a contributor to St. Louis and New York papers, using the pen name "Col. R. E. Bel." (2)

The year 1840 marks the establishment of the first newspaper at Independence, The Chronicle. Joseph Lancaster was publisher. He sold a part interest to R. Vinton Kennedy in June, 1841. They changed the name to Western Missourian. J. S. Webb and A. French bought it in July, 1843, and named it The Western Expositor. It became The Missouri Commonwealth in 1850 and The Occidental Messenger in 1851. J. W. H. Patton was the editor and proprietor. He sold it to William Peacock, who made it a strong Whig paper. He stopped its publication during the war but revived it in June, 1865, under its old name, Occidental Messenger and published it a number of years. (3.)

The first Whig paper of Southwest Missouri was The Osage Banner. It was established at Warsaw in 1840 by Ewen Cameron, of the Scotch clan of Camerons. It met with indifferent success as the country was strongly Democratic. He took a Mr. Bevin as his partner in 1842 and changed the politics of the paper to Democratic. It was still unsuccessful

2. History of Lafayette county by William H. Childs. Personal recollections of Prof. G. C. Broadhead.

3. Files of the Columbia Patriot and Statesman, 1841-1865.

and Mr. Bevin decided to drown himself. It is said he actually walked into the Osage river up to his neck, but changing his mind walked out and left the country. The paper ceased publication. (4)

The Pacific Monitor was started at Hannibal on March 9, 1840. J. S. Buchanan was the publisher and C. D. Meredith, the editor. They changed the name to Journal and Price Current in January, 1841, and in January, 1842, to Hannibal Journal and Native American. The secondary title was soon dropped and the paper was known as the Hannibal Journal. Orion Clemens, a brother of Mark Twain, became the editor and publisher in 1850. He changed the name to The Western Union and published it until the fall of 1853 when it was merged into the Hannibal Messenger. (5)

An interesting paper was commenced at Hermann in 1840 by Muhl and Strehle. It was Die Licht-Freund, a philosophical journal, as its name indicates. In connection with its articles on philosophy, it advocated the abolition of slavery. Muhl furnished the brains and Strehle the money necessary to run the paper. But the people were not interested at that time either in philosophical questions or the abolition of slavery and the paper ceased publication in 1842. (6)

The Olive Branch was started at Bowling Green in 1841. It was appropriately named, judging by the prospectus published in the Salt River Journal, July 10, 1841. The publisher, George Price, says:, "The subscriber feeling a distaste for the stormy and disagreeable life of a political editor has concluded to attempt the establishment of a periodical devoted to agriculture, and religious and moral essays." Agriculture was made the chief interest of the paper because the editor recognized it as the "hand-maid to religion and morality."

The Olive Branch flourished and by November had grown

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4. History of Benton county by James M. Lay, p. 70.

5. History of Marion county, p. 899.

6. Bek, W. G., the German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri, p. 163.

to twice its original size. It was published until the beginning of the Civil War. (7)

The Herald was published at Liberty during 1841-42 by James H. Darlington, still remembered by some of the older editors through his long connection with the Grand River Chronicle. (8)

The Missourian was started at Warsaw in 1841 by Samuel H. Whipple, first member of the legislature from Benton county. He served in the Eleventh and Twelfth General Assemblies and was noted for his ability and sound judgment. He died in 1845 and his paper ceased publication. (9)

At the same time another paper was published at Warsaw, The Signal, by a Mr. Sharp. It was the first distinctly anti-Mormon paper published in the state. It was discontinued in the summer of 1846 for want of support. (10)

The first paper published in the famous Platte Purchase, which Bayard Taylor named "the Eden of the American continent," was the Platte Eagle, established early in 1842 by E. Sangston Wilkinson at Platte City. Allen McLean, one of the leading men of Western Missouri, was the editor. He soon gave the paper more than a local reputation by his able and vigorous editorials. Wilkerson moved The Eagle to Weston in December, 1842. His paper was now ambitiously styled The Platte Eagle and Weston Commercial Gazette.

Steamboat traffic on the Missouri river stopped before he got his winter's supply of paper. He went on horseback to Boonville, a distance of nearly 125 miles, to see if he could get some paper there. He got only a small amount and issued the Eagle as a handbill until the river opened up in the spring. His supply of paper arrived by steamer April 13, 1843, and The Eagle was issued regularly. Allen McLean bought it on March 1, 1844, and changing the name to Platte Argus moved it back to Platte City. Martin L. Hardin was associated with

7. History of Pike county, p. 487.
8. Annals of Platte county, p. 44.
9. Jefferson City Inquirer, 1841-45.
10. Columbia Statesman, 1841-46.

him in its publication. It was edited in 1849 by General James W. Denver, afterwards Territorial Governor of Colorado and for whom Denver was named. E. Sangston Wilkinson, its first publisher, bought it again. William H. Adams was his partner. Adams sold his interest to Wilkinson in 1854 and went to Kansas to publish The Kansas Herald. William F. Wiseley bought The Argus in 1856 and through its columns strongly advocated making Kansas a slave state. His brother, L. A. Wisely, was associated with him in its publication in 1857. They sold it to Clark and Bourne on June 21, 1862, and entered the Confederate army. The new proprietors changed its name to Platte County Conservator. It was still a pro-slavery paper and was suppressed by the Federal authorities. The proprietors were banished to Iowa but were permitted to return under a heavy bond and republished the Conservator. They continued its publication through 1864. (11)

The Grand River Country composed of that section of Missouri now included in the counties of Putnam, Sullivan, Linn, Mercer, Grundy, Livingston, Harrison, Daviess, Worth, Gentry and Chariton, was without a newspaper until 1843. In that year James H. Darlington established the Grand River Chronicle. Darlington, noted for his keen sense of humor and ready wit, made his paper one of the best known and most influential in North Missouri. He died in the St. Joseph Insane Asylum in 1896. (12) His son, E. S. Darlington, took charge of the Chronicle in 1855 and published it until 1860 when it was suppressed by the Federal authorities because it advocated secession.

Darlington sold the press and material to Gen. L. J. Eastin who had been at Leavenworth, Kansas, publishing the Kansas Herald under a cottonwood tree. Gen. Eastin published the paper under its old name but made it conservative in political matters. He sold it in 1866 to Col. J. T. Asper,

11. Annals of Platte county, p. 45 ff.
12. Annals of Platte county, p 44.

of Ohio, who had extreme abolition views. Col. Asper changed the name to Chillicothe Spectator. It became the Chillicothe Tribune in 1869 and is still published under that name. Since 1869 it has numbered among its editors and proprietors E. J. Marsh, D. L. Ambrose, F. E. Riley, B. F. Beazell and its present editor and proprietor, G. T. Sailor. (13)

The Pilot was started at Glasgow in 1843 by J. T. Quesenberry. It was a Democratic paper and was published a few years with indifferent success. Its last publisher was James A. DeCourcy. (14)

The fourth newspaper venture at Warsaw was the Osage Yeoman, a Democratic paper, established by W. T. Yeoman in 1843. He sold it in 1845 to Ewen W. Cameron. This was Cameron's second newspaper. L. J. Ritchie was associated with him in its publication. A few months later they changed the name to Saturday Morning Visitor and made it neutral in politics. It experienced another change in name and politics in 1848 and became the Warsaw Weekly Whig. Cameron sold his interest to Ritchie in 1850. He published it as The Democratic Review until July, 1853, when Murray and Leach became the proprietors. They named it The Southwest Democrat, the publication of which was continued until the beginning of the Civil War when the proprietors abandoned the office and entered the Confederate army. Mr. Leach was killed at the battle of Cole Camp, Mo.

This paper had reached an extended circulation and had great influence in that section of Missouri. Its editor for a number of years was Mack L. Means, a writer of more than ordinary ability. It is said he did as much as any other man in the state to mold public sentiment for the South. Under the proprietorship of Murray and Leach the columns of the Democrat were filled with measures for the improvement of the Osage river. especially to navigate it and use its water

13. History of Caldwell and Livingston counties, p. 1050. Files of Columbia Statesman.

14. Boonville Register, 1844-45.

power for manufactures. "In the course of time we see no reason why manufactures should not spring up at the different locks of the Osage, as noted as those of Lowell, or Fall River." The power of the Osage has not yet been utilized but the "new Missouri" may see the dream of these journalists realized. (15)

The Herman Volkablatt was founded in October, 1843, by Edward Meuhl and C. P. Strehle. It was known then as Die Wochenblatt. Mr. Meuhl died in 1854 and the paper came into the possession of Jacob Graf. Mr. Graf changed the name to Hermanner Volksblatt and edited and published it until his death in 1870. Mrs. Graf took up the work of her husband and published the paper until 1873 when she sold it to Charles Eberhardt, but bought it back in less than a year. At the same time she became the owner of the Gasconade County Advertiser which had just been started by Eberhardt. These two papers were published by Mrs. Graf, assisted by Joseph Leising, until 1880 when her two sons, under the firm name of Graf Brothers, succeeded to the ownership of both papers. They also bought The Courier and consolidated it with the Advertiser. They still publish both papers, The Advertiser-Courier in English and the Volksblatt in German. (16)

An insignificant paper was published at Boonville during 1843-44. It was the Weekly Saturday Museum, edited by J. M. Crone. The editor made a specialty of attacking what he called the fashionable follies of the day. (17)

In the meantime two factions had sprung up in the Democratic party. One favored "hard" money, gold and silver, and wished the re-election of Benton to the U. S. Senate. These Democrats were called "hards." The "softs" were Democrats who favored a large issue of paper money and opposed Benton's re-election.

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15. History of Benton county, p. 70. Files of Columbia Statesman.
16. History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Crawford and Gasconade counties, p. 675.
17. Columbia Statesman, 1843-44.

The Whigs, encouraged by this division in the Democratic ranks, put forth every effort to carry the State in the campaign of 1844.

Recognizing the power of the press, they started a number of new papers; and for the first time in the history of the press and Missouri politics, distinctly campaign sheets were issued by the Whig editors in different parts of the State. These campaign papers were issued from May until the election in November. They were given such significant names as "Harry of the West," "The Mill Boy," both favorite designations of Henry Clay, "The Coon Hunter," etc. Probably the best known of these papers, published outside of St. Louis, was Harry of the West. (18) It was issued weekly from May 3d until October 18, 1844, from the press of the Lexington Express. Its motto was "Let the light shine—let the principles of the Whig party be known." Single copies sold for 50 cents. Its articles defending Whig principles were ably written and widely copied.

The Jefferson City Inquirer issued The Spy (19) from June until November. It was a little three-column paper, but decidedly Whig in sympathy.

That Same Old Coon was published at Columbia from the press of the Statesman. It had the heroic motto: "Keep the flag flying, die, but never surrender."

From Boonville came The Coon Hunter, the only campaign paper issued from a Democratic press. Its motto: "Head the coons," indicated its object. It was published by the editors of The Democratic Union. (20) This was an "ultra Benton-Van Buren-hard party" paper which had been started in March, 1844, by James W. Blair and Charles Chilton. It was the organ of Cooper County Democracy and gave valuable aid to the party. It ceased publication in 1849. (21)

The Bowling Green Journal was established in May,

18. From files in the Mercantile Library, St. Louis.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. History of Howard and Cooper counties, p. 730.

1844, by Jackson and Webb. The Radical, edited at that time by James H. D. Henderson, said of it: "We now have the spectacle of a Whig newspaper in the town of Bowling Green, appealing to the spirit of whiggery for approval and support." The Journal was sold in 1848 to W. F. Watson and B. B. Bonham, ministers of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. They gave it the name "The Seventy-Six." The new proprietors announced their intention of publishing at the same time a religious paper, devoted to the interests of their church. There is no record of the church paper, but The Seventy-Six was published through 1849. It numbered among its editors Levi Pettibone, for years circuit clerk and county treasurer of Pike County, and the brilliant lawyer, congressman and diplomat, James O. Broadhead. (22)

Two papers were started in Jefferson City in 1844, The State Sentinel and The Missouri Capital. The former was published by Isaac Watson and G. A. Hammond, and the latter by James Lindsey. Both were short-lived.

The Independence Journal, a Whig paper, was published at Independence during 1844-45 by George R. Gibson.

The Missouri Herald was established at Jefferson City in the spring of 1845. W. R. Vanover was the editor and publisher. It was a Democratic paper and hoped to be the organ of the State Government. Rev. Hampton L. Boon and B. F. Hickman bought it in 1846 and changed the name to Metropolitan. As the Metropolitan it attained its ambition and became Governor Edwards' official mouthpiece. It ceased publication on September 14, 1852. (23)

The Telegraph, a Democratic paper, was established at Lexington in 1845. In the first issue the editor says he "aims at the political redemption of the country." A Whig contemporary (24) encouraged him with the statement that he "might as well aim at the moon with a pop-gun." The ed-

22. History of Pike county, p. 486.
23. History of Cole, Moniteau, etc., counties, p. 271.
24. Columbia Statesman.

itor evidently received very little encouragement from the people of Lexington in his "redemption" project for he sold the paper in six months to William T. Yeomans and James R. Pile. They sold it in September, 1846, to S. B. Garrett, who changed the name to Lexington Appeal. He stopped its publication in 1850. (25)

The first paper in Andrew County was The Western Empire. It was started early in the fall of 1845 by Lorenzo Dow Nash, whose parents must have been admirers of the eccentric Methodist preacher, Lorenzo Dow. Nash sold The Western Empire in the summer of 1846 to Charles F. Holly, who kept the enterprise afloat for a few months and then abandoned the entire establishment. The type and office furniture were stored in an unoccupied room and the press left out in the yard. A year later George Leader, who seems to have had a well developed mania for starting newspapers, went to Savannah, dug up the press, sorted out the type and with the help of a boy, named Lewis Stiles, revived The Western Empire. But it seems the people of Savannah did not feel the need of a local newspaper and Leader stopped its publication in less than a year. He then went to St. Joseph and helped a Mr. Livermore start The Adventurer. (26)

The Western Empire was started for the third time in 1849. Calvin Wilkerson was the publisher. Charles F. Holly and Lorenzo Dow Nash bought it again in 1851. They changed the name to Savannah Sentinel. George Leader came from St. Joseph and helped them get it started. It was sold in 1854 to Jesse Johns. He sold it in 1856 to Baldwin and Ewing, who named it The Family Intelligencer and made it a neutral paper. They got out thirteen issues. Charles F. Holly and Lorenzo Dow Nash tried it again. They named it this time The Northwest Democrat. In their prospectus, published in the Jefferson City Inquirer of July 25, 1856, they say: "We have dropped the name and character of a neutral

25. Files of Columbia Statesman.
26. Maryville Republican, Dec. 29, 1904, sketch by D. P. Dobyns.

paper because neutrality is not suited to the times or the genius of our institutions." They promise to advocate internal improvements in the West—"where the Star of Empire is fast settling," and assure their subscribers that they will recognize no political party "which does not follow the flag and keep step to the music of the Union." Two years later they sold it to Welch and Hail. They made it a decidedly Democratic paper and published it until 1861, when a band of Kansans on a pillaging expedition carried off the press and type into Kansas. This ended the rather checkered career of Andrew County's first newspaper (27)

The Frontier Journal, a Whig paper, was established at Weston in 1845 by George R. Gibson. George Leader was on hand to help start it, coming from Platte City where he had been working on The Argus. Benjamin Eaton became the editor and publisher in September, 1848. He made it a Democratic paper and was an ardent supporter of Thomas H. Benton. William A. Witcher and Samuel Finch bought it in November, 1849, changed the name to Reporter and its politics to Whig. Finch and Smith were the publishers in 1852. A. W. King, a son of Governor King, became the proprietor in 1857. He changed the name to Key City Commercial, but stopped its publication in less than a year. (28)

The Free Press appeared at Bowling Green in 1845, The Advertiser at Lexington, and The Democrat at Weston. These were insignificant and ephemeral papers and exerted but litttle influence in the newspaper world.

The first permanently successful paper founded at Liberty was The Tribune. The first issue appeared April 4, 1846. The Whigs of that region had no official paper of their own and were anxious for one. The men to meet this demand were John B. Williams, later editor of the Fulton Telegraph and Col. Robert H. Miller. Col. Miller had been working on The Statesman at Columbia, and early in the spring of 1846 went

27. History of Andrew and DeKalb counties.
28. Ibid. Files of Columbia Statesman.

up to Liberty on the steamboat Tobacco Plant to establish the paper which he edited and published for nearly forty years. He became the sole editor and proprietor in March, 1847, and continued as such until 1885. In that year The Tribune was bought by John Daugherty, who published it until May, 1888, when Judge James E. Lincoln became the proprietor. He sold it in 1890 to the present editor and publisher, Irving Gilmer. (29)

The Tribune has always been noted for its valuable articles on historical subjects. Col. John T. Hughes was army correspondent of The Tribune during the war with Mexico. His book, "Doniphan's Expedition to Mexico," was written from the letters he contributed to the Tribune.

The New Madrid Gazette was started in 1846. A contemporary (30) greets it as a "new paper that hails from the land of earthquakes." It was edited by John T. Scott, a lawyer from Tennessee. It became The Times in 1854 under the control of John C. Underwood. He published it until the beginning of the Civil War when it ceased publication.

The Free Press was established at La Grange in 1846 by Booth and Doyle. George W. Gilbert bought it in 1851 and named it The Missourian. It was edited by James R. Abernathy, a pioneer lawyer of Northeast Missouri, familiarly known as "Old Abby." Samuel R. Raymond became the owner in 1853 and published it under the name of La Grange Bulletin. He sold it to N. N. Withington and Co. With the dissolution of the Whig party it became Democratic. It stopped publication in May, 1858. (31)

The first Democratic paper established at Hannibal was The Gazette. H. D. La Cossett was the proprietor. It was published from November 12, 1846, until May 3, 1848, when it was merged into the Missouri Courier, which had been moved from Palmyra to Hannibal. (32)

29. Liberty Tribune, May 1, 1896.
30. Jefferson City Inquirer.
31. Histories of Lewis, Clarke, Knox and Scott counties, p. 230. Columbia Statesman, 1846-58.
32. History of Marion couunty, p. 988.

The Texas Democrat was started at Springfield in 1846. The name given to the paper, it was hoped, would add to its popularity. The annexation of Texas to the United States by an act of Congress in 1846 was of special interest to Missouri. Texas had been largely settled by Missourians. Missourians without authority from State or Nation had aided in establishing the Republic of Texas and winning freedom from Mexico.

The Texas Democrat was established by John P. Campbell to advocate his claims to election to Congress. Congressmen were elected by districts for the first time in Missouri in 1846. Campbell's opponent was John S. Phelps. E. D. McKinney, Campbell's son-in-law, was editor of the paper. Campbell was defeated and, having no further use for a paper, sold The Texas Democrat to Charles E. Fisher and J. D. Schwartz. They changed its name and its politics to Whig. Littleberry Hendricks, who had been defeated in the election of 1848, for Lieutenant Governor, became the editor. The Whigs were proud of their paper and gave it very fair support for a time. but subscribers began to stop taking it and the editors stopped its publication on September 15, 1849. The press and material were moved to Osceola and used to start a paper there. (33)

The Commercial Bulletin, a Democratic paper, was started at Boonville in the spring of 1846 by J. T. Quesenberry. It became the Democrat in May, 1848. Col. John H. Price was the editor. It suspended publication about 1854.

The first paper published at Potosi was The Miner's Prospect. It was established in September, 1846, by F. A. Dallas and Philip G. Ferguson. Philip Ferguson, familiarly known as "Jinks," commenced his journalistic career as a printer on the Missouri Argus in St. Louis. He relieved the monotony of work at the cases by writing poetry. The poems pleased the editor of the Argus and he paid Ferguson, although an apprentice, wages the first week. Soon after he

33. History of Green county, p. 200-5. Files of Jefferson City Inquirer.

established The Miner's Prospect, he left his interest in charge of his partner to serve as a volunteer in the Mexican War. Returning to Missouri at the close of the war he again took control of the Potosi paper. It had been conducted with indifferent success by Mr. Dallas, and in 1849 Lewis V. Bogy, later United States Senator from Missouri, urged Ferguson to go to Ste. Genevieve and publish his paper there. He moved to Ste. Genevieve, bought out the State Gazette, published there, consolidated it with his paper and published it under the name Missouri Democrat until 1850. In that year he moved his press to St. Louis and commenced the publication of a paper there. During the last eighteen years of his life, he was on the staff of the Globe-Democrat. (34)

The Brunswicker at Brunswick dates back to 1847. It was known then as The Reporter. J. T. Quesenberry, who belongs in the class with George Leader as a starter of newspapers, was the publisher. He sold it on October 14, 1847, to Dr. John H. Blue who gave it the name it bears today. Dr. Blue was an untiring and resourceful editor, whose foresight, tact and energy contributed much to the rapid progress and development of the Grand River country.

Col. Casper W. Bell became the editor and proprietor in 1854. Col. Bell located in Brunswick in 1843 and soon attained a commanding position at the bar of that section. At the meeting of the State Legislature in Neosho in October, 1861, he was the first man nominated and was unanimously elected to represent Missouri in the Confederate Congress, a position he held during the existence of that Government. While in Richmond he edited a column in the Examiner called the Missouri column, in which he advocated the appointment of General Sterling Price to the position of major general in the Confederate army, and wrote so effectively as to secure his purpose. (35) Col. Bell returned to Brunswick at the close of the war and resumed the practice of his profession.

34. G. C. Broadhead—personal recollections. History of Franklin county, p. 520.

35. U. S. Biographical Dictionary Missouri volume, p. 576.

The Brunswicker became the property of O. D. Hawkins in 1856. It now became a strong advocate of the doctrines of the "Know Nothing party." Col. R. H. Musser became the publisher in 1857, but sold it in a few months to Dr. W. H. Cross, spoken of by his associates as an elegant writer and a pleasant gentleman. Robert C. Hancock bought it in 1858. He published it as a conservative Democratic paper and was permitted to continue it during the war. J. B. Naylor and W. H. Balthis took charge of it in 1867, continuing as publishers until 1875, when Mr. Naylor assumed entire control of the paper. He sold it in 1880 to Kinley and Wallace. Subsequent editors and publishers were Perry S. Rader, Supreme Court reporter and historian, C. J. Walden, present editor of the Boonville Advertiser and J. B. Robertson, its present editor and publisher. (36)

The Western Eagle was started at Cape Girardeau in 1847 by W. R. Dawson. It was the most important paper in that county before the war. It was later published by Moore and Herr, and afterwards by Benjamin F. Herr, until 1861. In the Campaign of 1860 it supported the Bell and Everett ticket, but after the election advocated secession. The press and type were destroyed by the Federal soldiers and the editor entered the Confederate army. (37)

The Espial was established at Fredericktown in 1847 by James Lindsey. It was a Free Soil paper and said to be the first of its kind published in Missouri. It became the Madison County Record in 1849. In October of that year Lindsey moved it to Ste. Genevieve and changed the name to The Pioneer. He sold it in 1850 to James H. Dixon, who stopped its publication in a few months. (38)

The Globe, a Democratic paper, was started at Columbia by William A. Verbryke. The first number was issued April 22, 1847. Thomas Peyton Giles was the editor. It was sold

36. Historical, pictorial and biographical record of Chariton county, p. 239.
37. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 417.
38. Jefferson City Inquirer, 1849.

in November to James W. Robinson, Alfred A . Gunn and James P. Fleming. The first two were practical printers, and the third, a lawyer, was the editor. It was a failure financially and suspended publication in 1848. (39)

The Herald was started at Weston in July, 1847 by E. Hathaway. It was independent in politics and was published but a short time, being merged into the Frontier Journal in September, 1848. (40)

The Whig was established at Osceola in 1848 by Edward C. Davis, an able but erratic genius. He was State superintendent of schools from 1855 to 1857 and died a drunkard and a forger, but was one of the ablest writers among Missouri editors. His report to the General Assembly, as State superintendent of schools, is a model of scholarly learning and is thoroughly accurate.

Charles E. Fisher bought a part interest in The Whig in 1849 and changed the name to Independent. Col. William H. Mayo, soldier and state senator, became the publisher in 1853. E. C. Davis was still the editor. Col. Mayo sold a part interest in the paper in 1854 to Lewis Lamkin, who from that time to his death on May 24, 1907, was connected with the press of Missouri. Frederick Kapp and Richard Divens were the next publishers. They changed the name to Osceola Democrat. James O. Cook and E. D. Murphy bought it June 2, 1860, and published it until Lane and his band of Kansans destroyed Osceola in 1861. (41)

The first paper in Franklin County was The Flag, established at Union, August 7, 1848, by N. Giddings and W. R. Vanover. Vanover became the proprietor in 1850 and changed the name to The Independent. Lack of support caused him to stop its publication in 1852. (42)

The Missouri Plebean was the rather original name of a paper established at Canton in June, 1848. It was published

39. Columbia Statesman, 1848-49.
40. Ibid.
41. History of Benton county, p. 17.
42. History of Franklin, Jefferson, etc., counties, p. 390.

by Stephen P. Vannoy. He changed the name to Northeast Reporter in 1850. In that year he was elected a member of the State Board of Public Works and sold the Reporter to A. Dangerfield Rector. It ceased publication in 1861. (43)

The Democratic Journal was started at Lexington in 1848. Harrison B. Branch was the publisher. He was a great admirer of Thomas H. Benton and made the Journal one of the strongest Benton papers in the State. In the fall of 1850 George C. Bronaugh came to Lexington from Hopkinsville, Kentucky, where he had been editing The People's Press, and bought the Journal, changing the name to Western Chronicle. Dr. Montgomery Bryant, later State Marshal of Missouri, became the editor and proprietor in 1852. Under his control it was an anti-Benton paper. It suspended publication in 1855. (44)

The Commercial Herald was published at New Madrid from 1848 to 1851 by G. M. Barbour. It professed neutrality and made but little impression in the newspaper world. (45)

MINNIE ORGAN.

43. History of Lewis, Clark, Knox and Scott counties, p. 216.
44. Atlas History of Lafayette county, p. 64.
45. Jefferson City Inquirer, 1848-51.

(To be continued.)

COL. ROBERT T. VAN HORN.

(Concluded.)

An Active Factor in Railroad Legislation.

When Colonel Van Horn came to Kansas City he was not unfamiliar with the ideas and aspirations that dominated the thoughts and feelings of the people of the West. A close student from the habitual bent of his mind and a critical and just observer of men and their motives, he adjusted himself to the new conditions as readily and easily as if he had been born and reared in this atmosphere. Besides as a newspaper man and a law student, he had not been unconscious of what the people in all parts of the United States had done and were doing, so that when he came to Western Missouri, he did not have to begin at the beginning to understand and to interpret the situation.

In the fall of 1858 a great railroad meeting had been called at Kansas City for November 22. Invitations had been sent into Kansas Territory and into many of the counties of Western Missouri. The convention was held at the old Court House, and on the following day Mr. William Gilpin addressed this convention on the importance of building railroads and in helping to develop the resources of the mighty region lying between the British possessions on the North and the Gulf of Mexico on the South, and from the Mississippi to the Pacific on the West. No doubt Mr. Gilpin at this time was the best informed man on the topography of this entire region with the exception of Colonel Fremont of the regular army and of Kit Carson and Jim Bridger, the two great scouts.

Colonel Van Horn was a member of the committee on resolutions, and he drew the resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the convention. These resolutions urged the Congress of the United States to construct a Great Continental Railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The commit-

tee on resolutions based its action on topographical, geographical, commercial and military reasons for the undertaking of such a gigantic enterprise. They held that the Kansas River is situated on the geographical central line of the United States to the Pacific Ocean, that along its valley the grade is smaller than elsewhere across the country, that it is the most natural route along which commerce and the movement of soldiers and military supplies could be transported, and that a great continental railroad was a necessity to bind the people on the Pacific Coast to the Union, and to defend them in case of war with a foreign nation. For like reasons the doctrine was set forth that a great railroad line should be constructed from the region of the Lake of the Woods to Galveston, thus giving direct connection through Kansas City with the north and the south, and the members of this convention believed, and their speakers and resolutions indicate, that great transcontinental lines of travel and traffic would bind all sections of the American Union more firmly together. Of the ten resolutions embodied in the Committee's report one was that work should be immediately undertaken to connect Kansas City with the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad at Cameron. This was regarded as especially desirable by the members of the convention. As this time the railroads in Missouri were the Hannibal and St. Joseph, and St. Joseph was the "big town" on the Missouri river; the Wabash from St. Louis to Macon City, called then the North Missouri Railroad; the Missouri Pacific, the first road in the state, was being pushed westward to Sedalia, which it reached a short time before the Civil War, and the Iron Mountain that ran out from St. Louis to Iron Mountain. The people along the lines of these roads and their projections were divided into two classes, those who wanted railroads and those who opposed railroads, chiefly on account of their destroying teaming. In those days merchandise of all kinds was hauled in farm wagons from the river towns or railroad stations back into the interior, and farm products, unless consumed by the local needs of the community, were hauled to the

towns or stations for sale or shipment. These early makers of Kansas City were, no doubt, the most far-seeing body of men in the Mississippi Valley. They were looking far, high and wide. Meetings had been held petitioning those in authority to hurry the Missouri Pacific into Kansas City. A railroad line had been surveyed from Independence to Kansas City, and the City Council had granted the right of way.

While in the field with his regiment in 1862, Colonel Van Horn was elected to the Missouri Senate, and during the session of the Legislature in the winter of 1864-5, he had charge of the bill for completing the Missouri Pacific Railway from Sedalia to Kansas City. He carried the measure through the Senate and with the aid of M. J. Payne and E. M. McGee, it passed the House. This was a very critical period in the history of Kansas City, and considering the circumstances under which the people of this state were then living, this was one of the most important achhievements commercially and financially connected with our state history. Business was paralyzed! The people were divided—bitter, distrustful, and more than half the state had been devastated by hostile armies.

While a member of Congress, he secured the Charter for the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad bridge, across the Missouri river at this point, the first constructed across the Missouri river. Kansas had already become a state, and in the estimation of a majority of Senators and Congressmen, its interests would be very much more regarded than would those of Missouri; but Colonel Van Horn had always been even in territorial troubles, just in his views of the dissensions between Kansas and Missouri, yet he felt that at this juncture, the real contest for supremacy lay between Kansas City and Leavenworth. Up to this time Leavenworth was always spoken of as the coming Western Metropolis. Congressional Legislation was decisive, and it assured the supremacy of Kansas City just at this critical moment when the issue was hanging in the balance. He aided also very materially in securing legislation that provided for the building of the Kansas City, Fort

Scott and Gulf Railroad, and especially in enabling the company to secure the neutral lands, now composing the counties of Crawford and Cherokee in Kansas, to aid in the construction of the road. In 1869, he introduced into Congress a bill providing for the consolidation of the Indian tribes, and the organization of a government in that portion of the Indian Territory which formed Oklahoma. Prior to this date four years, he was a member of a delegation from Kansas City to an Indian Council at Fort Smith, Arkansas, when by treaty the right of way to build a railroad through their lands was secured. He was instrumental in carrying the measure through Congress to build the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railway bridge across the Missouri river at this point. By public addresses, attending conventions and legislative bodies, and especially in the columns of the Journal, most intelligently and earnestly he furthered every material, commercial, intellectual and moral interest in which the people of Kansas City the entire western country would be benefited.

In Public Office.

By nature, Colonel Van Horn preferred private life to official position. In no sense was he ever an office-seeker; yet, owing to his deep and intelligent interest in all public questions and original and practical ideas as to the means of furthering and forwarding needed legislation in order to secure definite and desirable results, he yielded to the wishes of his neighbors and friends, and was honored by them divers times. In less than two years after his removal to Kansas City, he was elected Alderman, and in 1861, he was elected Mayor, and re-elected in 1864. He served as Postmaster from 1857 to 1861, and resigned when he became Mayor. At the Presidential election in 1864, he was first elected to Congress, and was re-elected in 1866, 1868, 1880, and in 1892. In Congress he was known as one of the best working members of that body where the real work is done in committees. General Grant appointed him in 1875, Collector of Internal Revenue of the Sixth District of Missouri, and he held that position till June, 1881. He

was a delegate to every National Republican Convention from 1864 to 1884, and was twice a member of the National Republican Committee, and chairman of the Republican State Committee.

His War Record.

Running through the files of the Journal till the explosion came in 1861, Colonel Van Horn's editorials reflect the sentiments of at least four-fifths of the people living in Missouri, namely, that after the election of Mr. Lincoln as President, some plan would be devised by which the Union would be preserved without resorting to the arbitrament of the sword. He had been a Democrat and the Journal, during the political campaign of 1860 and prior thereto, had been a conservative Democratic paper, opposed to the extreme sectional views of both the North and the South. In the memorable campaign of 1860, as did most of the Democratic papers of this state, the Journal supported Mr. Douglas for President. As Mayor of Kansas City in 1861, he issued a proclamation advising the citizens to go about their business and to refrain from discussing political issues which tended to stir up strife. As a Douglas Democrat, when Fort Sumpter was fired upon, he enthusiastically espoused the cause of the Union. Naturally he was looked to as the leader and consolidator of the Union Sentiment of this part of the state. One of the curious features of the development of public sentiment and the arraigning of men into two hostile parties was, that in the cities and towns, the Southern sentiment was very much more pronounced, while in the country, the Union sentiment in most counties, was overwhelming. The strong Union party in Missouri was composed almost solidly of the 17,000 men who had voted for Mr. Lincoln, of a very large per cent, of the Democrats who had voted for Mr. Douglas, and almost of an equal number that had voted for Bell and Everett. Those who voted for Mr. Breckenridge for President were divided when the war came. Events moved rapidly. Men were drilling with and without arms. There were few men in the State that knew anything of the manual of arms,

but nearly all the younger men and older boys were enrolled and would meet on Saturday afternoons to drill; those in the towns would meet of evenings and drill. When the President called for volunteers to suppress the insurrection, the Governor of Missouri defied the President's authority although soldiers were volunteering and being mustered into service. The capture of Camp Jackson on the 10th of May, 1861, precipitated matters and brought the crisis to a head. The Governor soon thereafter called for 50,000 volunteers to defend Missouri. The ball was fairly opened and at it and into it, Missouri plunged. Colonel Van Horn raised a battalion of men that he commanded in 1861; it soon became a regiment. As a soldier and an officer, whether in Missouri or at the front with the Army of the Tennessee, in action or in camp, with his regiment, his conduct was that becoming a brave man and a true gentleman. He served three years in active and meritorious service in the field; but when in 1863, the famous order "No. 11" was issued by General Thomas Ewing, commanding the district of the border, with headquarters at Kansas City, the execution of this famous order created great distress and much needless suffering of many women and children, and so intense was the suffering, that many citizens implored General John M. Schofield to appoint Colonel Van Horn to conduct the deportation.

During the entire war no other officer or citizen had such a difficult and delicate duty to perform. It was a duty of the very greatest responsibility. He knew personally many of these refugees, and their pitiable condition and misfortune sank deep into his heart. Notwithstanding the service in which he had been engaged in this state, and in the South, and the further fact that in the battle of Lexington he had been severely wounded and at the battle of Corinth, while leading his regiment, his horse had been shot under him, yet in this new and trying position, as a true soldier, executed his orders with loyal submission to his superiors in command, but every act was tempered with forbearance, kindness and sympathy, and

as he thought of his wife and little ones at home, he aided in every way possible to help those who had left their smoking homes behind them.

These acts of kindness were not forgotten. Some of his most pleasing recollections in the retirement of private life, are the expressions of gratitude that have come from those distressed at that time, or from their descendants and friends. Amid the din of arms such actions of tender and sympathetic regard could only come from a great and magnanimous soul. No wonder, then, that whenever Colonel Van Horn was a candidate for Congressional honors, that many southern soldiers would vote for him because of his generosity to their wives and little ones when they were away in the field.

As Journalist and Thinker.

There have been four great newspaper men in the United States as I now use the term, who formulated thought and moulded public opinion: George D. Prentice, whose brilliancy at this time is recognized by all who knew him personally, or in any manner since his death, have become familiar with his writings. He was a gifted genius. As a contemporary of his, but one who was his antipode, was Horace Greeley, who for years wrote those great, practical, common-sense editorials which made the New York Tribune, the greatest political force in the nation. He put in a direct, straighforward manner, the convictions of his own conscience, and no other newspaper in this country has ever carried the masses with it as did the Tribune prior to and during the Civil War. Horace Greeley tried to tell the truth, and in this fact lay the power the Tribune held over the minds and hearts of a large number of the American people. The third is Samuel Bowles, whose editorials in the Weekly Springfield Republican caused the American nation to pause and reflect. He grasped great questions, and he handled them as a giant would take up puny things and toss them about, viewing them on every side as they were hurled through the air.

Colonel Van Horn is the fourth in this line. His editorials

were put in strong, vigorous English, expressed in simple language. The thought was always bigger than the words that carried the thought, and better than Prentice, Greeley or Bowles, his illustrations were always drawn from simple and familiar objects better adapted to the capacity of the mass of readers than the others employed, although Horace Greeley approached him the nearest in the use of language as an instrument to convey thought. This represents only one side of Colonel Van Horn's many-sided character. There has never been a man in the State of Missouri, or perhaps in the United States, certainly no one that I have ever read after or knew personally, that knew our political men better than he knew them. Blessed with a retentive memory, a keen and discriminating analysis of human nature and the motives that play upon it, he is one of the best informed men in this particular line that our country has ever produced. At no time have I ever asked him about any one of our public men either of the present or of its past political history, that he has ever hesitated for a moment in giving a correct estimate of his ability and character. His mind is simply encyclopaedic. His newspaper experience and public life fitted him completely for accumulating and massing information which he has arranged, digested and classified with wonderful skill. Three references only in this connection will be sufficient. In December he called at my office and we were conversing on general topics in no prearranged manner, and I said: "Colonel, who is the greatest man now in the United States Senate?" Without a moment's hesitation, he replied: "Morgan of Alabama. When he first went to the Senate, some of the old members thought he talked too much; but he is one of those fellows who always studies, and he knows what is going to be done and what has been done, and his mind moves in the biggest orbit there is in the Senate. He is never idle."

Several years ago, during a conversation, Carl Schurz's name was mentioned and I remarked: "Colonel, how do you account for Carl Schurz boxing the political compass so

often?" "Carl Schurz," said he, "was a born revolutionist. As soon as he was old enough, he plunged into a revolution, and he has kept at that business ever since. He is built that way."

A Historic Character—Prophecy.

Colonel Van Horn, writing an "editorial correspondence" from Jefferson City, gives the following estimate of Hon. Charles D. Drake, who, six years later was known as the author of the "Drake Constitution" of Missouri: "December 20, 1859, was as predicted, consumed by Mr. Drake with his Sunday Bill, and for want of a subject, I may as well notice this gentleman. He came here with a reputation preceding him, that better legislators have employed years to obtain. But it has not been sustained. He is a man of talent, as well as a man of fine acquirements—an excellent speaker, and a fine debator, but he is entirely a book man, an office legislator, and totally devoid of popular sympathy, or popular education. He seems to be insensible to the reflection that there can be any diversity of opinion, except upon the supposition that all save his own is unsound and false. He has but two words in his vocabulary—orthodoxy and heresy. It is this tone of mind that has been the source of the Sunday Bill. I believe fully that the man is sincere and conscientious in his advocacy of it, but his sincerity arises from the fact, that his natural intellectual proclivities are Puritanical. I believe that he is competent to stand and see passing before his eyes, day after day, a practical refutation of his dogma, without being aware of the fact that he might be mistaken. He is the worst possible man to whom any bill affecting morality or practices, affecting in any manner questions of conscience, could be entrusted. He is already looked upon as constituting a complete state, a complete church, and a complete system of social economy, within himself. He always speaks of the country as the rural districts, and seems to think that city sense is of a more sublimated and ethereal character than that which comes from the cornfields of the state. Perhaps it is so, but it is not calcu-

lated to advance the influence of Mr. Drake in the House, to let it be known that he feels so. Unfortunately, a large majority of the Legislators are from the rural districts."

Prior to his being elected to the Legislature, Hon. Charles D. Drake, was favorably known to the legal profession by his work on "Attachments," which was for years the standard authority. But the analysis of his character more than six years before he came into prominence in the state, shows how well Colonel Van Horn then measured men. This is a better description of Senator Drake's mental peculiarities than I have ever seen elsewhere in print.

A Sense of Humor.

There is a very strong sense of humor in Colonel Van Horn's nature. An incident or two will illustrate.

Voice of the People.

The following extracts and comments appeared in the Journal January 28, 1860: "We trust our readers will pardon us for the amiable vanity that compels us to clip the following from our exchanges:

"R. T. Van Horn is a true Democrat, a man who is identified with the interests of Missouri and Jackson County, and who has done hard work and noble services in defense of that party. As we said last week, we said we were for Van against the world, provided he receives the nomination.—Independence Gazette."

"R. T. Van Horn, Editor of the Journal, is announced as a candidate for the Legislature." Go it, Van, "we'll hold your hat."—Kansas City Metropolitan.

Comments.

"Such is fame, glory, renown, and what the poets call living in history. That phantom makes patriots, conspirators, heroes and martyrs. It is the first toot of the horn of the coy goddess that unstrings the nerves, and sends the hot blood surging through the veins. A great thing is this **vox populi**."

Personal Acquaintance of Colonel Van Horn.

Before I came to Kansas City in August, 1874, I had read

considerably of Col. Van Horn in an official capacity. From what information I possessed, no hint had been given me touching his mental characteristics or his personal appearance. The newspapers had been strangely silent. Soon after my arrival here, Hon. J. V. C. Karnes said to me,—"I want you to meet Colonel Van Horn of the Journal of Commerce." The Journal Office was on Fifth Street, between Main and Delaware. We went into a back room, called the editorial room, and there sat Colonel Van Horn in his shirt sleeves. We talked probably fifteen minutes, and when I started to go, he said: "Greenwood, I like you. The columns of the Journal are open to you. Write on any subject you please, except Democracy. It would not look well in a Republican paper, you knew." We both laughed, and I thanked him. Here was a stout built man, rather ruddy complexion, about five feet ten inches in height, weight perhaps two hundred pounds, eyes between a light blue and a steel gray, hair and beard which were short, nearly reddish brown, slightly tinged with gray, a high, broad, square forehead, a Greecian nose, a wide mouth, firmly set jaws, a chin that set off well the forehead, eyes, nose, mouth. The whole cast of countenance bespoke kindliness, persistence, and determination most happily blended. One's life is reflected in the sphere of little things perhaps more than in great events; the one springing up, involuntarily without much if any forethought, and the other as the resultant of prolonged investigation and deliberation. The one has its origin in the heart, is the natural impulse of the feelings intuitively expressed,—and the other the cold calculation of the intellect with the emotions eliminated. It is from both these view points I shall consider the essential features of Colonel Van Horn's character.

At this time he was interested in the writings of Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Wallace, Cope, Hackel, and others who were thinking along these lines, but his mind was equally active in a dozen or more different directions. Whenever I would go into the Journal office, or meet him on the street, we discussed

the writings of the men who were the advanced thinkers of the age, and we talked of the best books either had recently read. Another theme that formed many conversations was the Vortex theory of the formation of the Universe, as outlined by Descartes, which he employed to explain the motions of the planets. It was indeed a matter of great pleasure to spend an hour or two each week in the company of one whose conversations were always along such broad lines, entirely divorced from personal gossip and commonplace platitudes. The highest and the best thinking then, so far as I knew, in Kansas City, was done by Colonel Van Horn and Dr. J. G. Roberts, pastor of the First Congregational Church. Another subject that received considerable attention was the "Race of Mound Builders," and who they were, and did they represent a phase of semi-civilization that had been swept away by the North American Indians. Every Sunday, and for years afterwards, the Sunday Journal would contain a leading editorial on some great subject of scientific, sociological, metaphysical, religious, or literary interest, setting forth some new doctrine or opinion. There was not a newspaper in New York, Boston, Chicago, or St. Louis that had the reputation that the Journal then sustained on Sunday editorials, and these editorials were copied far and wide in many of the leading newspapers of the country. Those who did not know the Colonel personally, would write letters complimenting the "Religious Editor of the Journal" for his great and thoughtful contributions. These letters came from all parts of the country and many of them I read.

Occasionally the Colonel would speak of the policy he had marked out for the Journal, and to which he severely adhered. One day, I happened in, some one was relating an incident that bordered on the coarse. Colonel Van Horn said: "We sometimes hear such things here in the office, but they never get into the columns of the Journal. I publish a paper for the fireside, where the whole family can read it and not bring a blush to the cheek of any woman or girl." This policy explains why it was that Democratic families as well as Republican fam-

ilies in Kansas City read the Journal. It was a clean family paper, though a strong political paper.

When General John S. Phelps was the Democratic candidate for Governor of the State, a story was put into circulation in one of the St. Louis papers reflecting on his private character, and many of the country papers reprinted it with comments; but the Kansas City Journal kept silent. One day in conversation with the Colonel, I said: "Colonel, the Journal has not printed anything about General Phelps." This was his characteristic reply: "I know General Phelps intimately. We are warm personal friends, and we have known each other for many years. That story is a lie, and not one word of it shall be printed in the Journal." At the election, General Phelps was elected by a large majority, and on Saturday, just before the Governor was to be inaugurated, I went into the editorial room of the Journal, and the Colonel said, "Sit down and let us swap a few lies." A familiar way he had of asking a person to talk with him a while. While we were swapping, an ex-confederate soldier came in, and he wished to speak with the Colonel privately. The Colonel shook his hand very cordially, but at the same time he asked me to remain. This ex-confederate was a Democrat, and he wanted a letter from Colonel Van Horn to Governor Phelps, recommending him for a position. The credential was given, and after the man went out, the Colonel said: "It may seem strange to you that this man would come to me for a letter to the Governor, but I told him he had better not let the other Democratic candidates know that he had it, but he could show it to the Governor." During this conversation he told me that he had never betrayed a political confidence in his life, and that was the rule he had adopted early in life. Information given in secrecy was inviolate.

It may be interesting to mention how the Colonel wrote editorials for the Journal. He wrote usually in the forenoon at his desk, using a very fine pointed lead pencil. I noticed in the waste basket many times a very delicate hand writing on

soft paper, and I was puzzled for a while to understand what woman about the Journal office wrote such a small hand, the words crowded closely otgether. One day as I was sitting there, I noticed an editorial which had not been sent to the compositor, and it explained the mystery. When writing with pen and ink, he wrote a large bold hand, but when for the press or an address, he wrote a fine delicate hand, and he said that he could not think well unless he so wrote.

I have never known a man simpler in his habits. After writing his editorials and while waiting to read the proof, he would eat his dinner, which in the earlier days when I first knew him, consisted of light bread or crackers, and "dried buffalo beef." Many a time I have seen him dining on this plain, but substantial mid-day meal. After reading his proof he would go home, frequently buying something for the family as he passed a grocery store, and carry it home. Once I overtook him on Main Street, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, carrying two dressed turkeys and a paper bundle; his hat was far back on his head, and we both burst out into a hearty laugh; but he said: "I have salted down two fat hogs and we have two barrels of good winter apples and a good supply of fuel, and we are getting pretty well fixed up for the winter."

A Scared Regiment.

On one occasion we were talking about the different kinds of snakes in this country. "Well," said the Colonel, "the funniest panic I ever experienced was in 1862, during the siege of Corinth. One evening my regiment was ordered to take an advanced position after dark in the brush very near to the confederate line, so as to attack at daylight the next morning. The men took position, and were lying on their arms in line of battle. Soon after dark it began a slow rain, and after lying there very quietly for an hour or two, one of my men said: "I smell a rattlesnake," and the rumor spread along the entire line, and despite the entreaties of all the officers, the regiment broke and fled. The soldiers said they would fight rebels any-

where, but they would not stay among rattlesnakes in the dark."

His Ideals.

There is neither inspiration nor aspiration in the life that is not moved by a great ideal. The greatest earthly ideal is that of true friendship in which confidence is never lost or debased.

Owing to this fact, the name of Colonel Van Horn is deeply engraved on the hearts of thousands of men and women who knew him in the early struggles, trials and triumphs of Kansas City. By every one he was known and esteemed as an honest, sympathetic and public spirited citizen. His every-day life so simple, unpretending and democratic, the great commoner of Missouri, brought him into close touch with all classes. He understood their thoughts, feelings and aspirations far better than the ones who stood aloof. A statesman, a philosopher, a scholar and a thinker, his mind moved in an ever widening circle of knowledge. It was trained by a long and powerful system of analysis, so that it worked with the precision of a splendid piece of machinery.

Indissolubly connected with Kansas City, its rise, its progress, and its destiny, is the name of Colonel Robert Thompson Van Horn, whose public service and private virtues belong to this nation as one of its great historic characters.

J. M. GREENWOOD.

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Compiled by F. A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

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No. 80. June, 1908. Inspection of commercial fertilizers. Spring sales. 14 p.

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No. 25. Rational sheep feeding, by Fred B. Mumford. 15 p., 3 ills.

No. 26. Feeding the dairy cow, by C. H. Eckles. 17 p., 7 ills.

No. 27. Feeding and care of horses, by E. A. Trowbridge. 10 p., 3 ills.

No. 28. Swine feeding, by C. A. Wilson. 16 p., 3 ills.

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No. 32. Missouri apple growing, by J. C. Whitten. 14 p., 1 ill.

No. 33. Hotbeds and coldframes, by W. L. Howard. 21 p., 11 ills.

No. 34. Instructions for spraying, by W. H. Chandler. 16 p., 6 ills.

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No. 12. Dec. Poultry problems and profits. 52 p., 21 ills. [Issued Feb., 1909.]

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Appendix to the House and Senate Journals, same session. Jeff City, n. d.. Bd. separate paging.

Contents: Gov. Folk's biennial message, 43 p..; Inaugural, Gov. Hadley, 30 p.;Special message, Gov. Hadley, subject of revising the statutes, 6 p.; do., on revenue and taxation, 10. p.; do, the sale of intoxicating liquors, 8 p.; do., on Waterways and Forestry Commission, 8 p.; do., on measures for the increase of revenue, 7 p.; on the Missouri State penitentiary, 9 p.; do., on the subject of Home rule, 9 p.; do., concerning "lid" clubs, 9 p.; do., on condition of the revenue, 7 p.; do, on public service corporations, 12 p.; do, on game and fish laws, 6 p.; Report of Gov. Folk on reprieves, 34 p.; Biennial Report of State Treasurer, 89 p.; Biennial Report of State Auditor, 54 p.; Biennial Report of State Geologist, 59 p.; Biennial Report Secretary of State on Corporations, 3 p.; Report of Superintendent of Insurance, on affairs of the Insurance department, 5 p.; Report of the Commissioner of the Permanent Seat of Government, 4 p.; Report of the State Beer Inspector, 1907-08, 4 p.; Report State Factory Inspector, 14 p.; Sixth Biennial Report State

Board of Charities and Corrections, 97 p., 8 ills.; Report State Board of Dental Examiners, 8 p.; Report of Election Commissioners of St. Louis, 8 p.; Report of State Board of Examiners for Barbers, 7 p.; Report of Board of Fish Commissioners, 39 p.; Twenty-fifth annual Report State Board of Health, 53 p.; Report of Directors of State Fair, 73 p.; Biennial Report of State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, 24 p.; First Annual Report of State Poultry Board, 77 p., 19 ills.; Report State Board of Pharmacy, 7 p.; Biennial Report of the Penitentiary, 244 p.; Report of investigation State Board of Dental Examiners, 64 p.; Report of Commissioners to the Jamestown Exposition, 6 p.; Report of the Missouri Waterways Commission, 7 p.; Report of the Missouri Forestry Commission, 15 p.; Report of the proceedings of the St. Francis River Commission, 13 p.; Report of Auditing Committee, 23 p.; Report of the Committee to Visit, 114 p.; Biennial Report of Fruit Experiment Station, 14 p.; Report of Curators of the University, 308 p.; Biennial Report of Kirksville Normal School, 41 p.; of Warrensburg Normal School, 54 p.; of Cape Girardeau Normal School, 19 p.; of Springfield Normal School, 19 p.; of Maryville Normal School, 17 p.; of the Treasurer of Lincoln Institute, 21 p.; of the Regents of same, 17 p.; of the Library Commission, 36 p.; Fourth Biennial Report of the State Historical Society of Missouri, 43 p.; of Hospital No. 1, 54 p.; of Hospital No. 2, 68 p.; of Hospital No. 3, 61 p.; of Hospital No. 4, 58 p.; of Missouri Colony for Feeble Minded, 38 p.; of Training School for Boys, 52 p.; of Industrial Home for Girls, 45 p., 6 ills.; of School for the Blind, 47 p.; of School for the Deaf, 26 p.; of Confederate Home, 36 p.; of Federal Home, 43 p.; of Missouri State Sanitorium, 55 p.

Message—Biennial Message of Gov. Joseph W. Folk to 45th General Assembly, Jan., 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 43 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Inaugural address of Gov. Herbert S. Hadley to 45th General Assembly, Jan. 11, 1909. 30 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Same in German. Jeff City, n. d. 25 p.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley on the subject of revising the statutes. Feb. 19, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 8 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley concerning revenue and taxation, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 10 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley concerning the sale of intoxicating liquors. April 7, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 8 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley concerning Waterways and Forestry Commissions. April 19, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 8 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley concerning measures for the increase of the revenue. Apr. 23, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 7 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley relating to Missouri State Penitentiary with Report of State Board of Health. Apr. 27, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 9 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley concerning the subject of Home rule. Apr. 27, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 9 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley concerning "lid" clubs May 7, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 9 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley concerning condition of the revenue. May 8, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 7 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley concerning public service corporations. May 12, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 12 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Message—Special Message of Gov. Hadley concerning game and fish laws. May 17, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 6 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Report of Gov. Folk to 45th General Assembly concerning reprieves, commutations and pardons, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 34 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Report of Auditing Committee to settle with the Auditor and Treasurer. Jan., 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 23 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Report of Committee to visit State institutions to 45th General Aosembly. Jeff City, n. d. Bd. & p., 114 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Rules and Committees 45th General Assembly, (Senate and House). Jeff City, n. d. 17½x10 cm., 70 p.

Standing committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, 45th General Assembly, 1909. n. p. n. d. 19 p.

Report of investigation State Board Dental Examiners and Secretary thereof, May 8, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 64 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

GEOLOGY AND MINES, BUREAU OF.

Biennial report to 45th Gen. Assy. H. A. Buehler, Director and State Geologist. n. d. 59 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Vol. VI, 2d Series. The Lime and Cement Resources of Missouri, by H. A. Buehler. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., 255 p., 31 pls., 4 folding pls., map in jacket.

Vol. VII, 2d Series. The Geology of Morgan County, by C. F. Marbut. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., 97 p., 16 pls., 2 folding pls., map in jacket.

Vol. VIII, 2d Series. The Geology of Pike County, by R. R. Rowley. Jeff City, n. d. 122 p., 20 pls., map in jacket.

Vol. IX, Part I. Geology of the Disseminated Lead Deposits of St. Francois and Washington Counties, by Ernest Robertson Buckley. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., 259 p., 41 pls.

Vol. IX, Part II Same. Maps, sections and plates.

HEALTH, STATE BOARD OF.

Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep. to 45th G. A., 1907-1908 [For 1907]. Jeff City, n. d. 53 p.

Seen only in App. to Jour.

Twenty-sixth Ann. Rep. for 1908. Warrensburg, n. d. Bd., 67, (1) p.

Bulletins, Quarterly. Warrensburg, 1908. Vol. VI, Nos. 1-4, 1909. Vol. VII, Nos. 1-3.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI, STATE.

Fourth Bien. Rept. for two years ending Dec. 31, 1908, Columbia, Mo., 1909. 45 p.

Same. Jeff City, n. d. 43 p.

Contained in App. to Jour.

Missouri Historical Review, quarterly. Columbia.

Vol. II, No. 2, Jan., 1908 to Vol. IV, No. 1, Oct., 1909. 8 nos.

HORTICULTURE, STATE BOARD OF.

First annual report, including the 50th annual report of the Missouri State Horticultural Society, 1907. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., 328 (2) 10 p., 12 pls., 5 ills.

Second annual report, year 1908. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., 324, VII p., 49 pls.

INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR GIRLS, STATE.

Tenth biennial report, for 1907-08. Jefferson City, n. d. 45 p., 6 pls., 1 folding pl.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

[INSANE] STATE HOSPITAL NO. 1.

Twenty-eighth biennial report, for the year 1907-1908. Fulton, 1909. 67 p., 9 pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

[INSANE] STATE HOSPITAL NO. 2.

Seventeenth biennial report, 1907-1908. St. Joseph, n. d. 75 [1] p., 14 pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

[INSANE] STATE HOSPITAL NO. 3.

Eleventh biennial report, 1907-1908. Nevada, 1909. 79 p., 17 pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

[INSANE] STATE HOSPITAL NO. 4.

Fourth biennial report, 1907-1908. Farmington, n. d. 54 p., 12 pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

Thirty-ninth annual report for year 1907. St. Louis, n. d. Bd., XCVII, 1028 p.

Binder title, 1908.

Fortieth annual report for year 1908. St. Louis, n. d. Advance sheets. 103 p., pm.

Fortieth annual report for year 1908. St. Louis, n. d. 1180, VI p., Bd.

Binder title, 1909.

Report from Superintendent of Insurance regarding the affairs of the Insurance Department to the 45th General Assembly, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 5 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journal.

JAMESTOWN TRI-CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION, COMMISSION TO THE.

Report 1907-08. Jeff City, n. d. 6 p.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

LABOR STATISTICS, BUREAU OF.

Twenty-ninth annual report, year ending Nov. 5, 1907. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., XI, 797 p.

Thirtieth annual report, year ending Nov. 5. 1908. Jeff City, n. d. XX, 950 [2] p.

Surplus products Missouri Counties, 1907. Jeff City, pm., 152 p.

Do., 1908. Jeff City, 1909.

Official map of Missouri, 1908, showing shipments of 1907.

LIBRARY COMMISSION, MISSOURI.

Second annual report, year 1908.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Book lists. Missouri traveling library. 15x8½ cm. [Jeff City.]

No. 1. 11 [1] p.
No. 2. 10 [2] p.
No. 3. 10[2] p.
No. 4. 12 p.
No. 5. 12 p.
No. 6. 12 p.
No. 7. 10 [2] p.
No. 8. 10 [2] p.
No. 9. 11 [1] p.
No. 10. 12 p.

LINCOLN INSTITUTE.

Biennial report of Board of Regents for 1907-1908. Jeff City, n. d. Pm., 17 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour.

Report of the Treasurer, 1907-08. Jeff City, n. d. 21 p.

Contained in App. to Jour.

Annual report of President B. F. Allen to State Superintendent of Public Schools for the year ending August 31, 1909. n. p. n. d. 11 p.

MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION.

Biennial report to the 45th General Assembly, Jan., 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 24 p., pm.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

MINES AND MINE INSPECTION, BUREAU OF.

Twenty-first annual report for year 1907. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., 437 p., 1 pl., 14 folded plates, 1 map.

Twenty-second annual report for year 1908. Jeff City, n. d. Unbd., 174 p.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

First District, Kirksville.

Biennial report of Regents to 45th Gen. Assy., Jan., 1909. n. p. n. d. 52 p., 6 ills.

Same. Jeff City, n. d. 41 p.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

Bulletins: Kirksville, quarterly. Vol. VII, No. 4, Mch. (1908) [3] p.

Vol. VIII. No. 1. June, 1908, 166 p., 23 pls. v 75 ports.

No. 2. Not seen.

No. 3. Dec., 1908, [16] p.

No. 4. Mch., 1909, 13, [2] p.

Vol.XIV. No. 1. June, 1909, 180 p. 36 pls.

No. 1. Supplement, June, 1909 [8] p.

Second District, Warrensburg.

Biennial report, Board of Regents, to 45th Gen. Assy., Warrensburg, 1909, 48 p., 8 pls.

Same, Jeff City, n. d. 54 p.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

Bulletins—Warrensburg.

Vol. VII, No. 3. Jan., 1908. 24 p., 6 pls.

Vol. III. No. 3. Jan., 1908. Alumni register. 96 p., 20 pls. & ills.

No. 4. Apr., 1908. 44 p., 1 pl.

Vol. IX. [VIII] No. 1. July, 1908. 38th catalogue. 136 p. 1 pl.

Vol. IX [VIII] No. 2. Oct., 1908. 12 [3] p.

No. 3. Jan., 1909. 28 p., 6 pls.

Vol. IX. [VIII]. No. 4. April, 1909. 43 p., 2 pls.

Vol. X. No. 1. July, 1909. 39th catalog, 138 p., 1 pl.

N. 2. Oct., 1909. 15 p.

Third District, Cape Girardeau.

Eighteenth biennial report to 45th General Assembly. Cape Girardeau, 1909. 69 [1]p., 4 pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Jeff City, n. d. 19 p.

Bulletins: Cape Girardeau.

Vol. VIII. No. 4. Jan., 1908. 4 p.

No. 2. Oct., 1908. [7] p.

No. 5. Mch., 1908. 28 p.

Vol. IX. No. 1. June, 1908. Catalog. 139 [3] p. 8 pls, map.
Nos. 2 and 3. Dec., 1908. [4] p.
No. 4. Jan., 1909. [4] p.
No. 5. Mch., 1909. 40 p.
Vol. X. No. 1. June, 1909. Catalog. 139 [3] p., 10 pls.
No. 2. Oct., 1909. 48 p.
No. 3. Dec., 1909. [6] p.

Fourth District, Springfield.

Report of Normal School to the 45th General Assembly, 1909-10. [1907-08.] n. p. n. d. 16 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals. Jeff City, n. d. 19 p.

Bulletins: Springfield.
Vol. II. No. 4. Jan., 1908. 8 p., 1 ills.
Vol. III. No. 1. Apr. folder, 12 p.
No. 2. July. Catalog. 72 p., 10 pls.
No. 3. Oct. 16 p., 1 ills.
No. 4. Jan., 1909. 16 p., 1 pl.

Fifth District, Maryville.

Report to the 45th Gen Assy. 1909-10 [1907-08]. n. p. n. d. 20 p.

Contained also in App. to Jour. Jeff City, n. d. 17 p.

[Bulletin] Maryville, 1908.
Vol. II, No. 10. Feb. Announcements. 10 p.
Vol. III, No. 1. May. Announcements. 16 p.
Vol. III, No. 2. July. Announcements. 48 p.
Vol. III, No. 3. Dec., winter quarter. 8 p. folder.
Vol. III, No. 4. 1909, March. 7 p.
Vol. IV, No. 1. June. 7 p.
Vol. IV, No. 2. July. 32 p.

PENITENTIARY, STATE.

Biennial report of inspectors, warden, physician and chaplain, 1907-1908. Jeff City, n. d. 244 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

PHARMACY, STATE BOARD OF.

Report to 45th General Assembly, 1907-1908. Jeff City, n. d. 7 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

POULTRY BOARD, STATE.

First annual report for 1907. Published 1908. Jeff City, n. d. 77 p., 21 ills.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS, SUPERINTENDENT.

Fifty-eighth report, for year ending June 30, 1907. Jeff City,[1908]. Bd., 266 p., ills.

Fifty-ninth report, for year ending June 30, 1908. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., 241[II] p., 13 pls.

Concerning county supervision of schools. Prepared by Howard A. Gass, State Superintendent. Jeff City, n. d. 16 p.

School buildings. Plans, specifications and suggestions for school buildings for rural and village districts. Jeff City, n. d. 50 p., 40 pls. and illust.

Revised school laws. Revised Statutes 1909, with court decisions. Jeff City, n. d. 139 p.

RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE COMMISSIONERS.

Thirty-second annual report, year ending June 30, 1907. Jeff City [1908]. 743 VI, p., 4 ills., 24 maps.

Thirty-third annual report, year ending June 30, 1908. Jeff City, 1909. 791 V p., 4 ills., 24 maps.

ST. FRANCIS RIVER COMMISSION.

Report of proceedings to 45th Gen. Assy., 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 13 p.

SANITORIUM, STATE.

First biennial report to 45th Gen. Assy., Jan., 1909. Mt. Vernon, n. d. 51 p., 8 pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Jeff City, n. d. 55 p.

The Missouri State Sanitorium, editorial reprint from the Medical Fortnightly, St. Louis, Mch. 10, 1909.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Official manual for 1909-1910, compiled and published by Cornelius Roach, Secretary of State. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., 843 IX p., 19 pls., 3 maps, and 23 pls of 234 portraits.

Official returns of the State primary election, Aug. 4, 1908. Compiled by John E. Swanger, Secretary of State. Jeff City, n. d. 32 p.

Constitution of the State of Missouri, 1875, with all amendments to 1909. By Cornelius Roach, Secretary of State. Jeff City, n. d. 65 p.

Banking laws of the State of Missouri(revision of 1899 and amendatory laws). Jeff City [1908]. Bd., 163 X p.

Roster of State and County officers, 1909. Jeff City, n. d. 51 p.

Biennial report on corporations, 1907-1908. Jeff City, n. d. 3 p.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

Seat of Government, Commission of Permanent. Report to 45th General Assembly, 1909. Jeff City, n. d.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

Tenth biennial report, 1907-08. Boonville, Our Boys' Magazine Print, n. d. [80] p., 21 ills.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals. 52 p.

Our Boys' Magazine, Boonville. Published by the boys of the school.

1908. Nos. 1-12.

1909. Nos. 1-12.

TREASURER, STATE.

Report to 45th General Assembly, 1907-1908. Jeff City, n. d. 89 p., Bd. and pm.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

WATERWAYS COMMISSION, MISSOURI.

Report to 45th General Assembly, 1907-1908. Jeff City, n. d. 7 p.

Contained in Appendix to Journals.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

Biennial report Board of Curators to 45th General Assembly, ending Dec. 31, 1908. Jeff City, n. d. Bd., 308 p.

President's annual address to Board of Curators, 1907-08. Columbia, 1908. 144 p.

Bulletins of the University of Missouri, Vol. IX, 1908. Columbia.

No. 1. Jan. Mo. State Military School, 16 p, 11 ills.

No. 2. Feb. Anno. summer session. 30 p.

No. 3. Mch. College of Arts and Science. 48 p.

No. 4. Apr. Department of law. 25 (1) p.

No. 5. May. 66th catalogue. 486 p.

No. 6. June. Medical department. 27 p., 3 ills.

No. 7. July. Views of University. obl., 39 views.

No. 8. Aug. Department of engineering. 19 p.

No. 9. Oct. Practical instruction for young farmers. obl. 16 p. 27 ills.

Nos. 10 and 11. Not published.

No. 12. Dec. This was mistake of date. It should have been given as Vol. VIII. Dec. 1907.

No. 12. Dec. Announcements for 2d Semester. 6 [2] p. 3 pls.

Vol. X. 1909. Columbia.

No. 1. Jan. Summer season. 32 p.

No. 2. Feb. Teacher's College. 4 p.

No. 3. Not seen.

No. 4. April. School of law. 24 p.

[No. 5.] Sixty-seventh catalogue. 512 p.

No. 6. June. School of medicine. 24 p.

No. 7. July. School of engineering. 16 p.

No. 8. Aug. Education for agriculture. obl. 24 p. 36 ills.

No. 9. Oct. Short Winter Course in Agriculture. obl. 23 p. 42 ills.

No. 10. Oct. Rural education. The soil. By R. H. Emberson. 8 p., 1 ill.

No. 11. (Dated Jan., 1910.)

No. 12. Dec. Second semester course. 18 p.

Short course in agriculture for boys. Columbia. Mch. 1908. 12 p., 6 ills.

School of journalism. Courses, 1908-1909. n. p. n. d. 20 p.

Announcement of the graduate department, 1908-1909. n. p. n. d. 76 p.

Same, 1909-1910. n. p. n. d. 78 p.

Announcement of Division of History and Political Science, 1908-1909. n. p. n. d. 31 p.

Inauguration of Albert Ross Hill, LL. D., as President of the University, Dec. 10-11, 1908. n. p. n. d. 9 p.

The sixty-sixth commencement, June 3, 1908. n. p. n. d. 19 p.

The sixty-seventh commencement, June 2, 1909. n. p. n. d. 18 p.

Schedule of lectures, &c., First Semester of 1908-09. 16 p.

Schedule of lectures, &c., n. d. 11p.

First annual sale of pure bred swine, Dec. 30, 1909, by Dept. of Animal Husbandry, University of Missouri. n. p. n. d. 24x15½ cm. 16 p. 3 ills.

University Studies Social Science Series.

Vol. II, No. 1. The social function of religious belief. By William Wilson Elwang, Ph. D. April, 1908. 97 [3] p.

No. 2. The original and early development of the English Universities to the close of the thirteenth century. By Earnest Vancourt Vaughn, A. M. August, 1908. 147 p.

No. 3. The origin of the werewolf superstition. By Caroline Taylor Stewart, A. M., Ph. D. April, 1909. 37 p.

No. 4. The transitional period, 1788-1789, in the government of the United States. By Frank Fletcher Stephens, Ph. M., Ph. D. July, 1909. 126 p.

Official retirement of President Richard Henry Jesse. April, 1908. 26x31 cm. 17 p.

Bulletins of Law Observatory—

No. 14. Mch. 11, 1908. [10] p.

No. 15. July 25, 1908. [22] p.
No. 16. Aug. 3, 1908. [14] p.
Nos. 1-16, 1902-1908 form Vol. 1.
School of Mines.
37th catalogue 1907-08. Rolla. n. d. 117 p. 15 pls.
Bulletins, Rolla, Mo.
Vol. 1, No. 1. Dec., 1908. 9 p.
No. 2, March, 1909, 38th catalogue, Rolla. 1909. 115 p. 13 pls.
No. 3, June, 1909. 23 p.
Summer School, June 14 to July 24, 1909. n. p. n. d. [4] p.

THE PINNACLES.

There are four localities in Missouri known as "The Pinnacles." The Missouri bluffs at Miami are about 150 feet high. They extend southwardly at about the same elevation, and some four miles from Miami the summit is called "The Pinnacles." Here the surface breaks off suddenly on the west for more than one hundred feet below, to the Petite Osage plains, commonly spoken of as the Tete saw plains. These plains are much above the line of overflow from the Missouri, and are several miles wide and 8 or 10 miles in length, and form a beautiful and rich piece of land. The view from the Pinnacles is fine. In 1872 I was on the Pinnacle hill. It was then covered with a fine growth of large trees, including black oaks three feet in diameter. Since then they have been cut down. There are seen the ruins of an old fortification. About 20 acres have been surrounded by ditches and earth walls—three walls with ditches between—the walls built of the earth dug from the ditches. It is three feet from bottom of ditch to top of wall; formerly it was more, but time has worn down the ridge some. Fragments of human bones, pottery and flint arrow heads have been picked up here. The large trees growing here show that the fortification must be several hundred years old.

On Silver creek, fifteen miles north of Columbia, Boone county, there is an interesting promontory known as the Pinnacle. The creek comes from the north, suddenly turns west for about 600 yards, then curves south and east for the same distance, where it is separated from the northern bend by not over one hundred feet; it then passes on southwardly. The inclosed peninsula in its eastern half is of solid rock; this is 40 to 80 feet high, weathered into a sharp serrated ridge with barely sufficient space at top to walk on. At two places the ridge is pierced by wide apertures, one of them 10 feet in

diameter with 20 feet of rock above. The rock is Lower Carboniferous limestone.

In Montgomery county about five miles southwest of High Hill, the Pinnacle fork of Bear creek, coming from the north, nearly encircles a tall rock which rises 80 feet above the valley. The rock is 8 to 10 feet wide on top, and 90 to 100 feet wide at the bottom, and about 540 feet long. Twelve feet of upper part is Magnesian limestone, which rests on 76 feet of Saccharoidal sandstone. Many mosses, ferns and lichens grow on the rock. There is a little soil on top supporting a thick growth of bushes, and a few trees, not over a foot in diameter.

The hill just above Clarksville, Pike county, has been long known as Pinnacle Hill. It is 370 feet high. The bluff includes the Burlington limestone on top, with Lower Silurian at the base. Only grass and a few weeds grow on top. There are three Indian mounds on top, about 13 feet high, and human bones and flint arrow heads have been picked up. A fine view can be obtained here; across the Mississippi is the wide flat bottom lands with bluffs beyond, and on the west, tributary streams of the Mississippi can be seen for ten miles or more to their head.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

CURIOUS ADVERTISEMENT.

Among the noticeable things in the files of the Missouri Intelligencer, which is in the library of the Society, the following from the issue of June 5, 1824, is of interest:

"Elopement.

"I, Reuben Warson, of Howard county, Missouri, having with just cause and good provocation, eloped from the bed and board of my wife, Rebecca Warson, do hereby forbid all persons from **harboring trusting** or **beating** her on my account, for I am resolved to pay no debts, and to heal no wounds she may contract. Having for a goodly season lived together in harmony and great good fellowship, this severing of our conjugal bonds has cost me many a bitter tear, and numberless soporific potations. But entertaining, as I do, a tender regard for the preservation of the rich covering which nature has clad her kindly trobbing pericranium, and thoroughly convinced, also, of the inestimable value of my own pathetic eye balls, I have thought it most advisable that we should **tear** ourselves asunder. O! Rebecca, as Steare said unto the fly he released at his window, "Go, poor devil, go, there is room enough in the world for both thee and me"—therefore, when thou readest this and set thy cap for another and a more happy swain, while I roam through the world sipping honey from the bitter or sweet flowers that chance may strew in my path.

June 5, 1824. 43.3w."

NOTES.

Among the late acquisitions of the State Historical Society are two books about Missouri, published in German, but obtained from a book store in Florence, Italy. They are Count Adelbert Baudissin's "Der Ansiedler in Missouri Staate," and Bromme's "Taschenbuch fuer Missouri and Illinois." They have interesting maps of Missouri of 1854 and 1835.

The Illinois State Historical Library has lately purchased a lot of rare American historical publications for which it paid $3000. The Wisconsin Historical Society can also indulge in the buying of such a bill of books. The General Assembly of Missouri does not make an appropriation to its historical society which allows anything for a book fund.

In some unaccountable manner the name of Capt. Becknell was given in the heading of his journal as Thomas, although the signature at the end was given correctly as William, in the last number of the Review.

In a letter from Dr. Joseph A. Mudd, of Hyattsville, Maryland, he says: "The January number contains a notice of the death of Captain D. H. McIntyre which says: 'At the Wilson Creek battle he lost one-half of his men, was himself wounded, made prisoner and kept such for nine months.' Captain McIntyre commanded Company A, of Colonel John Q. Burbridge's regiment, General John B. Clark's division. I was a member of Company B, Captain Wm. F. Carter, of Louisiana, Pike county, commanding, who, as Major, was killed at the battle of Franklin. I saw Captain McIntyre shot through the cheeks, wounding his tongue and knocking out one or two molar teeth. I saw his first lieutenant, John B. Haskins, killed by a cannon ball which also killed Isaac Terrell and wounded three other men. Of Company A, I can recall that Lieutenant Read, Color Sergeant J. P. Orr and Private Jesse Garner were wounded. I forget as to the other lieutenant, Jamison. But Captain McIntyre was not taken prisoner at Wilson's Creek. We lost no prisoners there."

BOOK NOTICES.

The Tramp Woman, a book of experiences. By **Mrs. Dolly Kennedy Yancey.** St. Louis, 1909. 17x12½ cm. 94 pp.

While the authoress says she never could understand why her friends called her "a woman tramp," yet she adopted it in the title of her entertaining little book. While capable of making a good living as a journalist or a stenographer, she seemed content only on the wing, and sometimes she, like the real tramp, had some difficulty in being comfortable. Her travels and experiences make interesting reading, which will soon be given in a second edition.

Manual of Physical Geography. By **Frederick Valentine Emerson,** Ph. D. Instructor in Geology in the University of Missouri. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1909.

This work is the outcome of Mr. Emerson's class work, and presents the subject that will be helpful to the teacher. The earth is considered as a planet, and then the various phases of the climate and the phenomena resulting from it; the land forms, with their explanation, lakes, oceans, shore lines and harbors; soils, with studies of typical areas; and directions about apparatus, charts, maps, etc., make up a volume of greater clearness and value than similar works heretofore published.

Symbolic Education. A commentary of Froebel's "Mother Play." By **Susan E. Blow.** New York. D. Appleton and Company, 1909.

The Mottoes and Commentaries of Frederick Froebel's Mother Play. Prose commentaries translated by **Susan E. Blow,** New York. D. Appleton and Company, 1909.

The Songs and Music of Frederick Froebel's Mother Play. Prepared and arranged by **Susan E. Blow.** New York. D. Appleton and Company, 1909.

Educational Issues in the Kindergarten. By **Susan E. Blow.** New York. D. Appleton and Company, 1909.

The above four works by Susan E. Blow are published in the International Education Series, which was edited by William T. Harris. Miss Blow was born in Carondelet, Missouri, the daughter of Henry T. Blow, and for years was in the public schools of St. Louis, in which she was the leading one in building up the kindergarten work, which work gave her a national reputation as an educator. For a good many years Miss Blow has lived in New York, and on a late visit to St. Louis was welcomed there by her former friends and by others who knew her through her work in the kindergarten field.

With Porter in North Missouri. A chapter in the history of the war between states by **Joseph A. Mudd.** Wash., The National Publishing Company, 1909. Ports. 452 pp.

The above work has been presented to the Society by the author, one of its members, a native of Lincoln county, Missouri, but now residing at Hyattsville, Maryland. The book is one of the most important of the histories of the state during the civil war period, and bears evidence of the efforts of the author to give a truthful contribution to the history of the state. To do this required a great amount of correspondence wih those who were on the Confederate side, and also those on the Federal side, and the responses from both were helpful and gratifying. The book should be found in all public libraries, and also those of persons who are interested in "Missouriana."

The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861. An historical sketch by **Robert J. Rombauer.** St. Louis, 1909. 8 vo. 475 pp., 22 plts. $2.00.

The above gives a comprehensive history of the Union movement of 1861 in St. Louis, the time covered by it not extending later than the spring and summer of that year. Almost one-half of the book, however, giving the ideas and political measures in the Union bearing upon the questions at

issue; the people of St. Louis and their past history which shaped their convictions, and character; the events in the Union immediately preceding Lincoln's taking office; those especially of St. Louis and Missouri during the same period; and these are followed by the St. Louis events at the beginning of the Civil war contest. The work has 125 pages of lists of officers and men in the regiments and other organizations of St. Louis in 1861. The work is an interesting and a valuable one.

Bates County Blue Book. A compilation of statistics and information concerning Bates county, Missouri, by **C. G. Weeks,** County Clerk, Butler, Mo., 1910. 80 p. 5 pls.

This book by one of the members of the State Historical Society is the best and fullest publication of statistics and information of a county that has yet been published in the state. If the County Clerks or other persons would publish such books in every county in the state the local history would be preserved very much fuller than is now done.

Around the World. A narrative in letter form of a trip around the world from October, 1907, to July, 1908. By **E. W. Stephens,** Columbia, Mo., 1909. 8 vo. 586 p. 55 pls.

During the more than nine months occupied by the trip around the world Mr. Stephens wrote sixty-seven letters to newspapers. and these have been somewhat added to and issued in a good sized book with fine plates, an interesting account of the trip by way of the west to the Hawaiian Islands, Japan, China, the Philippine Islands, Java, India, Egypt, Turkey and various parts of Europe. Mr. Stephens went with the desire and disposition to learn, and when he saw what changed his former opinions he did not hesitate to tell what he had learned. The book is a valuable and prized addition to the collection of Missouri authors in the library of the Society.

A Miracle of St. Cuthbert and Sonnets. ..By **R. E. Lee Gibson,** Louisville, Ky., 1909. 90 p.

The author of this well printed book of poetry was born in Steelville, Mo., in 1864, but has resided in St. Louis since 1887, Several years before that date, however, he commenced publishing booklets of poetry, and the above is his sixth publication of booklets and books.

The History of French Literature from the oath of Strasburg to Chanticler. By **Annie Lemp Konta.** N. Y. and Lond. D. Appleton & Co., 1910. 563 pp.

The oath of Strasburg was sworn to by Louis the Germanic and Charles the Bald in 842. It was not in Latin and not yet French, but the date may be roughly taken as the beginning of the French language, a language which is not a mixture of the Gallic with the Latin, but rather the language of the Latin soldier brought to France and modified by the environment there encountered. The history of the literature of this language covering more than a thousand years is given in a most readable manner. To show the scope of the work the headings of some of the chapters may be mentioned: "The Theater in the Middle Ages," "Transition of Mediaeval Philosophy," "The Eighteenth, or Philosophic Century," "Tragedy, Comedy, 'Tearful' Drama, Poetry, the Novel," "The Revolution and Its Literature," and others to the total number of thirty-five.

We are pleased to be able to include this meritorious work in the list of Missouri authors, Mrs. Alexander Konta, now of New York, being a daughter of William J. Lemp, of St. Louis.

Records of Officers and Men of New Jersey in Wars 1791-1815. Compiled in the office of the Adjutant General, Trenton, N. J., 1909.

This gives the record of those from New Jersey in the expedition against the Indians in 1791, the Pennsylvania insurrection in 1794, naval war with France, 1798-1801, naval war with Tripoli, Africa, 1801,-1815, war with Great Britain, 1812-1815, and the naval war with Algiers, Africa, in 1815, in all more than 400 pages.

It is to be hoped that the Adjutant General of this state will prepare and the general assembly will provide for the printing of a similar record for Missouri. For the Black Hawk War Gov. Miller called for 1000 volunteers, to be enlisted by Gen. Richard Gentry. Austin A. King was colonel of the first regiment, and companies were raised in Howard, Boone, Callaway, Montgomery, St. Charles, Lincoln, Pike, Rolla, Marion and Monroe counties. The state should publish complete lists of the officers and men who enlisted for service in the Black Hawk war.

For the Seminole war in Florida Gen. Gentry marched out of Columbia with 600 men, and in 1837 he fought the battle of Okeechobee Lake. The state should publish a proper record of the men who went out from Missouri for this work.

The march of Col. Doniphan with his force of 850 Missourians from Missouri by way of Santa Fe into Mexico during the Mexican war has become famous. The names of the men as well as that of the colonel in command should be made known by the state.

So of those engaged in the so-called Mormon war, though that is a matter for which the state can not take to itself any pride.

Legal and Historical Status of the Dred Scott Decision. By **Elbert William R. Ewing, LL., B.** Washington, Cobden Publishing Company, 1909. pp. 228.

Mr. Ewing has written a thoroughgoing and unqualified defense of the opinion delivered by Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott Decision, from the lawyer's viewpoint and largely for the lawyer's use. The discussion is comprehensive, including a description of the relative jurisdiction of State and Federal courts, a discussion of all the important constitutional questions involved, and a brief discussion of nullification North and South.

A complete justification of the opinion delivered by Taney demands an answer to the following criticisms: That the opinion was that of Taney himself, not of the court; that a majority of the court did not agree with the various points raised in the opinion; and that in any case all that did not bear on the decision was obiter dicta, and hence of no force. Also, from a broader viewpoint, the validity of Taney's views on the status of free negroes and the power of Congress in the Territories must be established.

The definition of "opinion of the court," of "obiter dicta," and of the proper treatment of pleas of abatement by the Supreme Court are all so largely matters of legal technicality that a layman must hesitate to pass judgment. The evidence that a majority agreed with Taney on the main issues is convincingly stated: the proof that Judge Curtis was wrong when he declared that such important constitutional questions should not have been brought up unnecessarily and indirectly is not so clear. Ingenious as the treatment is, one still feels that Judge Nelson's opinion, based on the extra-territoriality of the anti-slavery laws, was sufficient and all that was proper.

In the general constitutional discussion it is clearly brought out that under the Illinois law Dred Scott could not have secured his freedom if he had sued for it in Illinois. It will hardly be admitted today, however, that Taney was correct in his interpretation of the constitutional power of Congress in governing the Territories. This is distinctly the weakest part of the book. The opposing decisions of the Court before and after 1857 are dismissed with little consideration; the recent Insular cases are cited as clear cut and definite decisions that all of the Constitution is extended ex proprio vigore to the Territories.

But it is well worth while to examine the constitutional aspects of the Dred Scott case from the legal point of view, and particularly to point out that no matter how strongly one may affirm that the opinion on the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise was obiter dicta, there is still much

good law in the opinion. Mr. Ewing has written a careful and able brief for the defense, which will be of advantage to the admirers and will demand the careful consideration of the critics of the opinion delivered by Chief Justice Taney.

J. VILES.

The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise; Its Origin and Authorship. By **P. Orman Ray, Ph. D.**, Professor of History and Political Science, The Pennsylvania State College. Cleveland; The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1909. pp. 315.

Professor Ray, dissatisfied with the usual explanations of Stephen A. Douglas' motives in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, has made a careful examination of the evidence supporting the claims of Senator David R. Atchison to its authorship. The conclusions reached are that the real origin of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is to be found in western conditions, particularly in the struggle between Benton and Atchison for the senatorship in Missouri in 1853-4 and that Atchison's claim of authorship is established.

The argument briefly summarized is as follows: The Jackson Resolutions and the defeat of Benton in 1850 were due to the influence and interference of Calhoun in Missouri politics; in 1853-4 Benton sought re-election to the Senate on the platform of the immediate construction of a transcontinental railroad and the immediate organization of a Territorial Government in the Kansas-Nebraska region; local agitators in Iowa, Missouri, and among the Wyandottes forced the Nebraska issue to the front; and Atchison, forced by public opinion to support the general policy of immediate territorial organization, added the proviso that the principal of "popular sovereignty" must apply in Nebraska, and went to Washington in 1853 pledged to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. At Washington Atchison, with the support of the radical southern Democrats, forced or persuaded Douglas

to support the Repeal, which thus really originated in the political situation in Missouri and the influence of Senator Atchison.

The new evidence which one would expect in support of such novel conclusions is distinctly disappointing. Calhoun's personal interference in Missouri politics in 1849-50 is, in the first place, improbable and unnecessary; the local revolt against Benton's personality aand his anti-slavery views is an adequate explanation of his fall. Again Benton's own charges against Calhoun must not be taken as proof. Benton's interpretation of his adversaries' motives and actions were always thoroughly Jacksonian, honest but anything but impartial or impersonal. His bitter denunciation of Tyler and Polk for their alleged ill faith in the immediate annexation of Texas under the joint resolution is nearly a parallel case. Finally the new evidence, the random recollections of Judge W. C. Price, when an old man of confessedly weakened intellect, jotted down by a third party, is heresay evidence of dubious value.

The account of the campaign for the senatorship in 1853-4 cannot be examined in detail. Professor Ray does bring out very clearly the pressure from the West for the immediate organization of Nebraska Territory, and the awkward position in which this demand placed an ardent pro-slavery man like Atchison. He evidently went to Washington pledged to support a Nebraska Bill only if it carried with it a repeal of the Missouri Compromise and therefore would be an enthusiastic supporter of Douglas' Bill. That Atchison practically forced Douglas to bring forward the appeal is supported by no new evidence except perhaps the shrewd guesses of newspaper correspondents.

Although the careful marshalling of circumstantial evidence leads only to a verdict of "not proven" on the author's contention as to the origin and authorship of the "Repeal," yet the book is of real value. When such an exhaustive and careful investigation has led to, on the whole, negative results, few investigators in the future will be uneasy about Atchison's

well known boast. Even more important is the mass of evidence showing such a determined demand in the West for the opening of the Kansas-Nebraska district to settlement that the organization of some form of territorial government there in 1854 was almost inevitable. Douglas did not bring forward a territorial bill unnecessarily or wantonly; he was practically forced to propose a plan for the territorial organization for the country west of Missouri and Iowa. Professor Ray does not add materially to the reasons already suggested to explain why Douglas coupled this measure with a Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

J. VILES.

NECROLOGY.

John Henton Carter, well known almost a generation ago as "Commodore Rollingpin," died March 2, 1910 at Columbus, Ohio, aged about seventy years. Previous to twenty-five years ago he compiled annually "Commodore Rollingpin's Almanac," containing his odd sayings, the name having originated from the fact that he had been a steamboat cook, at which work he had accumulated a small fortune. In addition to the almanacs he published a number of books, of which the Historical Society has the following:

The Log of Commodore Rollingpin, New York, G. W. Carleton & Co, 1874.

The Man at the Wheel, St. Louis, 1898.

The Impression Club, a novel. New York, 1899.

Ozark Postoffice. St. Louis, 1899.

Also these four of poetry:

Duck Creek Ballads. New York, (c. 1894).

Log Cabin Poems. St. Louis, 1897.

Out Here in Ol' Missoury. St. Louis, 1900.

Poems of Love and Friendship. n. p. (c. 1904).

He also published the following:

Thomas Rutherton, a novel.

Buffets and Rewards.

The Mississippi Argonauts, a tale of the South.

Mississippi River Yarns .

All sorts of People.

Mrs. Sallie Rochester Ford, of Jennings, Missouri, died at the Mayfield Sanitarium in St. Louis, February 18, 1910. She was born near Louisville, Kentucky, 81 years ago. She was the widow of Rev. S. H. Ford, who for years published Ford's Repository, of which she had charge of the home department. She was the authoress of several books, "Grace Truman, or Love and Principle." New York and St. Louis, 1852, 1886; "Evangel Wiseman," St. Louis, 1872; "Ernest Quest, or the Search for Truth." New York, 1878; and "Inebriates," St. Louis, 1880.

Rev. Dr. George B. Addicks, of Central Wesleyan College, Warrenton, Mo., since 1890, and its president since 1894, died January 31, 1910. He was born September 9, 1854, in Rock Island county, Illinois.

Judge Jerubal G. Dorman, a member of the House in the 27th General Assembly, 1873, a resident of Henry county for fifty years, died February 4, 1910, nearly 92 years of age. He had been an Odd Fellow more than fifty years.

Captain Alexander Sharp died at the Naval Hospital in Washington, February 10, 1910, of typhoid fever. He was born in White Haven, Missouri, in 1855, and entered the naval service as midshipman in 1870. He was in command of a vessel in the battle of Santiago, July 3, 1898. He was detached from the Virginia last December, and assigned to the Board of Inspection at St. Louis.

Joseph A. Graham an editorial writer in Missouri from 1884 to 1905, the managing editor of the Kansas City Times from 1884 to 1893, and of the St. Louis Republic from 1893 to 1905, died January 23, 1910, at Salisbury, Maryland, the place of his birth, September 8, 1855. In 1878 he was admitted to the bar in Maryland, and practiced law till his removal to Kansas City.

William McIlwrath, one of the earliest members of the State Historical Society, died at his home in Chillicothe April 4, 1910. He was born at Belfast, Ireland, June 10, 1834. At the beginning of the Civil War he resided at Fulton and from that place enlisted in Guitar's 9th Cavalry, M. S. M. and was in service from 1862 until April 1865. In April, 1865 he settled at Chillicothe, Missouri, where he afterwards lived. He was said to be the best informed man in the county on general subjects, and was especially well posted on ancient and modern history. He held positions on the boards of the Citizens National Bank at Chillicothe, the Board of Control of the Industrial Home for Girls, and of the Board of Education, both at the same place.

Edmund B. Beard died at Jaydee, Mo., March 14, 1910, after a residence of a full century in St. Francois county. He was born in Indiana, February 9, 1809, but was brought to Missouri when one year old. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge at Liberty, Mo.

Hon. Benj. F. Thomas was born in Wisconsin, August 10, 1851, and was educated at the University of Wisconsin. He came to Missouri in 1874 and settled at Carthage where he served a term as mayor, and one as postmaster, and in 1901 was elected to the State Senate in the Forty-first General Assembly. He died at Carthage March 25, 1910.

Miss Ellen B. Atwater, a member of this Society, and teacher of history in Central High school in St. Louis, died March 5, 1910, at the age of forty years. She received her degree of A. M. from the University of Chicago, and had been a teacher in Central High school for six years.

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BRYANT'S STATION AND ITS FOUNDER, WILLIAM BRYANT.

The following article is really but a continuation of one upon the same subject, which appeared in the October (1908) number of the Missouri Historical Review. In order to fully substantiate what is therein stated, and to forever make certain the name of Bryant's Station, and its founder, William Bryant, this additional article has been prepared. Authorities will be duly cited as to each material statement made, and I believe that the facts herein set forth, will be found to be unimpeachable. I desire, however, to disclaim any intention of assuming the role of an oracle. Nevertheless, I have long been familiar with the history of Bryant's Station and its founder, and know as every one else must know, who has given the subject any consideration, that certain misleading statements have from time to time been promulgated, which have given rise to some erroneous impressions, and which should now be dispelled, in order that there need be, at any rate, no further occasion for confusion or misunderstanding.

It is with no vain-glorious purpose in view that I have engaged to do this but in order that all the facts may be known to those, who are now, or may hereafter, be interested in the subject, and to the end that the current of history may not be further diverted from its proper channel. It is my wish to

present the facts in their true light, and while so presenting them, to have at the same time, due regard for the rights and opinions of others; for I am convinced that in no other way can any good cause be served.

For the following facts, I refer the reader, generally, to Filson Club Publication, Number Twelve, entitled

Bryant's Station, and the Memorial Proceedings.

And shall cite the name only, of each author quoted. In the preface to this Volume, it is said:

"There has been no attempt in this Publication to reconcile differences of opinion as to the name of the famous station on the Elkhorn, nor as to the date at which it was besieged by the Indians. This difference of opinion is of modern origin and harmless in character. For ninety years our historians uniformly called the station Bryant's, and for a period yet longer gave the date of the beginning of its siege as the 15th of August, 1782." (1)

That this difference of opinion is of modern origin, there appears to be not the slightest doubt. That it is harmless in character, may be equally true. It is worthy of note, however, that the foundation for this difference of opinion was laid many years ago, at a time, and in a manner, when there was neither room nor occasion for difference of opinion as to the name, either of the station or of its founder; and it may be added, has been renewed in recent years, under such circumstances that it should be called in question, and the name of the station and its founder be made certain, beyond all doubt.

Statement of Facts.

I therefore desire to address myself to the facts bearing upon the subject in hand, and after considering the same, shall endeavor to point out, in no uncertain way, some palpable errors that too long have cumbered the pages of history, which errors, let us hope, will hereafter be as conspicuous by their absence, as they have heretofore been by their presence. And it will then be seen, as I believe, that there is in reality, no

1. Col. R. T. Durrett.

good reason for difference of opinion as to the name, either of the station, or of its founder.

It may be stated in the beginning that Bryant's Station, for reasons not difficult to understand, has in some instances been called (2) by a similar, yet different name. (3) Calling it by other than its proper name, however, does not make the right name other than Bryant's Station, nor the name of its founder as other than William Bryant.

I quote the following:

"More than thirteen thousand acres of land in the neighborhood of this station were entered in 1779, and 1780, by different members of the Bryan family, but none of them seems to

2. All black faced type used is the writer's.

3. See Bryan and Smith vs. Bradford, Hughes' Rep. p. 108.
Bryan and Owings vs. Wallace, Hughes' Rep., p. 369.
Whitledge vs. McClannahan, Hughes' Rep., p. 95.
Bradford's "Notes."
John Parker, et al, vs. Lewis Stephens, A. K. Marshall's Rep., Vol. 3, p. 1073.

In the latter case a copy of a land certificate, showing a land entry by John Bryan, is set out, which calls the station Bryan's. Yet, notwithstanding this fact, the Court in rendereding its opinion, in this very case refers to the station as Bryant's.

It will therefore be seen that, while there were certain persons who by reason of litigation relative to land titles in the vicitnity of the station, early began calling the station by a similar yet different name,, it would appear that their efforts to change the spelling of the name were quite generally disregarded. In this connection I would suggest that the reader, also consult the following cases, which refer to Bryant's Station:

Bowman vs. Melton, Bibb, Vol. 2, p. 151.
Klinkingbeard vs. Kenny, Bibb, Vol. 2, p. 512.
Devour vs. Johnson, Bibb, Vol. 3, p. 409.
Weathers Smith vs. John Reed, et al, A. K. Marshall's Rep., Vol. 1, p. 191.
Markham vs. McGee, Hardin's Reps., p. 378.
McMillen vs. Miller, Hardin's Reps., p. 496.
Matson vs. Hord, U. S. Supreme Court Reps., (1 Wheaton) p. 130.
Garnett, et al. vs. Jenkins, U. S. Supreme Court Reps., (8 Peters) p. 72.
Manifee, etc., vs. Conn's Heirs, Bibb, Vol. 2, p. 623'

In the latter case, occurs the following language by the Court:

"Bryant's Station, by which the other traces passed, after leaving the waters of Licking, before they reached Lexington, was a place at that early period, of at least great note and distinction as Lexington, and probably from the circumstances of the commissioners for adjusting land claims having sat there was more so."

have secured the land on which this station stood, **nor to have given it his distinctive name.**" (4)

The following facts will show that the foregoing statement was not made without reason:

"William Bryan, James Bryan, Morgan Bryan, Joseph Bryan, George Bryan, David Bryan, Samuel Bryan and John Bryan, each entered a portion of these lands more or less distant from the station, and while the entries are in the name of Bryan, some of the lands are described as being such a distance or such a direction from **Bryant's Station.**" (5)

Here, then, we come at once to the line of demarkation; a distinction being drawn in these early records, between the name of the above mentioned numerous family, and the name of the most famous of all the pioneer Kentucky stations. And the fact should not be overlooked that each is a distinct family name, and in no proper sense can one be said to be equivalent to the other, notwithstanding their similarity. It may also be added that, so well known was Bryant's Station in the formative period of Kentucky history, it was a common practice to make reference to land locations for miles around, as being such a distance or such a direction from Bryant's Station, and entries by members of the above named family were not exceptions to the rule. The fact that the station was so widely known, and the further fact that there were so many persons of similar name among the early settlers of that locality, several of whom had located lands some four or five miles distant from the station, not one of whom entered land in other than his proper name, really accentuates and makes certain the difference between the two names, and might well give rise to the belief, without further knowledge of the subject, that the distinctive name of the founder of the station could not have been, and was not other than Bryant.

There are, however, other and still more important facts. The land certificates, which were very numerous, issued to the early settlers by the land Commissioners who held their Court

4. Col. R. T. Durrett.
5. Col. Durrett'

at the station in 1779 and 1780, gave the name of the station as Bryant's, and Col. William Fleming, one of the Commissioners, entered it as Bryant in his Journal.

"I have seen but one of these certificates which bore the name of Bryan, and that was not an original but a copy of the one issued to John South December 25th, 1779. All the others that I have seen gave the name of the station as Bryant's." (6)

Here, then, are the facts derived from the original sources of information as to the name of the station and as to the name of the above mentioned family as shown by their land entries, standing side by side, and there is little room for doubt as to the correctness of either name. And as the original certificates gave the name of the station as Bryant's they must be taken as the best evidence of the name of the station, and any copies not in conformity therewith, must necessarily be rejected for want of accurracy. And this fact throws much light upon those cases already cited which were carried to the Court of Appeals, wherein the station was called by a similar yet different name.

Another writer, however, offers the following explanation relative to the above named facts:

"The certificates issued by the land Commissioners at the session of their Court in December, 1779, and January, 1780 called the family "Bryan" and the locality "Bryant's Station." See Bryan and Owens vs. Wallace, Fayette Records. And this precedent was followed by the Court of Appeals." And also states that he gives the form of the name used by most members of the family in Kentucky at that time, but that it was then known as "Bryant also." (7)

The question then fairly presents itsself, why should "the family" have been called by one name, which it is admitted was their proper name, and the station have been called by another name, which it must be admitted was the distinctive name of another family, if as this writer evidently means for the reader to infer, the station derived its name from the above mentioned family. For the name of the family to which he alludes, can

6. Col. Durrett.
7. Mr. G. W. Ranck.

not well be both Bryant and Bryan, as occasion may require.

In my judgment the explanation of this writer falls far short of being the true and correct explanation, as to whence the station derived its name, and since it must be apparent that the station did not derive its name from the above named family, we are therefore at liberty to offer an explanation more in consonance to reason and the facts, since it is certain that the family alluded to did not use the name Bryant, and no explanation is offered as to why they should have been known as "Bryant also." But if any were so known, it is not unlikely that we shall discover the reason why they were so known, before our narrative is completed.

I believe the following statement of facts will throw much light upon the question, as to whence the station derived its name:

"The records of our land office also show entries in 1780 and subsequent years by persons of the distinctive name of Bryant—Joseph Bryant, William Bryant, John Bryant and James Bryant, (8) each entered lands in different parts of the state, and their entries, though not so large as those of the Bryans, amounted in the aggregate to nearly six thousand acres." (9)

There were then persons of the distinctive name of Bryant among the early settlers, from whom the station could have derived its name. And I believe the facts already adduced are sufficient to demonstrate three things. First, That from the beginning, Bryant's Station had but a single name. Second, That name was Bryant's Station as distinguished from any other name. Third, that the name of the man from whom the station derived its name was Bryant.

In this connection, however, I desire to quote another sentence for the reason that I believe the same to be equally as

8. There are reasons for believing that John Bryant and James Bryant, who were related, and who settled in Garrard County, did not take up their residence in Kentucky until after the close of the Revolutionary War. (See Rev. War Record of John Bryant.) See also case of Davis, et. al., vs. John and James Bryant, Bibb, Vol. 2, p. 110.

9. Col. Durrett.

misleading as the one already quoted relative to the locality being called Bryant's Station.

"It was while this Court (land Commissioners) were in session that the Bryans, who had rested secure in the belief that they were the owners of the station land by right of settlement, met with the first of a series of discouragements which caused them to abandon the place." (10)

As the station took the name of Bryant's Station from the beginning, in fact, took no other name, and as the family mentioned by this writer had already entered some thirteen thousand acres of land in the neighborhood of Bryant's Station, some of which had been described as being such a distance or such a direction from Bryant's, it is by no means clear as to how they could have rested secure in the belief that they were the owners of the land upon which William Bryant had settled, and had caused a station to be built, which bore his name, the title to which had been found to belong to another and thus making it necessary that he should enter other land in the usual way, which he did on the 20th of May, 1780. (11)

Furthermore it would appear from cases examined by the writer hereof, decided by the Kentucky Court of Appeals,

10. Mr. G. W. Ranck.

11. If the land entry made by William Bryant, on the 20th of May 1780, was subsequently withdrawn and another entry was made by him on the 1st of August, 1783, and a mistake was made in the spelling of his name in the latter entry, withdrawing the entry on the trace from Louisville to Bullitt's Lick and substituting land near Chenowith Run, it is not likely that the mistake was upon the part of William Bryant. If the reader should have any doubt as to his distinctive name being William Bryant let him consult the case of Thornberry vs. Churchill, Monroe'sKy. Rep., Vol. 4, p. 29. This case also shows that he resided in Bullitt County, Ky., for a number of years after leaving the station. See also case of Conley's Heirs vs. Chiles, J. J. Marshall's Ky. Rep., Vol. 5, p. 302, which shows that William Bryant purchased a tract of land in Montgomery Co., Ky., and settled on same in 1793. It is apparent that he did not long occupy this land, however, as litigation arose concerning the tract of land of which this was a part. See case of Chiles vs. Conley's Heirs, Dana's Ky. Rep., Vol. 2, p. 22.

There are also reasons for believing that he owned land in Franklin County, about the year 1805. See case of McCampbell, etc. vs. Miller, Bibb, Vol. 1, page 453 which refers to William Bryant. See also case of Farmer and Arnold vs. Samuel, etc. Little's Ky. Rep., Vol. 4 p. 187. The facts stated in the two cases would indicate that both refer to the same man. If so, another error was made in the spelling of William Bryant's name, in the latter case.

that the difficulties of members of the above named family, relative to the lands they had located and entered a few miles distant from the station, did not begin until long after the land on which Bryant's Station stood, had been found to belong to another.

A Deposition By Daniel Boone.

I have heretofore stated that William Bryant was the founder of the pioneer Kentucky fort, known in history as Bryant's Station, and that Daniel Boone and William Bryant were among the first white men to explore the region where Bryant's Station was subsequently built, and I now invite the reader's attention to the facts upon which I based this assertion.

In a case tried in the early court of Scott County, Ky., and which was carried to the Court of Appeals, I find the following statement in the opinion rendered by the Court:

"And the deposition of Daniel Boone was read, in which he stated that he located a pre-emption of 1,000 acres for John Dobbins, to include a camp made by himself and William Bryant. That the said camp lay on the first big run or creek that enters in on the north side of North Elkhorn, below the Little Fork of Elkhorn, and that there were one or two big runs or creeks below, between that run or creek and Dry run." (12)

I would suggest that the reader also scrutinize with some degree of care the copy of a land entry set out in this decision dated January 11, 1780, in which John Dobbins, by John Smith, claimed a pre-emption of 1,000 acres of land in the district of Kentucky, lying on a creek running into the North Fork of Elkhorn, about five or six miles up the creek, to include an old camp made by Daniel Boone and William Bryant, which had been marked and improved in 1775. This deposition of Boone, and the land entry referred to, are important for two reasons: First. I take it to be a fact that Daniel

12. See case of J. & D. Bradford vs. Abraham McClelland, Hughes' Rep., p. 195.

Boone knew the correct name of the man with whom he had camped in the wilderness of Kentucky, at a time when there were few white men within hundreds of miles of them, and it does not appear that any one was authorized or warranted in calling him by other than his proper name. Second. If the pre-emption of Dobbins was marked and improved in 1775 and was to include "an old camp" made by Boone and Bryant it is apparent that these two men had visited the region previous to 1775, and that they were familiar with the section of the country where Bryant's Station was subsequently built. And I think the reader should now have less difficulty in understanding why the "locality" came to be known as Bryant's Station, after a permanent settlement had been effected. For, regardless of some errors, which have been introduced in one way or another, the name of William Bryant runs throughout the entire history of the place, which fact alone is significant and can not well be disregarded or ignored.

Having now seen what the records show relative to the name of the place, let us next see what light the early historians can give us upon the subject.

Filson.

In 1784, John Filson, to whom is accorded the honor of being Kentucky's first historian, published his account of the life and adventures of Col. Daniel Boone. In this book, he called the place Briant's Station.

Here, then, is the master's key.

At first glance, it might appear to be a fact of slight importance that the place should have been called Briant's Station. It is, however, when rightly understood, a fact of the greatest significance, when we take into consideration the circumstances under which it was so called, and the true meaning of the name Briant. And it really settles the question, beyond dispute or doubt, that the correct name of the station was Bryant's, for reasons which will more fully appear.

Filson received his information from the lips of Boone himself. In fact, the contents of his narrative purport to have

been taken down from Boone's dictation. If any one knew who was the real founder of Bryant's Station, certainly that person was Daniel Boone. The name of Col. Boone's wife was Rebecca Bryan, and one of her brothers had married a sister of Boone. And while Boone had called the station by the family name of his wife, in his letter to the Governor of Virginia, in 1782, relative to the Battle of the Blue Licks, as some others had done in the miscellaneous correspondence of the day, although the station was generally known to the pioneers as Bryant's Station, yet when Boone and Filson came to making the name of the place a matter of history and public record, they gave the name as Briant's Station. Surely both Boone and Filson must have known that Briant did not spell or mean the family name of Col. Boone's wife; and it establishes therefore beyond doubt, not that the name of the founder of the station was the same, but that it was different from the family name of Boone's wife, and in reality amounts to a correction upon the part of Boone himself of his former version of the name of the station. (13) The fact should also be borne in mind that William Bryant, the founder of the station, was yet a resident of Kentucky and resided at no great distance from where Boone himself lived. And Boone doubeless deemed it but a simple act of justice to thus publicly accord to his friend and former companion, who had explored this very region with him, the credit, so certainly his due, of calling the station by his name, notwithstanding the fact that some of his wife's relatives may also have resided at the station, in common with others, while improving the lands they had located and entered in the vicinity of Bryant's Station.

Since it is therefore apparent that they did not, in calling the station Briant's Station, allude to the family name of Col. Boone's wife, to whom did they refer? For I desire to make plain that which the facts themselves show.

13. So well has it been understood that the name of the station was Bryant's, the biographers of Boone, in quoting this very letter corrected the name to read Bryant's Station.

Earliest Bryant Families in America.

Dr. Percy Bryant, of Buffalo, N. Y., is authority for the following statement relative to the earliest Bryant families in America:

"About the year 1640, there were in the Plymouth Colony four families of the name Bryant, namely John Briant of Taunton; John Briant, Sen., of Scituate; Stephen Briant (14) of Plymouth, and Lieut. John Briant, of Plymouth. It does not appear from any records examined by the writer that these families were related (except as shown by a deed first discovered by Dr. Lapham, that Lieut. John Briant of Plymouth was a son-in-law of Stephen). Tradition, however, gives it that John, Sen., of Scituate and Stephen of Plymouth were probably brothers." (15)

It is perhaps not too much to say that in the early Plymouth records, the name more often appears Briant, than Bryant, and it is known that some members of the family, if not all, used the former method of spelling the name.

To make the point yet more specific, I quote also the following:

"The name Bryant, or **Briant,** would seem to be rather French than English, and is said to be prevalent still in Normandy; but the greater number of the names in our table are unquestionably English." (16)

The name Briant then is but the original and natural orthography of the name Bryant, and is equivalent to the latter name, but not to any other. And whether Boone and Filson called the station Briant's or Bryant's, it must now be apparent that they referred to an entirely different name than the family name of Col. Boone's wife. It is also clear that in calling it Briant's they meant to call it by the name of its founder, and they simply used a different form of the same name. In reality they identified the founder of the station

14' Ancestor of William Cullen Bryant, the poet.

15. New Eng. Hist. And Geneaological Reg. Vol. XLVIII, p. 45-53.

16. Life of William Cullen Bryant, Godwin, Vol. i, p. 50.

more specifically in calling the station Briant's, than if they had called it Bryant's, as the former method of spelling the name would be less likely to be confused with the name of some of the other settlers, than the latter.

In the early records of Boone County, Mo., in which county William Bryant resided at the date of his death, the name Briant, again appears. For as I have heretofore stated (17) the name of William Bryant appears as William Briant, in certain deeds of conveyance to him, while his name as grantor appears as William Bryant, and so appears in his last will and testament still on file in Boone County, and which I have personally examined. And it may also be added, the latter is the form of the name used by his descendants.

Here, then, we find the William Briant, or Bryant, of Briant's or Bryant's Station. For while there may have been some other persons of similar name who have erroneously been called Bryant, I have yet to learn that any of them have ever been called Briant. In this connection I may also add, we are told by another writer (18) that "William Bryant of Kentucky" was one of the early settlers of Callaway County, Mo. He settled near the boundary line between Callaway and Boone Counties.

Marshall.

Humphrey Marshall was also in Kentucky, at the time Bryant's Station was besieged by the Indians. In the preface to his History of Kentucky, published in 1812, he refers to Filson's narative, with which he must therefore have been familiar. He recognized the fact that Briant, was neither the correct, nor commonly accepted spelling of the name of the station and its founder. And in his History (19) he accordingly corrected the name to read Bryant's Station. Marshall is of the highest authority. And we can not fail to note that he must have known that Briant or Bryant was not the

17. Missouri Historical Review, October, 1908.
18. Pioneer Families of Missouri, Wm. S. Bryan.
19. History of Kentucky, Humphrey Marshall.

family name of Col. Boone's wife. And the fact that he corrected the name at all is evidence that he had given the subject due consideration.

Flint.

In this connection I would also call attention to the biography of Daniel Boone, by one of his earliest biographers, (20) who knew him personally while a resident of St. Charles, Mo., in 1816. A careful reading of this biography of the noted pioneer, reveals the fact that the author thoroughly understood the correct family name of Col. Boone's wife. There are also ample reasons for believing that he was familiar with the "Notes" of Bradford on Kentucky history. Had there been occasion or reason for changing the orthography of the name of Bryant's Station, this writer was in position to learn of it. Yet it is apparent that he saw no occasion to depart from the generally known, and commonly accepted orthography of the name of this station, and while correctly giving the name of Col. Boone's wife as Rebecca Bryan, he also correctly gives the name of this Kentucky fort, as Bryant's Station.

To say that Boone, Filson, Humphrey Marshall and Flint did not understand and recognize the distinction between the name of Bryant's Station and its founder, William Bryant, and the family name of Col. Boone's wife, would be equivalent to attributing to each and all of them a lack of intelligence and discrimination which it is scarcely believable was wanting.

In reality the distinction between the two names has been preserved, as it should be, by nearly oll the historians, as well as the biographers of Col. Boone, (21) although a few writers

20. Timothy Flint.

21. Life of Boone, Timothy Flint.
Life of Boone, G. Canning Hill.
Life of Boone, Wm. H. Bogart.
Life of Boone, Edward S. Ellis.
Life of Boone, J. S. C. Abbott.
Life of Boone, C. B. Hartley.
Sketches of Western Adventure, McClung.
Chronicles of Border Warfare, Withers, New Ed. (Thwaites.)
History of Kentucky, Lewis Collins.
History of Kentucky, Mann Butler.

have seen fit in late years, to call the station by the family name of Col. Boone's wife; a name which, for a period of nearly one hundred years was scarcely known in connection with the station to the generality of people. And while the writers generally have given the name of the place as Bryant's Station, and the name of its founder as William Bryant, and have given the name of Col. Boone's wife as Rebecca Bryan yet not one of them has stated that William Bryant and Rebecca Bryan, were brother and sister, for most writers, while doubtless recognizing the similarity of the two names, have also recognized that each is a distinct family name.

In fact, so thoroughly has it been established as a matter of history, and otherwise, that the name of the place was Bryant's Station, and that the name of its founder was William Bryant, it has not been deemed necessary until recently, to correct certain errors regarding the founder of the station, nor to specifically reassert that which has so often been asserted as a matter of history, and common knowledge.

I therefore state it as a fact, established upon indisputable authority, that the name of this place was Bryant's Station. In truth, so thoroughly is it established that this was its name, it can not be, and is not denied that this was the name of the station. And this being true, there can be neither reason nor occasion for denying the name of its founder.

For we have followed, step by step, the career of William Bryant, the founder of Bryant's Station, from the time he reached the shores of the New World in 1764, until the date of his death in 1834, at the advanced age of ninety-five years.

Here, then, is an opportune time, to pause for a moment and recapitulate the ground we have covered.

What now are the **facts**, which we have gleaned from the records, and which, unaided by inference or inuendo or the

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History of Kentucky, Humphrey Marshall.
History of Kentucky, Allen.
History of Kentucky, T. S. Arthur and W. H. Carpenter.
Pioneer Mothers of the West, Frost.
The Way to the West, Emerson Hough.

statements of over-zealous friends, must be left to speak for themselves?

We have it upon the authority of no less a personage than Col. Daniel Boone, that William Bryant was one of the first white men to explore the region where Bryant's Station was subsequently built, in company with himself; we have it upon the same authority, publicly expressed, that the name of the station was Briant's (Bryant's) ;we have it upon the authority of the Revolutionary War Records, at Raleigh, N. C., that William Bryant, entered the Continental Army on the 26th of April, 1778, and that his services were omitted in 1779, the year in which Bryant's Station, was erected; we have it upon the authority of Col. Cave Johnson that he and a companion, met on the Cumberland river, in April, 1779, the company of emigrants, then on their way to the North Fork of Elkhorn creek to build the station, and that he assisted in building the first cabins of the place, and he designated the persons thus met, by the name of Bryant, and called the station Bryant's; and we have it upon the same authority that William Bryant was the principal man of the place at that time; we have it upon the same authority that William Bryant was severely wounded while leading out a hunting party from the station; we have it upon the authority of the records of the early land office of Kentucky that William Bryant entered land on the 20th of May, 1780, after the land on which Bryant's Station stood, had passed into other hands; we have it upon the authority of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, that William Bryant was for a number of years a resident of Bullitt County, Ky.; we have it upon the authority of the Kentucky Court of Appeals that William Bryant, purchased and settled upon a tract of land in Montgomery County, Ky., in 1793; we have it upon the authority of R. H. Collins, a Kentucky historian, that William Bryant, in 1794, then a resident of Lincoln (now Estill) County, Ky., advertised the first runaway negro north of the Ohio river; we have it upon the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, that William Bryant, and one of his sons were ejected from a tract

of land in Kentucky, in 1818; we have it upon the authority of Louis Houck, a Missouri historian, that William Bryant was one of the early settlers of the Territory of Missouri; we have it upon the authority of another writer, Mr. Wm. S. Bryan, that William Bryant, was one of the early settlers of Callaway County, Mo.; and finally, we have it upon the authority of the early records of Boone County, Mo., that William Bryant was a resident of the County of Boone, and State of Missouri, at the time of his death, in 1834.

And I therefore submit that the statement of McClung, that William Bryant, the founder of Bryant's Station, was slain by the Indians while leading out a hunting party from the station in May, 1780, is utterly refuted. Whoever may have been slain in the hunting expedition referred to, it is certain that it was not William Bryant, nor any one entitled to bear his name.

The statement of McClung, which has been greatly misleading, that William Bryant was killed at the time alluded to, was simply based upon a misapprehension of the facts, and was undoubtedly derived from a very inaccurate account of this hunting expedition as told by Bradford in his "Notes" on Kentucky history.

Even Richard H. Collins, who was the first Kentucky historian, to change the spelling of the name of Bryant's Station in history, perpetuates the name of William Bryant in connection with a runaway slave, yet it seems not to have occurred to him that this very man was the founder of the station, having without doubt been misled by the statement of McClung that William Bryant had met death at the hands of Indians in 1780, when as a matter of fact he was an entirely different man than the person to whom Bradford had alluded.

And thus was the story of his life, which was scarcely less remarkable than that of his friend Daniel Boone, cut short. And for a period of seventy-five years, has this lover of field and forest, of fountain and stream, reposed in a nameless grave, unhonored and unsung. But his resting place is known, and his name and memory are secure. No narrative

of the life of Daniel Boone can be complete, that does not reserve a page for the story of Bryant's Station and its founder, William Bryant. For he is entitled to share, in a measure, the fame of that noble and heroic soul with whom he had threaded the pathless forests of Kentucky, at a time when every step forward was fraught with danger and possible disaster.

William Bryant, during his life, acknowledged allegiance to two countries, Great Britain and the United States, whose independence he aided in establishing. As he died in 1834 at the age of ninety-five, he was therefore born in 1739, and was consequently twenty-five years of age at the time he arrived in America, and was five years the junior of Boone. During his residence of seventy years in the United States, he was a resident of three States, North Carolina, Kentucky and Missouri. That he possessed a strong and vigorous constitution is attested by the great age which he attained. And it may here be remarked that, like Boone, and contrary to the usual custom of the day, William Bryant indulged in the use of no intoxicating liquors. He was modest and retiring in his demeanor, though kindly and well disposed, but withal a man with whom undue liberties might not be taken "without the taste of danger and reproof." According to the accounts I have had of him, from persons not far enough removed either in point of time or space not to be familiar with the facts, he rested secure in the belief that his name was to be perpetuated in the minds of his descendants and countrymen; but I have found no evidence that he was unduly elated over seeing his name in print, and sought no honors not his own. Could he speak to us today from the voiceless tomb, I can well believe that the lines of the young poet, (22) whose life was all too brief, would not inaptly express his sentiments:

Then let me have this wish of mine,
When wishing time is done;
No graveyard marble bought to shine,
Pretentious in the sun;

22. Fred J. Harris, of Kansas.

But just to sleep in peace at home,
Where all I love is near;
No monument but heaven's dome,
No tribute but a tear.

And thus for nearly a century, notwithstanding certain statements heretofore alluded to, which were calculated to confuse or destroy the identity of the founder of Bryant's Station, and which evidently misled some writers as to the facts, but not as to the name either of the station or of its founder, the historians uniformly called the station Bryant's and gave the name of its founder as William Bryant, and not without reason.

It is not without significance that the name of the station has always been written in the singular possessive case, which form of writing it began with the early historians, and which clearly indicates that, regardless of the name or number of others concerned in building the station, it had but a single founder whose distinctive name was Bryant, and that it did not have four or more, of a similar yet different name. For as a matter of fact, so well known was the name of the station and its founder in the pioneer days of Kentucky, that any other persons of similar name residing at the station or in any way connected with it, might not unnaturally have been called in some instances "Bryant also." And if any were so called, it was doubtless by reason of their connection with the station and its founder. In this sense they may have been known as Bryant also, (23) but aside from this, I have found no evidence whatever that they were so known. But the fact that some other persons, may or may not, have distinguished a similar name from the name of the station and its founder scarcely raises a presumption as to the right name, either of the station or of its founder.

In view of the facts herein set forth, I respectfully but

23. See case Kelly's Heirs vs. Bradford, Bibb's Ky. Rep., p. 317, wherein the station is called Bryant's, and one of the parties to the suit was called Bryant, probably because he had located land about three miles distant from the station.

See also McMillen vs. Miller, Hardin's Rep., p. 496.

emphatically dissent from the statement of any one, in whatsoever form the same may be promulgated, who says that the name of this pioneer Kentucky station was, or is, other than Bryant's Station, or that the name of its founder was, or is other than William Bryant. And I believe that before abandoning names thus fixed in our history, the writer who does so, should not do it hastily or inadvisedly, nor until he has given the subject due consideration in the light of all the facts obtainable, and is satisfied that the grounds are ample and the reasons sufficient.

I therefore submit this record, to the impartial reader and to the just judgment of the faithful historian, in the full belief that exact justice will be done to each and all, who have heretofore been, or may now, or shall hereafter be concerned about the history of Bryant's Station, and its founder, William Bryant. (24) THOMAS JULIAN BRYANT.

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24. The powder horn carried by William Bryant, during his service in the Revolutionary War, and while on the hunting expedition of May, 1780, in which hunting expedition he so nearly lost his life, is still in the possession of the family of Mr. J. M. Bryant, who resides near Cedar City, Mo.

Following are the names of the children of Jeremiah M. Bryant, above named, and his wife, Virginia Tatum Bryant:

Wiley Crayton, (1855); Martha Susan, (1857); Jeremiah Benjamin, (1859); Sarah Price, (1862); Jennie, (1863); James William, (1864); Edwin Lee, (1867); Julian Monroe, (1871); Christiana M., (1873); Everett T., (1875); Ray, (1879).

MORMON TROUBLES IN MISSOURI.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the merits of this question, or to take a position regarding the extent to which either party was responsible or censurable. Many carelessly written articles have been written on the subject without close and careful investigation of the facts. For instance it is quite common for writers to state that in 1842, after the Latter Day Saints were expelled from the state by order of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs that Joseph Smith employed one Orrin P. Rockwell to return to Independence and assasinate Boggs, and that the attempt was made, Rockwell was apprehended, and escaped justice, etc.

An article of this kind appeared in the Missouri Historical Review for January 1910, written by William M. Boggs, son of the ex-governor. Mr. Boggs may have written his view of the case with a full desire to tell the truth, but he had evidently not informed himself upon the records in the case.

The Latter Day Saints began settling in and around Independence, Missouri, in 1831. Their customs, and their religious and political attitude were not in harmony with the feelings and prejudices of their neighbors. This resulted in bitterness and opposition which in time led to friction and conflict. The Missourians deciding that the Saints were not desirable citizens determined to rid themselves of their presence by taking the law in their own hands and excluding them by force.

A mass meeting was held in Independence in April, 1833, to consult upon a plan to remove or destroy this people. This meeting was attended by about three hundred men, and the company in consequence of drinking too freely broke up in a row among themselves. The animosity still continued however and on July 18, 1833, the following document was put in circulation:

"We the undersigned, citizens of Jackson county, believing that an important crisis is at hand as regards our civil so-

ciety, in consequence of a pretended religious sect of people that have settled and are still settling in our county, styling themselves Mormons, and intending as we do to rid our society "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must," and believing as we do that the arm of the civil law does not afford us a guarantee or at least a sufficient one against the evils which are now inflicted upon us, and seem to be increasing by the said religious sect, deem it expedient, and of the highest importance, to form ourselves into a company for the better and easier accomplishment of our purpose, a purpose which we deem it almost superfluous to say, is justified as well by the law of nature, as by the law of self-preservation.

"It is more than two years since the first of these fanatics or knaves (for one or the other they undoubtedly are) made their first appearance among us, and pretending as they did and now do to hold personal communication and converse face to face with the most High God, to receive communications and relevations direct from heaven; to heal the sick by laying on hands; and, in short, to perform all the wonder-working miracles wrought by the inspired apostles and prophets of old.

"We believed them deluded fanatics or weak and designing knaves, and that they and their pretensions would soon pass away; but in this we were deceived. The arts of a few designing leaders amongst them have thus far succeeded in holding them together as a society, and since the arrival of the first of them they have been daily increasing in numbers, and if they had been respectable citizens in society, and thus deluded they would have been entitled to our pity rather than to our contempt and hatred; but from their appearance, from their manners, and from their conduct, since their coming among us, we have every reason to fear that with but a few exceptions, they were of the very dregs of that society from which they came; lazy, idle, and vicious. This we conceive is not idle assertion, but a fact susceptible of proof, for with these few exceptions above named, they brought into our country little or no property with them, and left less behind them, and we infer that those only yoked

themselves to the Mormon car who had nothing earthly or heavenly to lose by the change; and we fear that if some of the leaders amongst them had paid the forfeit due to crime, instead of being chosen embassadors of the most high, they would have been inmates of solitary cells. But their conduct here stamps their characters in their true colors. More than a year since it was ascertained that they had been tampering with our slaves and endeavoring to sow dissensions and raise seditions amongst them. Of this their Mormon leaders were informed and they said they would deal with any of their members who should again in like case offend. But how specious are appearances. In a late number of the Star, published in Independence by the leaders of the sect, there is an article inviting free negroes and mulattoes from other states to become Mormons, and remove and settle among us. This exhibits them in still more odious colors. It manifests a desire on the part of their society to inflict on our society an injury that they know yould be to us insupportable, and one of the surest means of driving us from the county, for it would require none of the supernatural gifts that they pretend to, to see that the introducion of such a caste amongst us would corrupt our blacks and instigate them to bloodshed.

They openly blaspheme the most High God and cast contempt on his holy religion by pretending to receive revelations direct from heaven, by pretending to speak unknown tongues by direct inspiration, and by diverse pretenses derogatory of God and religion, and to the utter subversion of human reason.

They declare openly that their God hath given them this county of land, and that sooner or later they must and will have the possession of our lands for an inheritance, and in fine they have conducted themselves on many other occasions in such a manner that we belive it a duty we owe ourselves, to our wives and children, to the cause of public morals, to remove them from among us, as we are not prepared to give up our pleasant places and goodly possessions to them, or to receive into the bosom of our families as fit companions for our wives

and daughters the degraded and corrupted free negroes and mulattoes that are now invited to settle among us.

Under such a state of things even our beautiful county would cease to be a desirable residence ,and our situation intolerable! We, therefore, agree, that after timely warning, and receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they can not take with them, they refuse to leave us in peace, as they found us, we agree to use such means as may be sufficient to remove them, and to that end we each pledge to each other our bodily powers, our lives, fortunes, and sacred honors.

We will meet at the court house at the town of Independence, on Saturday next, the 20th inst., to consult ulterior movements." (1)

This was signed by several hundred names among whom were the following: Lewis Franklin, Jailer; Samuel C. Owens, County Clerk; Russell Hicks, Deputy Clerk; R. W. Cummins, Indian Agent; Jones H. Flourney, Post Master; S. D. Lucas, Colonel and Judge of the Court; Henry Childs, Attorney at law; N. K. Olmstead, M. D.; John Smith, J. P.; Samuel Weston, J. P.; William Brown, Constable; Abner F. Staples, Captain; Thomas Pitcher, Deputy Constable; Moses G. Wilson, Thomas Wilson, merchants.

It is impossible to ascertain at this late date just the proportion of truth and falsehood of which this document is composed, but one part of it is easily weighed when compared with the article published in the Evening and Morning Star to which reference is made in the foregoing document. The article as copied from the Star reads as follows:

"To prevent any misunderstanding among the churches abroad, respecting free people of color, who may think of coming to the western boundaries of Missouri, as members of the church, we quote the following clauses from the laws of Missouri:

1. Evening and Morning Star, Kirkland, Ohio, December, 1833, pp. 227-228.

Section 4. Be it further enacted, that hereafter no free negro or mullato, other than a citizen of some one of the United States, shall come into or settle in this State under any pretext whatever; and upon complaint made to any justice of the peace. that such person is in his county, contrary to the provisions of this section, if it shall appear that such person is a free negro or mulatto, and that he hath come into this state after the passage of this act, and such person shall not produce a certificate, attested by the seal of some court of record in some one of the United States, evidencing that he is a citizen of such State, the justice shall command him forthwith to depart from this state; and in case such negro or mulatto shall not depart from the State within thirty days after being commanded so to do as aforesaid, any justice of the peace, upon complaint thereof to him made, may cause such person to be brought before him and may commit him to the common goal of the county in which he may be found, until the next term of the Circuit Court to be held in such County. And the said court shall cause such person to be brought before them and examine into the cause of commitment; and if it shall appear that such person came into the State contrary to the provisions of this act, and continued therein after being commanded to depart as aforesaid, such court may sentence such person to receive ten lashes on his or her bare back, and order him to depart from the State; and if he or she shall not depart, the same proceedings shall be had and punishment inflicted, as often as may be necessary, until such person shall depart the State.

Section 5. Be it further enacted, that if any person shall, after the taking effect of this act, bring into this state any free negro or mulatto, not having in his possession a certificate of citizenship as required by this act (he or she) shall forfeit and pay, for every person so brought, the sum of five hundred dollars, to be recovered by action of debt in the name of the State, to the use of the University, in any court having competent jurisdiction; in which action the defendant may be held to bail of right and without affidavit; and it shall be the duty of the Attorney General or Circuit Attorney of the district in which

any person so offending may be found, immediately upon information given of such offenses, to commence and prosecute an action as aforesaid."

Slaves are real estate in this and other States, and wisdom would dictate great care among the branches of the Church of Christ, on this subject. So long as we have no special rule in the church, as to people of color, let prudence guide; and while they, as well as we, are in the hands of a merciful God we say, shun every appearance of evil.

While on the subject of law it may not be amiss to quote some of the Constitution of Missouri. It shows a liberality of opinion of the great men of the West, and will vie with that of any other State. It is good; it is just, and it is the citizens' right.

"4. That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, that no man can be compelled to erect, support, or attend any place of worship, or to maintain any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion; that no human authority can control or interfere with the rights of conscience; that no person can ever be hurt, molested, or restrained in his religious professions or sentiments, if he do not disturb others in their religious worship.

5. That no person, on account of his religious opinions can be rendered ineligible to any office of trust or profit under this State; that no preference can ever be given by law to any sect or mode of worship; and that no religious corporation can ever be established in this State." (2)

This mob, for they can be considered in no other light, met as per declaration in this signed document, Saturday, July 20. 1833, and sent a committee consisting of Robert Johnson, James Campbell, Moses Wilson, Joel F. Childs, Richard Bristoe, Abner F. Staples Gan Johnson, Lewis Franklin, Russell Hicks, S. D. Lucas, Thomas Wilson, James M. Hunter, and Richard Simpson, to Edward Partridge, A. S. Gilbert, John Carroll,

2. Evening and Morning Star, Independence, Missouri, July, 1833, pp. 218-219.

Isaac Morley, John Whitmer and William W. Phelps leading members of the church demanding the immediate suspension of the Evening and Morning Star and that the people of the church should forthwith remove from the country. The representatives of the church asked for three months in which to consider. This was denied. They then asked for ten days. and were informed they could have but fifteen minutes. Not receiving the demanded pledge in the specified time the mob proceeded to raze to the ground the printing office and the dwelling of W. W. Phelps. Mrs. Phelps with her children, including a sick infant, were thrown into the street. The press was broken, the type pied, etc. The mob then proceeded to demolish the storehouse and destroy the goods of Gilbert, Whitney and Company. Upon Mr. Gilbert assuring them that the goods should be packed by the 23rd inst. they ceased the destruction of property and proceeded to do personal violence. They took Edward Partridge, Bishop of the church, and a Mr. Charles Allen and stripped and tarred and feathered them in the presence of the crowd before the courthouse. In a petition for redress subsequently addressed to Governor Daniel Dunklin the Saints stated their case in the following language:

"Now, therefore, for ourselves, as members of the church. we declare, with the exception of poverty, which has not yet become a crime, by the laws of the land, that the crimes charged against us (so far as we are acquainted) contained in the documents above written, and those in the proceedings of the mob, as published in the Western Monitor of August 2, are not true. In relation to inviting free people of color to emigrate to this section of country, and other matters relative to our society, see the 109th, 10th and 11th pages of the Evening and Morning Star, and the Extra accompanying the same, dated July 16, which are annexed to this petition. Our situation is a critical one; we are located upon the western limits of the state, and of the United States—where desperadoes can commit outrages, and even murder, and escape, in a few minutes, beyond the reach of process; where the most abandoned of all classes from almost every State may too often pass to the Mexi-

can states or to the more remote regions of the Rocky Mountain to escape the grasp of justice; where numerous tribes of Indians, located by the General government amid the corrupting influence of midday mobs might massacre our defenseless women and children with impunity.

Influenced by the precepts of our beloved Saviour,, when we have been smitten on the one cheek we have turned the other also; when we have been sued at the law and our coat been taken, we have given them our cloak also; when they have compelled us to go with them a mile we have gone with them twain. We have bourne the above outrages without murmuring, but we can not patiently bear them any longer; according to the laws of God and man we have bourne enough. Believing with all honorable men, that whenever that fatal hour shall arrive that the poorest citizen's property, person, or rights and privileges, shall be trampled upon by a lawless mob with impunity, that moment a dagger is plunged into the heart of the constitution, and the Union must tremble! Assuring ourselves that no republican will suffer the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, and the liberty of conscience to be silenced by a mob, without raising a helping hand, to save his country from disgrace, we solicit assistance to obtain our rights, holding ourselves amenable to the laws of our country whenever we transgress them.

Knowing as we do that the threats of this mob, in most cases have been put into execution; and knowing also, that every officer, civil and military, with a few exceptions, has pledged his life and honor to force us from the county, dead or alive; and believing that civil process can not be served without the aid of the Executive; and not wishing to have the blood of our defenseless women and children to stain the land which has been once stained by the blood of our fathers to purchase our liberty, we appeal to the Governor for aid; asking him by express proclamation or otherwise to raise a sufficient number of troops, who with us may be empowered to defend our rights, that we may sue for damages in the loss of property—for abuse, for defamation, as to ourselves, and if advisable try

for treason against the government; that the law of the land may not be defied or nullified, but peace restored to our country. And we will every pray." (3)

The mob assembled again on the 23rd when under duress William W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, William E. McClellan, Edward Partridge, Lyman Wight, Simeon Carter, Peter Whitmer, John Whitmer, and Harvey Whitlock signed an agreement to leave the county with their families before the first day of January 1834, and to use their influence to induce all their brethren to remove as soon as possible one-half before the first of January, and the other half by the first day of April, 1834.

Without waiting for the fulfillment of this pledge the mob in October, 1833, again commenced perpetrating acts of personal violence and destruction of property.

This resulted in a clash at arms near the Blue River west of Independence, about sundown November 4, 1833. Hugh L. Brazelle and Thomas Linville of the mob were left dead on the ground. Several were wounded on each side, one a Mr. Barber of the church party, died the next day.

These events naturally intensified the feeling of hostility and the weeks that followed were filled with deeds of horror resulting in the banishment of the Saints who took refuge in adjoining counties, principally in Clay. Efforts were made by the Saints to be re-instated or re-imbursed. Appeals were made to the Governor and to the courts but no substantial results were realized. Lilburn W. Boggs was at this time Lieut. Governor of Missouri; and for a time the Saints reposed confidence in him and looked to him for protection, but finally became convinced that he was aiding and abetting their enemies under color of using his influence to call out the militia which was composed largely of their persecutors. From the militia they received no relief but on the contrary it was used to render their sufferings more intolerable.

To follow the history of this people through the incidents of Clay, Caldwell, Daviess and adjoining counties would take

3. Evening and Morning Star, Kirkland, Ohio, December, 1833, p. 230.

too much space for the limits of this article. Passing on to 1838 at which time, the main body of the church was in Caldwell county, and had established the town of Far West we note another scene of hostility confronted the church and conflicting accusations of crime, and lawlessness filled upper Missouri with anxiety. Conflict seemed inevitable. L. W. Boggs having in the meantime been elected Governor arrayed himself with the anti-church faction, and gave orders to treat the Mormons as public enemies. It was at this time he issued his famous exterminating order to General John B. Clark, which reads as follows:

"Headquarters Militia, City of Jefferson, Oct. 27, 1838.

Sir:—Since the order of the morning to you, directing you to cause four hundred mounted men to be raised within your division, I have received by Amos Rees, Esq., and Wiley E. Williams, Esq., one of my aids information of the most appalling character which changes the whole face of things, and places the Mormons in the attitude of open and avowed defiance of the laws, and of having made open war upon the people of this State. Your orders are therefore, to hasten your operations and endeavor to reach Richmond, in Ray county, with all possible speed. The Mormons must be treated as enemies and **must be exterminated** or driven from the State if necessary, for the public good. Their outrages are beyond all description. If you can increase your force you are authorized to do so, to any extent you may think necessary. I have just issued orders to Major-General Wallock, of Marion County, to raise five hundred men, and to march them to the northern part of Daviess, and there to unite with you. Doniphan, of Clay, who has been ordered with five hundred to proceed to the same point, for the purpose of intercepting the retreat of the Mormons to the north. They have been directed to communicate with you by express; you can also communicate with them if you find it necessary. Instead, therefore, of proceeding, as at first directed, to reinstate the citizens of Daviess in their homes, you will proceed immediately to Richmond, and there operate against the Mormons. Brigadier General Parks

of Ray, has been ordered to have four hundred men of his brigade in readiness to join you at Richmond. The whole force will be placed under your command. (4)

1854, from manuscript history of Joseph Smith written by himself.

L. W. BOGGS,
Governor and Commander in Chief.

To General Clark.

General A. W. Doniphan states that orders to the same effect were issued to General D. R. Atchison, who was in command of the militia in the vicinity of Far West, but he revolted and withdrew from the military force, declaring that he would be no party to the enforcement of such inhuman commands. This left General Samuel D. Lucas in command until the arrival of General Clark. Far West prepared for defense and war was eminent. On October 30, 1838, inspired by the exterminating order of the Governor a detachment of men under the command of Captains Nehemiah Comstock, William O. Jennings and William Gee fell upon a defenseless settlement of the Saints at Haun's Mills and murdered in cold blood the entire settlement of men, women and children very few escaping. On the same day the troops approached Far West and encamped one mile from the town.

The next day General Lucas induced several of the leading men to come into his camp for the purpose of consultation, but when they arrived they were made prisoners of war without an attempt at consultation. These were Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, and George W. Robinson. The next day Hyrum Smith and Amasa Lyman were added to the number of prisoners. Though these men with the exception of Colonel Wight were not military men a court-martial was called and all sentenced to be shot. Lucas issued the following order to carry the decree into effect:

"Brigadier-General Doniphan; Sir: You will take Joseph Smith and other prisoners into the public square of Far West, and shoot them at nine o'clock tomorrow morning.

"SAMUEL D. LUCAS,
"Major-General Commanding."

4. Milinial Star, Liverpool, England, Vol. 16, p. 446, July 15,

And he received the following reply:

"It is cold-blooded murder. I will not obey your order. My brigade shall march for Liberty tomorrow morning, at eight o'clock; and if you execute those men, I will hold you responsible before an earthly tribunal, so help me God! (5)

A. W. DONIPHAN,
Brigadier-General.

This so disconcerted General Lucas that the sentence was not executed. The prisoners were kept by the militia for some time then turned over to the civil courts. After being imprisoned for several months under one pretext or another they were permitted to escape with the connivance of the officers, and no effort made to apprehend them on charges then pending.

The Saints at Far West were disarmed, their property confiscated, and they were banished from the State.

On May 6, 1842, ex-Governor Boggs was assaulted by an unknown would-be assasin in his home at Independence, Missouri, and severely wounded. Mr. Orrin P. Rockwell, a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints being in the town, suspicion at once attached to him. It was also suspected that Joseph Smith had sent him there for the purpose.

Based upon the affidavit of L. W. Boggs, Governor Thomas Reynolds made requisition on Governor Garlin, of Illinois, for the surrender of Joseph Smith charged with being accessor before the act. Several attempts were made to get possession of the person of Joseph Smith both by kidnapping and by civil process, all proving abortive. Joseph Smith finally went to Springfield, Illinois, and surrendered. The examination came on in December term of court before the Honorable Nathaniel Pope, after an extended examination the court handed down his decision in the following language:

"The decision of the court is that the prisoner be discharged; and I wish it entered upon the records in such a way that Mr. Smith be no more troubled about this matter." (6)

5. History of Caldwell and Livingston counties, p. 137.
6. Times and Seasons, Nauvoo, Illinois, Jan. 2, 1843, Vol. 4, p. 60.

O. P. Rockwell was arrested in Independence, and probably had a preliminary examination, and was held awaiting the action of the Grand Jury. He escaped jail and was again apprehended. The evidence was doubtless presented to the Grand Jury and it failed to find sufficient evidence to indict him for assaulting ex-Governor Boggs, for on the third day of the August term of Circuit Court, 1843, Judge John H. Ryland presiding, the Grand Jury returned the following:

"A true bill State of Missouri against Orrin P. Rockwell, "Indictment, escaping from jail." Court Record E, p. 166.

This case came on for trial the same day. Defendant plead not guilty. Court appointed Honorable A. W. Doniphan to defend prisoner; case continued. Ibid p. 170.

Case called again sixth day of same term, defendant filed petition for change of venue, setting forth that an impartial trial can not be obtained in this circuit on account of prejudice of people.

It was ordered by the court that the case be sent to the County of Clay, 5th Judicial District, and the sheriff was ordered to deliver the body of the defendant to the sheriff or jailor of Clay county on Monday, August 21, 1843. Ibid 196-8.

William Patterson, John McCoy, Thomas Reynolds Ammon E. Crenshaw and R. C. Kennedy were each put under bonds of two hundred dollars to appear at Liberty, Missouri, on the first day of the August term of the 5th Judicial District to testify in this cause in behalf of the state. The records at Liberty disclose the following:

August 31, 1843, the case was called and Orin P. Rockwell by order of the court remanded back to the custody of the sheriff or jailer of Jackson county. Record Book G, No. 4, p. 228.

On November 24, a special term of Circuit Court was ordered to convene on December 11th for the purpose of trying this case. Ibid page 236.

The same page of the record shows that court convened as per order, the Honorable Austin A. King, presiding.

The prisoner plead not guilty in the manner and form charged, a jury was impaneled consisting of Samuel Rungo, Thomas McChives,Johnson Williams, Thomas Gardner, Fielding Buchanan, Richard Neely, James Burnaugh, Richard Brizeford, J. A. Futglin J. E. Whitsell, J. I. Atkins and Benjamin Gragg. After careful investigation the jury returned a verdict of "guilty", and assessed the punishment at "Five minutes confinement in the County Jail." Then the august Judge, the Honorable Austin A. King, Judge of the 5th Judicial Circuit, announced the dread sentence assessed by the jury, and so far as the records disclose the curtain fell. The presumption is that he served his sentence.

This is all there is of the often repeated story, reviewed by Mr. William M. Boggs in January number of Historical Review. When it is considered that all the machinery of the courts was in the hands of enemies of the church this whole affair about O. P. Rockwell attempting to murder ex-Governor Boggs and Joseph Smith being accessory before the fact, partakes of the nature of a huge joke.

HEMAN C. SMITH.

HISTORY OF THE COUNTY PRESS OF MISSOURI.

THIRD AND FINAL PAPER.

The Southwestern Flag was established at Springfield in 1849 by W. P. Davis; John M. Richardson, later Secretary of State, was the editor. This was Springfield's fourth newspaper venture.

Thomas H. Benton once said of Springfield that its inhabitants were more generally posted on the affairs of government than the inhabitants of any other forty acres of land in the United States. This was due no doubt to the fact that Springfield had not been without a newspaper since 1838.

The people of that section of the State were admirers of Benton, and the Southwestern Flag was established, according to its prospectus, solely to sustain Benton "in his appeal to the people of the State from the resolutions of instructions passed by our Legislature and will advocate his claims for President in 1852." (1)

The "resolutions of instruction" were the Jackson resolutions, so-called because they were presented in the Missouri Senate by a committee of which Claiborne F. Jackson, afterwards Governor, was chairman. They expressed the opinion that Congress had no power to make laws on the subject of slavery, that the right to prohibit slavery in any territory belonged exclusively to the inhabitants of the territory and that if Congress passed any act in conflict with these principles "Missouri will cooperate with the slave-holding States for our mutual protection against the encroachments of northern fanatics."

The sixth resolution instructed Benton and Atchison, United States Senators from Missouri, to vote in accordance with these resolutions. Atchison so voted, but Benton refused and appealed to the people of the State to sustain him.

The Southwestern Flag under the able editorship of John M. Richardson rendered Benton and his party invaluable ser-

1. Jefferson City Inquirer, Oct. 20, 1849.

vice. Richardson was elected Secretary of State in 1852, and the Flag ceased publication.

The press and material were bought by John Davis, who commenced the publication of the Lancet, "a paper as sharp and cutting as the instrument for which it was named." The Lancet carried on the fight for Benton with a vigor not relished by his opponents. It suspended publication soon after Benton's death in 1858." (2)

In marked contrast to these Benton papers was the Bloomington Gazette established to help defeat Benton in the election of 1850.

Bloomington was the county seat of Macon County from 1837 to 1863, and at this time was a town of considerable importance. The feeling against Benton was so strong there that one of its stores was named the "Anti-Benton Store." The first issue of the Gazette appeared May 28, 1850. The publishers were James Madison Love and Col. Abner L. Gilstrap. They had considerable trouble in getting out the first number. The type was bought in St. Louis, and when it reached Bloomington it was found that all the lower case g's had been left out. The figure 9 was used after italics had been exhausted.

James M. Love was appointed under the school law of 1853 to organize Macon County into school districts, and sold his interest in the Gazette to Col. Gilstrap. Thomas B. Howe and Francis M. Daulton bought it a few months later and changed the name to Journal. The Journal suspended in 1854 and the press and type were used to start a paper at Shelbyville. (3)

The Pike County Record, published at Louisiana, was established in the spring of 1850 by a Mr. Raymond. A. J. Howe bought it in 1851 and sold it the following year to Edwin and Philander Draper. John G. Provines, of Columbia, became the publisher in 1854. When it suspended publication is not definitely known. (4)

2. History of Springfield and North Springfield, p. 86.
3. History of Randolph and Macon Counties, p. 843 ff.
4. History of Pike County, p. 486-7.

The Missouri Cumberland Presbyterian, a weekly newspaper, published at Lexington by Rev. J. B. Taylor, had a brief existence during 1850, as also the Lexington Constitution, published by Major T. S. Bryant. (5)

The first paper printed in Grundy County was established at Trenton in 1851, and named appropriately The Western Pioneer. B. H. Smith was the publisher. The editor was Elder David T. Wright, a minister of the Christian Church who preached in Grundy and adjoining counties for forty-six years. Elder Wright became the publisher of The Western Pioneer in 1854 and changed the name to Christian Pioneer. In the same year he moved to Lindley, a town no longer in existence, and took his paper with him, where he continued to publish it until 1864 when he moved to Chillicothe. The Christian Pioneer was published at Chillicothe until November 3, 1870, when it was merged into The Christian, published at Kansas City. (6)

The second paper published at Bloomington was The Republican, established in 1851. Its name is no indication of its politics for it was a Democratic, anti-Benton paper. Col. Abner L. Gilstrap was the editor and publisher. He sold it in the summer of 1854 to Rufus C. White, who named it the Central Register and filled its columns with articles relating to agriculture and internal improvements to the exclusion of all political matters. It became The Messenger in January, 1856, under the control of Thomas B. Howe and Rev. J. E. Sharp. Col. Gilstrap again became the proprietor in 1859, changed the name to Macon Legion, and made it a strong Democratic paper. It suspended publication with the outbreak of the Civil War, and was the last paper published at Bloomington. (7)

The pioneer paper of Ray County was the Richmond Herald, ancestor of the present Richmond Conservator. The founder of this newspaper was Col. James W. Black, a Virginian, who came to Richmond in 1851, and from that time

5. History of Lafayette County by W. H. Chiles, p. 9.
6. The Dawn of the Reformation, by T. P. Haley, p. 506-7.
7. Macon Times-Democrat, Mar. 14, 1907.

until his death was prominently identified with the political and military history of Ray County and of Missouri. The first issue of the Herald was on March 17, 1852. Col. Black sold it in September of the same year to J. B. Stoops and Frank Stulzman. They sold it to Robert Miller of Clay County in the spring of 1853. Thomas A. H. Smith was the editor. Some time later the name was changed to Richmond Mirror. J. W. H. Griffin and John Gwinne became the publishers in 1857. The Mirror secured the good will and circulation of the Richmond Bulletin in 1859. Shortly after this consolidation the name was changed to Northwest Conservator. Edward L. King, son of Gov. Austin A. King, was the editor. J. W. H. Griffin retired from the firm, and the paper came under the control of R. M. Hubbell, who published it until 1861. It suspended publication from September 13, 1861, to July 10, 1862. In 1853 the name was changed to Conservator. It suspended again from July, 1864, to May 13, 1865, when Christopher T. Garner took charge of it and changed the name back to Northwest Conservator. O. D. Hawkins and James O'Gorman became the proprietors in September, 1865. They dropped the word Northwest from the title. Col. Jacob T. Child, soldier, statesman, diplomat and author, delegate to every Democratic State convention since his identification with that party, bought the Conservator in October, 1866, and published it until 1886, when George W. Trigg became the editor and publisher, and continued as such until his death on November 14, 1901. His son, George A. Trigg, continued its publication. It is now published by Trigg and Burgess.

The Conservator under its various names was Whig in politics until the dissolution of that party when it became Democratic, and has since been published as a Democratic journal. (8)

The St. Charles Demokrat was the second permanently successful German county paper established in Missouri. It was started in 1852 by Jacob Kibler and O. C. Orear. Judge

8. History of Ray County, p. 366 ff. Files of The Conservator 1856-66.

Arnold Krekel, afterwards U. S. Circuit Judge of the Western District of Missouri, was the editor. There was great rejoicing among the Germans upon its appearance. In politics it supported the Buchanan wing of the Democratic party. It was bought in 1854 by Gustave Bruer and Julius Hiemer. The latter sold his interest in 1864 to the present editor and publisher, J. H. Bode. It now joined the liberal movement in politics and supported Horace Greeley for President. Mr. Bode became the sole proprietor in 1868. From 1870 to 1880 his brother, W. A. Bode, was associated with him in its publication. (9)

The Herald was started at Trenton in 1852 by Eugene C. Jones. He sold it in 1853 to S. P. Mountain, a man of strong southern sympathies, which he did not hesitate to express upon all occasions. He was forced by the Federal authorities to suspend the publication of his paper in 1860. The press and type were bought by Elder D. T. Wright for the Christian Pioneer. (10)

The first number of The Missouri Sentinel was issued at Columbia, February 25, 1852, by Col. E. Curtis Davis and James A. Millan. The publishers sent forth the following rare specimen of a newspaper prospectus: "Human melioration, the expansion of mind and the physical development of our country are the ultimatum of our hopes and desires. "No pent up Utica shall contract our powers; the whole field of letters shall be ours. In politics the Sentinel will be essentially and thoroughly Whig. The 'Union now and forever, one and inseperable', is our motto." (11) The Sentinel was sold December 15, 1853, to Dr. A. Peabody who changed its name to Dollar Missouri Journal and its politics to "decidedly Democratic." Later William A. Houck of Arkansas became the editor and publisher and changed the name to Union Democrat. Houck retired from the editorship in June, 1857, and Bolivar S. Head, in connection with his duties as profes-

9. History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, p. 223.
10. History of Grundy County, p. 158.
11. Columbia Statesman, Dec. 19, 1851.

sor of mathematics and librarian in the State University, assumed those of editor of the Democrat. He was succeeded by R. R. Leonard who gave the paper the motto: "United we stand, divided we fall." He sold it to Crowder and Randall. They published it as The State Argus until October 28, 1858, when it suspended on account of financial difficulties. It was revived on April 7, 1859, by A. E. Randall. He was followed by John C. Turk, who published it until 1860. (12)

The Reporter, a Democratic, anti-Benton paper, was started at Lexington in 1852 by a Mr. McCord. He stopped its publication in less than a year for the excellent reason that the income of the office never equaled the expense. (13)

During the same time the Advocate and Jeffersonian was published at Jackson by Robert Brown. It was a Democratic paper, "courteous and dignified, yet firm and decided." (14) Mr. Brown moved to Cape Girardeau in 1854 and published his paper there for a short time.

The Jefferson Examiner was established at Jefferson City, September 14, 1852, by John G. Treadway. The name was selected, according to the publisher, "with a view to the principles which shall be our guide in conducting it." Its motto was: "United we stand, divided we fall." Ament and Simpson were the next proprietors. They sold The Examiner to Dr. William A. Curry in 1862. Dr. Curry changed the name to Missouri State Times, and published it until 1865. In that year Major Emory S. Foster became the publisher. It is not known how long Major Foster continued its publication. (15)

In the meantime the discussion upon the subject of slavery had been growing more bitter throughout Missouri. The Jackson resolutions had not been forgotten. In every political campaign they were attacked by the Whigs and anti-slavery Democrats, and defended by the pro-slavery Democrats and by the independents who held that slavery was a question for each State and Territory to settle for itself. The discussion

12. Files of Columbia Statesman, 1852-60.
13. Columbia Statesman, 1852-53.
14. Jefferson City Examiner, October 19, 1852.
15. History of Cole, Moniteau Morgan, etc., Counties, p. 271.

was made more intense by the trouble which came up over the admission of the Territory of Kansas to the Union as a State. Missourians generally felt that Kansas should be a slave-soil State. As usual the press of the State took an active part in the contest. This was especially true of the papers published in the western border counties.

Of these papers the Western Luminary, established at Parkville in the summer of 1853, attracted the greatest amount of attention. It was a radical free-soil paper, edited and published by George S. Park. W. J. Patterson became associated with Mr. Park in its publication in 1855. Their editorials became so outspoken in favor of free-soil and in aiding eastern Abolition societies to colonize Kansas that they attracted the attention of the Platte County Self Defense Association. This was an association composed of citizens of that section of the State who favored slave-soil. About two hundred members of this association met at Parkville on April 14, 1855, and proceeded to the Luminary office The editors heard them coming and hid a large amount of type in the garret. This type was afterwards taken to Kansas and used in publishing a free-soil paper. The mob secured the press and remaining type. A procession was formed, a banner carried aloft, and with songs and shouts the procession started for the Missouri river—the grave of more than one Missouri press whose owner gave too free expression to views not held by a majority of his readers. Sentence of banishment was pronounced upon the editors, and a resolution passed "if they go to Kansas to reside we will follow and hang them wherever we can take them."

George S. Park in a letter to the public said: "Our press has been thrown into the Missouri river. I may be buried there too—an humble individual is in the power of hundreds of armed men—but his death will not destroy the freedom of the American press! Independence of thought and action is inherent in the bosom of every freeman, and it will gush up like a perpetual fountain forever."

Park went to Illinois and invested what remained of his property in land. He prospered, and, returning to Parkville at the close of the war, founded Park College. He was buried at the place where the sentence of banishment had been pronounced upon him, and a magnificent monument to his memory overlooks the spot where the Missouri received his press and type. (16)

Another paper founded in 1853 was compelled to suspend publication on account of its opposition to slavery and secession. This paper was The Randolph Citizen, published at Huntsville by Francis M. Taylor. It was the pioneer paper of Randolph County and was first known as the Recorder, edited and published by Dr. J. H. Herndon. He sold it in 1854 to John R. Hull. E. G. St. Clair succeeded Mr. Hull as editor and changed the name of the paper to Independent Missourian. In his salutatory Mr. St. Clair said: "Independent is the name we have chosen for our journal, and independent we intend it shall be in all things, but neutral in nothing. No party in politics or sect in religion will receive our support, except so far as in our own judgment its religious or political tenets tend to the great objects we have in view, viz: The welfare of our common country. Instead of long leaders on the old, stale political dogmas of Whig and Democratic orthodoxy, our columns will be filled with all the earliest, foreign, domestic and local items."

Mr. St. Clair published the Missouri Independent until May, 1855, when he sold it to Francis M. Taylor. The name was changed to Randolph Citizen. Mr. Taylor's sympathies were with the Free-soil party, and when the question of secession came up, he denounced secession and slavery in a series of strong editorials. The majority of the citizens of Randolph County, sympathizing with the South, compelled him to suspend the publication of The Randolph Citizen. He resumed its publication on January 8, 1864. J. B. Thompson was associated with him as editor and publisher. They announced that they would publish a conservative law and order

16. Annalsl of Platte County by W. M. Paxton, p. 171 ff.

paper. The Citizen was afterwards conducted at different times by R. W. Thompson, Alexander Phipps, W. A. Thompson, James B. Thompson and W. C. Davis. It suspended publication in 1875. (17)

The other papers established in 1853 had a comparatively peaceful existence.

The Missouri Sun, the first paper of Daviess County, was started in the fall of 1853 by T. H. Starnes and T. H. McKeen. It was neutral in politics. Col. Thomas H. Frame, "genial Tom Frame," became the proprietor in 1854 and changed the name to Gallatin Sun. Under Col. Frame's editorship it ceased to be a neutral paper, and advocated the principles of the American or Know Nothing party. It suspended publication in 1858. The material was purchased by Edward Darlington and the Western Register started. It was the organ of the Democracy of Daviess County. James H. Graham bought it in 1862 and changed the name to People's Press. It was conservative in politics and took more pride in being a local paper than the representative of its party. It suspended publication in 1864. (18)

The Sentinel was started at Warrensburg in 1853 by J. B. Stoop and C. C. Chinn. John B. Wolfe and N. B. Holden became the publishers in 1860. George R. Lingle, for many years editor of the Clinton Tribune, bought a part interest in the Sentinel in 1861. The war caused the publishers to close the office in 1862. (19)

The first newspaper published in Shelby County was called the Shelbyville Spectator and was established at Shelbyville in the spring of 1853. F. M. Daulton was the editor and publisher. In politics the Spectator was Whig. Mr. Daulton formed a partnership with James Wolff in 1854. Soon after this partnership was formed the office was destroyed by fire, nothing being saved except a few cases of type. The citizens of Shelbyville contributed the money to buy another printing outfit, and the publication of the paper

17. History of Randolph and Macon Counties, p. 345-47.
18. History of Daviess County, p. 482-83.
19. History of Johnson County, p. 496.

was resumed. In a short time Daulton sold his interest to James Carty, a school teacher. Carty and Wolff both died within a short time of each other, and the office by some means came into the possession of N. C. Speery a type of the wandering and often poverty-stricken editor and printer of the times. He began the publication of a paper which he called The Star of the Prairie. But the spirit of unrest again siezed Speery and abandoning the office and paper he moved on. (20)

The Democratic Platform was published at Liberty from October, 1853, through 1854. It was not particularly effective and was soon forgotten. (21)

The American Union was established at Louisiana on July 22, 1854, by Buchanan and Sons. They published it until June, 1858, when it became the property of T. J. Fluman, who changed the name to Louisiana Times. A. J. Reid and John T. Clements became the proprietors on May 12, 1859. They named it Louisiana Journal, and through its columns supported the American or Know Nothing party. During the Civil War it was published as a Union paper.

Reid sold his interest in the paper to James L. Hessner in January, 1865, but bought it back in October, 1866, and commenced a bitter fight against the disenfranchisement of ex-Confederates and the test oath which he termed "Radical intolerance and tyrany." Under Mr. Reid's control the Journal was a power in local affairs, and its influence extended to every section of the State. Even his enemies admit he was largely instrumental in restoring Missouri to Democracy.

Reid died in 1872 and Lewis Lamkin took charge of The Journal, buying a half interest in it. Later James F. Downing of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, bought Mrs. Reid's interest. Mr. Lamkin sold his interest in the paper in 1876 to Ernest L. Reid, son of A. J. Reid. Subsequent editors and publishers were W. O. Gray, D. A. Ball, A. D. Hoss, A. O. Parsons and James Sinclair.

20. History of Monroe and Mercer Counties, p. 810-11.
21. Liberty Tribune, Jan. 29, 1909.

The good will of the Journal was sold in 1905 to I. N. Bryson, editor and publisher of the Louisiana Press. Mr. Bryson added the name Journal to his paper to perpetuate the old Journal when the plant and office material were moved from Louisiana. (22)

The Neosho Chief was started at Neosho in 1854 by J. Webb Graves. He sold it in 1858 to P. R. Smith and J. D. Templeton, who named it The Neosho Herald. Shortly afterwards A. M. Sevier became the owner and continued its publication until June, 1861, when the press and type were taken by the Confederates to Fayetteville, Arkansas, and destroyed.

Mr. Sevier entered the Federal army and served with distinction during the war. Returning to Neosho he again took up his profession and established the Neosho Times in the fall of 1868. He published the Times until September 1, 1884, when it became the property of E. D. Bedwell, who sold a part interest to Samuel Crockett. James A. Stockton and the founder of the paper became the publishers on May 13, 1886, and published it through 1890. The present editor and proprietor, H. S. Sturgis, bought a part interest in the office in 1891 and in 1903 became the sole proprietor. (23)

The Cape Girardeau Democrat, a Benton paper, was started in 1854 by Dr. P. H. Brown. Col. Robert Brown was the editor. They sold the Democrat in the fall of 1854 to Peter L. Foy, who named it The Expositor. Foy was one of the best known journalists of his time. He was devoted to Benton and was his faithful friend in the celebrated gubernatorial canvass of 1856. When this campaign closed Foy stopped the publication of The Expositor and moved to St. Louis to accept a position as editor of The Missouri Democrat. The principal theme of his editorials was negro emancipation. This is said to be the first time this policy was publicly advocated through the columns of a newspaper in Missouri. During

22. History of Pike County, p. 487-93. Files of Louisiana Press-Journal 1899-1910.

23. History of Newton, Lawrence, Barry and McDonald Counties, p. 270-71.

the later years of his life Foy was an editorial writer of the Post-Dispatch. He died in St. Louis in 1901.

A tireless reader, a profound thinker, and a vigorous, agressive writer, Peter Foy made for himself a unique place among Missouri journalists. (24)

The first newspaper in Lincoln County was the Lincoln Gazette. It was established at Troy in July, 1854, by H. B. Ellis and N. Edrington. Judge E. N. Bonfils was the editor. A. V. McKee and H. W. Perkins became the proprietors in January, 1855. The following March Perkins sold his interest to Henry A. Bragg. The name was changed to State Rights Gazette. Edmund J. Ellis became the proprietor on April 16, 1857, and conducted it until 1861, when the Federal authorities forced him to stop its publication because of his open advocacy of the doctrines of secession. (25)

The Cass County Gazette was the first newspaper of that county. It was started at Harrisonville in 1854 by Nathan Millington. It belonged to the American party. R. O. Boggess bought it in 1856, changed the name to Western Democrat and its politics to Democratic. He sold it in October, 1857, to Thomas Fogle, who published it until August, 1863, when the entire establishment was destroyed by the Federal soldiers who were enforcing the Order No. 11. (25)

The Furnace, a Benton paper, was started at Fredericktown in the later part of 1854 by James Lindsey. Political friends urged Lindsey to "prepare a good blast and roast the Nullifiers."

The Furnace was moved to Ironton in 1858 and published there by its founder until the beginning of the Civil War. (26)

The Enterprise, a strong pro-slavery paper, was commenced at Richfield, Clay County, in 1854 by George W. Withers. It was followed in 1855 by the Border Ruffian, a paper said to be in keeping with its name. This paper was published until 1856 when the Richfield Monitor appeared, published by Gano and Vetrees. The Monitor was also a pro-

24. Missouri Historical Society Publications, No. 12.
25. History of Cass and Bates Counties, p 193.
26. History of Southeast Missouri, p 456.

slavery, secession paper, but less radical than the former Richfield papers. Part of its columns were devoted to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and science. It was followed in 1861 by the Clay County Flag, a radical secession sheet. The Flag was compelled to suspend publication a few months after its first number was issued. (27)

The Gallatin Spectator, a Democratic paper, was published at Gallatin by G. W. Gardiner and L. R. Stephens from January, 1854, through 1858. (28)

The Agrarian was published at Independence during 1854-55 by J. W. H. Patton. It was edited by Col. William Gilpin, one of the ablest writers in the West, and the energetic promoter of the great Central Highway to the Pacific. (29)

The year 1855 marks the establishment of an especially large number of newspapers in Missouri. The border troubles between Missouri and Kansas were resulting in outrage, bloodshed and murder. Jayhawkers and guerrillas were laying waste the border counties. The shadow of the great Civil War seemed to have been cast upon the State. A demand arose for more newspapers to chronicle the passing events and defend the principles of slave-soil or free-soil. Newspapers sprang up all over the State to meet this demand. They were generally short-lived and of an intensely political character.

The Reveille was started at Alexandria by Col. S. R. Raymond. Alexandria was the county seat of Macon County from 1850 to 1855. The Reveille was a free-soil paper. It suspended publication in April, 1859.

The Herald was established at Buffalo in 1855 by Donald Plummer and published there two years. It was then moved to Marshfield and published as The Sentinel. Emsley D. Plummer and B. H. Stone bought it in 1859. The Confederates destroyed the office after the battle of Wilson's Creek. Plum-

27. Files of Richmond Mirror, 1854-61.
28. Columbia Statesman, 1854-58.
29. Jefferson City Inquirer, 1854-55.

mer entered the Union army, and died in Andersonville prison. Stone lived until 1888. (30)

The American Standard was started at Greenfield in 1855 by Archibald F. Ingram, assisted by Lewis Lamkin. The Standard started as a Democratic, anti-Benton paper, but in 1856 began to support the American or Know Nothing party. Dr. S. B. Bowles, W. K. Latain and J. T. Coffee bought it in June, 1857 and changed the name to Southwest. The new publishers made it independent in politics and stopped its publication in 1859. (31)

Two papers were started at Hannibal in 1855, the National Standard and True American. The former was published by W. G. De Garis and took for its motto: "None but Americans should rule America." It had a very brief existence. The second had as brief a history, being published by Brown and Dalton for a year. Its name indicates its politics. Lewis F. Walden bought the press and type in 1856 and went to Kirksville to start a paper. (32)

The American Citizen was started at Lexington in 1855 by William Musgrove. It died with its founder in 1857. During the two years of its existence it defended with much ability and spirit the principles of the American party. (33)

The Journal was started at Memphis on August 5, 1855, by A. J. Lawrence. He sold it in 1856 to Charles Metz, who published it a few months. Edwin R. Martin and Samuel Allen became the next proprietors and published it until the summer of 1859, when they moved the press and material to Bethany. (34)

The present Mexico Ledger was founded July 14, 1855, by John B. Williams and M. Y. Duncan. They sold it in 1857 to L. N. Hunter. Dr. William D. H. Hunter was the editor. The Ledger had been a neutral paper, but under Dr. Hunter's editorship it vigorously supported the Democratic party. The

30. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, etc., p. 270.
31. Files of Columbia Statesman, 1855-1859.
32. History of Marion County, p. 988.
33. History of Lafayette County, by W. H. Chiles, p. 9.
34. History of Lewis, Clark, Knox and Scott Counties, p. 509.

entire plant was destroyed by fire in January, 1862, but the paper was revived again in a short time. Col. Amos Ladd, at that time sheriff of Audrain County, was the editor.

A. O. O. Gardner, publisher of the Mexico Beacon, bought the Ledger in January, 1865, consolidated the two papers, and retained the name of The Ledger. Elder John T. Brooks and Col. Amos Ladd bought The Ledger in 1866. In 1867 Elder Brooks became the sole proprietor. He retained an interest in the paper until his death in May, 1876. J. Linn Ladd bought a part interest in the Ledger in April, 1866, and upon the death of Elder Brooks a month later assumed full control. He sold it in September of the same year to its present editor and proprietor, R. M. White. (35)

The Ralls County Beacon was established at New London in 1855 by Thomas R. Dodge, who published it until the beginning of the Civil War. It was a strong Union paper. Mr. Dodge returned to New London at the close of the war and established the Ralls County Record. At the time of his death, on September 6, 1891, he was editor of the Vandalia Graphic. (36)

After the destruction of the Parkville Luminary in 1855, Thomas H. Starnes and F. M. McDonald started the Southern Democrat. Its name proclaimed its politics. McDonald became the sole proprietor in 1857 and changed the name to Courier. It was published until 1862. (37)

The Springfield Mirror was established May 5, 1855. Its editor and publisher was James W. Boren, of whom it is said he did not know the meaning of the word fear. The Mirror was the organ of the American party in that part of the State, but later joined the Democratic party. It was published until 1862. (38)

The Frontier News was published at Westport during 1855. A. W. King bought it and changed the name to Border Times. It was a Democratic paper and advocated secession.

35. Files of Columbia Statesman, 1855-76.
36. Proceedings of the Missouri Press Association, 1891, p. 134.
37. Annals of Platte County by W. M. Paxton, p. 225 ff.
38. History of Greene County, p. 737.

It became the Star of Empire in 1857, published by Henry Clay Pate. Col. Sam Pike became the publisher in July, 1858, and changed the name to The Border Star. Col. Pike declared in one of the issues in August, 1859, that his paper had "the largest subscription list of any county paper in Missouri, and consequently has the largest advertising patronage." The Border Star suspended during the war, but was revived in 1867 by H. M. McCarty and published for a short time. (39)

The Journal was published at Charleston by W. H. Booth from 1855 to September, 1861.

The Delta, a free-soil paper, was started at Alexandria in 1856 by Chambers Obers. He sold it in 1857 to Col. S. R. Raymond, who made it a tri-weekly paper. H. G. Dull became the owner in July, 1858. He sold it in 1859 to J. J. Reabun, who published it until 1863 when the Federal authorities compelled him to stop its publication. (40)

The Boonville Advertiser dates back to 1856. It was known then as The Patriot. The founder of this pioneer paper was W. W. Gill. The Patriot, according to the prospectus, "will advocate and defend unhesitatingly, boldly and fearlessly the principles" of the American party. The prospectus is an ambitious effort in the style of an editorial salutatory or a Fourth of July oration. The editor expressed the belief that with the American party in power "our country will be restored to its wonted purity and harmony," and "the North, South, East and West a tune to peace and harmony will together sing the song of American liberty." The editor's ideas of territorial expansion are rather startling when he indicated what would be the geographical area of the United States "when the eye surveys our fair domain reaching from pole to pole and from ocean to ocean." This caused the editor of the Boonville Observer to remark: "We are apprehensive that our Democratic contemporaries will charge Mr. Gill with occupying a fillibuster platform." (41)

39. Files of Columbia Statesman, 1855-1867.
40. History of Lewis, Clark, Knox and Scott Counties, p. 360.
41. Boonville Observer, Aug. 16, 1856.

F. M. Caldwell and Louis H. Stahl bought The Patriot in 1857. Mr. Gill remained in charge of the editorial department. Its politics was now changed to Democratic. Caldwell and Stahl published the Patriot until 1861 when the press and type were seized by the Federal soldiers and taken to Jefferson City. Mr. Stahl followed the soldiers and succeeded in getting possession of the press. He and Mr. Caldwell commenced the publication of the paper again under the name Central Missouri Advertiser, issuing the first number on June 15, 1862. Later the name was changed to Boonville Advertiser. H. A. Hutchison became a member of the firm in December, 1873, and assumed the duties of editor. May 1st, 1874, Mr. Hutchison sold his interest in the paper to George W. Frame, an experienced newspaper man. He was succeeded in February, 1875, by George W. Ferrel, at one time poet of the Missouri Press Association. The Advertiser was bought by a stock company in August, 1877, Joseph L. Stephens owned a controlling interest. He was assisted in the management of the paper by his son, Lon V. Stephens, afterwards Governor of Missouri. Samuel W. Ravenel became the manager of the paper in April, 1878.

The Advertiser was sold in October, 1884, to Francis M. Caldwell, Louis H. and Philip W. Stahl. Walter Williams, Dean of the School of Journalism, University of Missouri, became the editor in 1884, and in January, 1886, bought the interest of F. M. Caldwell. Mr. Williams sold his interest in the paper in June, 1884. George W. Ferrel again became the editor, and continued in that position until 1901. Louis H. Stahl died on November 18, 1904. He had spent sixty years of his life in the printing business, commencing as an apprentice on the Boonville Observer in 1843. Philip Stahl sold The Advertiser on May 1, 1905, to C. J. Walden, its present editor and publisher. (42)

The first newspaper of Polk County was the Courier. The first number was issued at Bolivar in June, 1856, by L. B.

42. Files of the Boonville Observer, 1854-56. Boonville Advertiser 1873-date.

Ritchey and A. B. Cory. They sold it in 1860 to Col. J. F Snyder, Division Inspector of the Sixth Military District of Missouri. (43) Col. Snyder sold the Courier in a few months to A. B. Cory, one of its founders. He sold it in December, 1860, to M. J. Hughes, who published it until 1861. Bolivar was without a newspaper during the war. (44)

Adair County's first newspaper was founded in 1856. It was The Enterprise, a campaign sheet, published in the interest of the Buchanan wing of the Democratic party. Prior to this a printer, Benjamin Davis, had set up a "print shop" at Kirksville. His first job was 100 posters advertising the public sale of lots in that town, for which he was allowed $5.00. He did not venture beyond posters and handbills.

L. F. Walden was the editor and publisher of the Enterprise. S. M. Myers became the editor in 1858. Stone and Son were the next publishers but soon sold it to Charles Jones, who in turn sold it to Maj. E. M. C. Moorelock. At the same time Maj. Moorelock bought The Democrat, which had been established by Judge John D. Foster in 1858. The two papers were consolidated, the name Democrat being retained. Maj. Moorelock published The Democrat for a number of years. (45)

The Lancaster Herald was the first paper of Schuyler County. It was established in 1856 by Huon Jackson of La Grange, Missouri. He published it about a year, then sold the establishment to Wilber Wells. Morris and Elder became the publishers in 1859 and changed the name to Lancaster Democrat. It suspended publication at the beginning of the Civil War. (46)

The Missouri Expositor, characterized by some of its contemporaries as a "rampant Democratic sheet," was started at Lexington in 1856 by S. M. Yost and Lewis W. Stofer.

43. Col. Snyder is living in Virginia, Ill., and has been President of the Illinois Historical Society.

44. History of Hickory, Polk, Cedar, Dade and Barton Counties, p. 323.

45. History of Adair County, p. 410. Files of Columbia Statesman.

46. History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties, p. 724.

Yost, a writer of marked ability, was from Virginia, where he had been editing the Staunton Indicator. He moved to Santa Fe in 1858 and became the editor of the Santa Fe Gazette. Stofer was killed in June of the same year by a nambler on a Missouri river steamboat. The Expositor became the property of William Anderson, who continued its publication until 1861, when the greater part of the office was carried into Kansas by the First Kansas Volunteers. (47)

Until 1856 no newspaper had been published in Saline County. During the political campaign of that year the contest in that county between the American or Know Nothing party and the Democratic party was exceedingly spirited. Each party felt the need of a newspaper to voice its sentiments. A few leading Americans, among whom was Hon. William H. Letcher and Col. John T. Price, readily subscribed the money necessary to fit up a printing office, and The Saline County Herald was started at Marshall. It was placed under the editorial and business control of Oscar D. Hawkins, an experienced newspaper man. R. S. Sandidge and Capt. James Allen did most of the work. Col. George W. Allen became the editor and proprietor in 1857.

The campaign of 1856 did not end the contest between the Americans and Democrats for the control of Saline County. During the campaign of 1858 the Herald failed to give satisfaction as a party organ, and the Americans withdrew their support and founded the Saline County Standard. Col. Allen and his son Capt. James Allen moved The Herald to Arrow Rock and published it there until the spring of 1861 when it was consolidated with the Marshall Democrat and its publishers entered the Southern army. (48)

The Marshall Democrat was started soon after the Herald made its appearance. It was the organ of the Democratic party. The press and materials were purchased by Claiborne F. Jackson, afterwards Governor of Missouri, Judge R. E. McDaniels, John W. Bryant and other leading Democrats.

47. History of Lafayette County by W. H. Chiles, p. 9. Files of Columbia Statesman.

48. History of Saline County, p. 389-90.

The Democrat was edited by John S. Davis, a man of culture and a practical printer. It was published in the interest of its party until 1861, when the whole office force entered the army, Confederate or Federal. (49)

The Audrain County Signal was started at Mexico in August, 1856, by William A. Thompson. Its policy was "independent in all things, neutral in nothing." Joseph C. Armistead bought it in September, 1857, and made it a Democratic paper. It suspended publication in the fall of 1858. (50)

The first paper of Lawrence County, The Lawrence County Register, was founded by Lewis Lamkin in September, 1856. The people of Mt. Vernon thought they needed a newspaper and asked Mr. Lamkin to start one. At that time he was working on the Greenfield Standard. He bought his material for The Register in St. Louis, shipped it by steamboat to Jefferson City and from there hauled it on a wagon to Mt. Vernon, a distance of nearly 150 miles. The Register was soon started, independent in politics but leaning towards Democracy. The paper did not pay. Mr. Lamkin moved it to Cassville in July, 1857, and sold it to Judge Joseph Cravens, for many years judge of the Neosho Circuit. Judge Cravens stopped its publication in June, 1858.

Mr. Lamkin returned to Mt. Vernon and started another paper, The Missouri Reporter. This paper prospered. Joseph Estes bought it in 1858 and published it regularly until the beginning of the Civil War. (51)

The Southern Sentinel was established at Palmyra in 1856 by some members of the American party. B. H. Jones was the editor. He boldly proclaimed the politics of his paper by printing in large letters at the head of its columns: "An American paper." R. E. Anderson became the proprietor in 1858 and in September of that year sold it to Jacob Sosey, who consolidated it with his paper, The Missouri Whig. (52)

49. History of Saline County, p. 389-90.
50. Files of Columbia Statesman, 1856-58.
51. History of Newton, Lawrence, Barry and McDonald Counties, p. 503.
52. History of Marion County, p. 331 ff.

The Washington County Miner was started at Potosi in 1856 by Napoleon P. Buck and published until 1861. It had no particular object political or otherwise.

The Western Missourian was commenced at Warrensburg in 1856 by N. L. Perry. It belonged to the radical element of the Democratic party. Marsh Foster became the editor and publisher in 1857. He continued its publication until the spring of 1861, when he was killed in a riot in the court house between Union and Southern sympathizers. The Western Missourian ceased publication soon afterwards. (53)

The West Point Banner, the second paper of Bates County, was started in September, 1856, by T. H. Starnes. At that time West Point was one of the important towns of western Missouri. It was situated just on the Missouri side of the line and was a trading and outfitting station for freighters and Santa Fe traders. West Point fell an early victim to the Kansas raiders, and the town was almost wiped out of existence in the fall of 1861. The office of the Banner was looted and type and machinery scattered and destroyed. The editor had incurred the enmity of the Kansas men by editorials similar to the following published in the issue for May 15, 1861: "We paid a visit to Butler, our neighboring town, last week. Our good friends of Butler are up to the true spirit of Missourians, for we see that the flag of the Confederate States waves proudly from a pole one hundred feet in height, in the public square in front of the court house. Long may it wave." The editor, Mr. Starnes, entered the Southern army and died during the war. (54)

The Albany Courier was established in 1857 by J. H. Brakey. He sold it in 1858 to George C. Deming and J. C. DeHaven. A year later it became the property of a Mr. Fuller who published it a few months, and then took the press and office materials into Iowa.

The Pioneer, the appropriate name of the first paper in Jasper county, was founded at Carthage in 1857 by James

53. History of Johnson County, p. 436.
54. History of Bates and Cass Counties, p. 1020-21.

Kelly. C. C. Dawson, the next publisher, named it The Star of the West, but soon shortened the title to Southwestern Star. The Kansas troubles were at their height at this time, and The Star of the West was started to serve the slavery interests.

The Confederates took the press in 1861, and carried it into McDonald county where it was used in printing "shin plasters." It was afterwards captured by the Federals and used as an army press. (55)

The Charleston Courier was established in 1857 by George Whitcomb. It was independent in politics, and one of the very few papers published in Southeast Missouri during the war. Upon the death of Mr. Whitcomb in 1872, the Courier was bought by Frank M. Dyer. He sold it in September, 1877, to C. W. Dunifer. It was consolidated in 1877 with the Gazette, which had been established in 1875 by George M. Moore. The consolidated papers were published by Moore and Dunifer under the name Courier-Gazette. Dunifer soon withdrew from the firm and Moore sold the paper to a stock company. Later it came into the possession of Andrew Hill, a school teacher. He moved it to Malden and the paper ceased to exist as the Courier-Gazette (56)

The Eagle was started at Edina in 1857 by Albert Demaree. It was the pioneer paper of Knox county. Demaree sold it at the end of the year to Robert R. Vanlandingham who changed the name to Edina Democrat. Vanlandingham was a shoemaker, county surveyor of Knox county at one time, and at all times a politician. He published the Democrat through 1858 and then stopped its publication. (57)

Two papers were started in Hannibal in 1857. The News, a Democratic paper, was published by R. A. Cohen, A. H. Lacy and J. D. Meredith. It suspended in 1858 and was soon forgotten.

The National Democrat, a strong secession paper, made its influence felt in that section of the state. The first number

55. History of Jasper County, p. 289.
56. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 468.
57. History of Lewis, Clark, Scott and Knox Counties, p. 744.

was issued January 8, 1857. A. G. Clark was the editor. It was bought in 1860 by Ament, Appler and Regan. They shortened the name to Democrat. By 1861 their subscription list had grown large enough to justify them in issuing a daily which they named The Evening News. J. M. Appler was the editor. A confederate flag was raised over the office bearing a rattle snake and the legend, "Don't tread on me." As a result the federal soldiers suppressed the paper and imprisoned the editor. ((58)

The Universe, published at Lamar, was the first paper of Barton county. It was printed on what is known as an army press by Grier and Farmer and later by W. C. Grier. They gave it the motto: "No pent up Utica contracts our powers, the boundless Universe is ours." Their Universe was eight by ten inches in size, of no pronounced politics and suspended at the beginning of the Civil War. (59)

The Farmer was started at Milan in October, 1857. Thomas E. Brawner was the publisher. It came out strongly for secession in 1861 and was forced to suspend publication. (60)

The first issue of the Montgomery City Journal was on November 1, 1857. It was neutral in politics and was established solely to advertise the town. James M. Robinson was the editor and publisher. He sold it to Adam Harper in 1858, and in the fall of 1859 it became the property of W. C. and W. L. Lovelace. They moved it to Danville and changed the name to Danville Chronicle. H. D. Macfarlane became the publisher in 1861 and named it The Danville Herald. Dan M. Draper was the editor. It suspended publication with the beginning of the Civil War. (61)

The first paper of Holt county was the Holt County News. It was established at Oregon July 1, 1857, by J. H. C. Cundiff. He published it until April 8, 1859, when it was bought by Cyrus Cook and A. Watrous. The former became sole pro-

58. History of Marion County, p. 928 ff.
59. History of Hickory, Polk, Cedar, Dade and Barton Counties, p. 530.
60. Files of Columbia Statesman, 1857-61.
61. History of Montgomery, Warren and St. Charles Counties, p. 769.

prietor July 1, 1859. Watrous and Bowman became the proprietors on May 11, 1860, Watrous assuming entire controll on November 2, 1860. A. R. Conklin became associated with him in its publication on November 24. J. W. Briggs and J. Robinson became the proprietors on February 2, 1861. Their bold advocacy of the rights of seccession brought the News to the notice of the federal authorities, and on July 1, 1861, Col. E. Peabody, of the 13th Regiment seized the office and carried away the press and type. He was later induced to return the material. The press and type were sold and used to start a Republican paper in Kansas. (62)

The Atlas was established at Platte City April 4, 1857, by Ethan Allen. It was a Democratic paper but in contrast to the political papers of that day, devoted much of its space to literary articles especially favoring poetry. A. C. Remington and H. Clay Cockrill became the proprietors of The Atlas in 1859. It suspended publication with the beginning of the Civil War, but was revived in September, 1863. Henry Hutchison was the editor. It was Democratic but very discreet. It finally suspended publication in January, 1864. The press and type were bought by A. F. Cox, publisher of the Weston Sentinel. (63)

The pioneer paper of Atchison county was the Banner, the publication of which was commenced at Rock Port in July, 1857. L. C. Kulp was the publisher and J. R. Van Natta, the editor. It suspended publication in 1859. (64)

The Pettis County Independent was started at Georgetown in November, 1857, by R. H. Montgomery. It was edited by Gen. Bacon Montgomery. J. S. McEwen bought it in February, 1859 and changed the name to Democratic Press. It suspended publication in 1861.

The American Eagle was the ambitious name of an anti-Benton paper published at Savannah in 1857 by William D. Gentry. The Eagle was impeded in its fight from the first and lived but a few months.

62. Sketch by D. P. Dobyn.
63. Annals of Platte County by W. M. Paxton, p. 225 ff.
64. History of Holt and Atchison Counties, p. 998.

The Missouri Tribune was established at Springfield on November 18, 1857, by John M. Richardson, secretary of state, and an experienced newspaper man. The Missouri Tribune was devoted to "Union Democracy" and took as its motto: "The people of Missouri love the Union and will maintain it at all hazards." Richardson stopped the publication of the Tribune on November 20, 1858. (65)

The Warrenton Banner dates back to 1857. It was known then as The Nonpariel. The publishers were Robert E. Pleasants, Deputy Provost-Marshal of Warren county, and Charles Corwin. Col. John E. Hutton, later congressman from Missouri, was the editor. Charles E. Peers bought The Nonpareil in 1865 and commenced the publication of the Warren County Banner. It became The Warrenton Banner in 1869 when Charles W. Rapp became the publisher. Rummons and Morsey bought the paper in 1872. They sold it to George W. Morgan and R. B. Speed. Thomas M. Morsey was the next publisher. He was succeeded by Sam B. Cook, later secretary of state. Mr. Cook edited The Banner until 1885 when Frederick L. Blome became the publisher. In 1889 it was consolidated with The Economist and published as the Economist-Banner until 1891 when the name Banner was resumed.

The Banner has since been published by Thomas M. Morsey, Morsey and Johnson, and Johnson and Ahmann. It is now published by The Banner Publishing company with Edward H. Winter as editor. (66)

A paper was started at Weston in 1857 by W. F. Wisely under the poetic name of The Forest Rose. It was a literary paper devoted to the dissemination of polite literature, wit, humor and poetic gems." Platte county proved barren soil and the Forest Rose had a hard struggle to live. In January, 1858, the editor announced that he had associated with himself, C. C. Huffaker, "a young graduate of fine scholarship from Wesleyan University." Despite this cheerful prospect, the Forest Rose died in August of that year. (67)

65. History of Springfield and North Springfield, p. 87.
66. History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, p. 1018. Files of Columbia Statesman.
67. Files of Columbia Statesman and Jefferson City Examiner.

The year 1858 was prolific in newspapers. The political unrest of that time created a constantly increasing demand for news. Newspapers were not slow in taking advantage of this demand.

The Bates County Standard was established at Butler in the fall of 1858 by Heffer and Hyslop. N. T. Perry was the editor. It was a slave-soil paper. William A. Thompson became the publisher in 1860 and published it until the fall of that year. He was succeeded by W. Pat Green, who changed the name to Western Times. The Times suspended in April, 1861. (68)

The Press was started at Brunswick in April, 1858, by O. D. Hawkins. It was Democratic and was published until 1860.

The Herald was established at Bloomfield in 1858 by A. M. Bedford. It had little to do with politics but was started to advocate the construction of the Cairo and Fulton railroad. It suspended publication in 1861. (69)

The Journal was started at Clinton on April 26, 1858, by Isaac E. Olney. The editor announced in the first issue, "the Journal will not be bound to any party, sect or class of men, but will be at liberty to advocate any measure that will subserve the interests of the country from whatever source they may originate, untrammelled by any party influence. (70) The Journal was published until 1861.

The California Democrat first appeared on September 18, 1858, as the California News. The publishers were C. P. Anderson and Charles Groll, the former being the editor. The name was changed to Democrat in 1860. It was a strong secession paper and in a small one page issue on July 20, 1861, the editor relates that some federal soldiers had destroyed his office. No further numbers were issued until November 8, 1862, when Mr. Anderson contented himself with the general news

68. History of Cass and Bates Counties, p. 1019.
69. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 470.
70. Jefferson City Inquirer, May 8, 1858.

and a mild political review. Even under these conditions he was under arrest the greater part of the time. Early in 1863 the Federals again forced him to stop the publication of his paper. He was released from prison in July and resumed publication of The Democrat. He was arrested for the last time in June, 1865, but was released in July. He immediately went to his office and got out an issue of his paper. He changed the name to Central Missourian and published it until 1867. On December 14th of that year J. H. and J. G. Anderson became the proprietors and remained in charge until 1869 when they moved to Columbia to start The Herald.

Judge J. D. Adams was editor and proprietor during 1870-71. He sold the paper to J. A. Browder, who changed the name back to California Democrat. A. V. Thorpe was the publisher in 1882. He was followed by Otto Schmidt who sold it to its present editor and publisher, John B. Wolfe, in 1883. (71)

The Forest City Monitor was the second paper of Holt county. The first issue was on March 10, 1858. It was published by J. R. Van Natta and A. R. Conklin, the later becoming sole proprietor on April 7, 1859. Towards the close of the following year it came out as The Courier. It suspended publication on July 18, 1861. (72)

The Randolph American was published at Huntsville by G. M. Smith and J. M. Stone from October, 1858, until February, 1860, when the federal authorities forced it to suspend publication. (73)

The National American was established at La Grange in 1858 by Howe and Armour. Soon afterwards, the senior partner, Charlton H. Howe, assumed entire control. He stopped its publication in 1861, and entered the Union army as a Lieutenant in Col. John M. Glover's Third Missouri Cavalry. Returning to La Grange in 1864 he resumed the publication of The American. He continued to publish it until after the repeal of the "test oath," and the restoration to citizen-

71. California Democrat, Sept 17, 1908.
72. Sketch by D. P. Dobyn.
73. Columbia Statesman 1858-60.

ship of the men who had been in smypathy with the South in 1870, when he stopped its publication and retired to private life. He was an uncompromising Union man and could not be reconciled to any thing less radical than the "Draconian code." (74)

The Saline County Standard was started at Marshall in 1858 by members of the American party who thought that their official paper, The Herald, had begun to lean towards the Democrats. Samuel Boyd, one of the foremost attorneys of Central Missouri was the editor. R. S. and D. M. Sandidge had charge of the mechanical work. It suspended publication in 1861. (75)

The Audrain County Banner was published at Mexico by William H. Martin from 1858 to 1861.

The Western Beacon, the first paper of Cass county, was started at Pleasant Hill in February, 1858. J. A. Hyslop was the publisher. Dr. Logan McReynolds and H. M. Brecken were the editors. It was never self-supporting and suspended in 1861. This was the last paper in Cass county until after the war. (76)

The Telegraph was started at Stewartsville in 1858 by Alstatt and Williams. It was bought in 1860 by F. T. Disney who published in the interest of the Breckenridge Democrats. It suspended in 1861.

The first newspaper in Boone county, outside of Columbia, was the Sturgeon News. It was established in 1858. The citizens of the town feeling the need of a newspaper of their own bought the press and type, and hired W. T. Steele and T. S. Inlow to do the printing. Colonel William A. Strawn was the editor. In the prospectus, published in the Statesman he said: "This paper will be devoted to miscellaneous literature, news, agriculture, and be made an accurate record of transpiring events of the times. In politics it will preserve an independent character." The News was published until December, 1861, when the character of its editorials offended

74. History of Lewis, Clark, Scott and Knox Counties, p. 230.
75. History of Saline County, p. 390.
76. History of Cass and Bates Counties, p 234.

the federal authorities and they took charge of the office. (77)

The Morgan County Forum was the first newspaper of Morgan county. It was established at Versailles in 1858 by John Henderson and his brother. At the beginning of the war, they abandoned the office and entered the Confederate army. The paper was never revived. (78)

The Central Missourian was established at Vienna in the fall of 1858 by C. P. Walker and Henry Lick. The editors experienced some difficulty in getting their press and office materials over the rough roads of Maries county to Vienna but finally got the paper started "after considerable exertion." It was published until January 7, 1860, when the editors began issuing the Rolla Express from the office intending to move to Rolla as soon as the town grew a little larger. This was certainly taking time by the forelock, as the first house in Rolla had been finished only a month previous. The Express was moved to Rolla in July, 1860, and issued regularly.

Horace Wilcox became the editor about the beginning of the Civil War. He published the Express until 1863, when the Provost Marshal forced him to suspend its publication because of his editorials condemning certains acts of the federal authorities in Rolla. He was forbidden to publish a paper again until after the war. He revived the Express as soon as the war closed, and later sold it to Theodore Wagner and U. Z. Liddy. They stopped its publication in 1875. (79)

The Washington Observer was founded in 1858 by E. B. and Napoleon B. Buck. It was known then as The Weekly Advertiser. J. W. Paramore was the editor until 1860 when H. C. Allen bought it. He published it until 1862 when it was suppressed by the federal authorities because of its avowed Southern sympathies. Later J. G. Magan took possession of the office and published the Advertiser as a Republican paper. He sold it in 1865 to D. Murphy who changed the name to

77. History of Boone County, p. 564 ff. Files of Columbia Statesman.

78. History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, etc., Counties, p. 431.

79. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, etc., Counties, p. 669. Files of Columbia Statesman.

Observer and its politics to Democratic. (80) Subsequent editors and publishers were J. William Kahmann, Kahmann and Mintrup, J. R. Gallemore, Hyde and Gallemore, Ruloff G. Purves, Kapp and Purvus and in 1909 it became the property of its present editor and publisher M. H. Holtgrieve.

It is interesting to note at this place that the first meeting of the Missouri Press Association was held at Jefferson City on June 8 and 9, 1859, in the Hall of the House of Representatives. Col. William F. Switzler was elected president, and G. C. Stedman, of the St. Louis Republican, was secretary. The president was empowered to call the next annual meeting at such time and place as he found most convenient. But the war came on and the next meeting was not held until May 17, 1867, and that one is given as the "first session of the Editors' and Publishers' Association of Missouri." (81)

The newspapers established in 1859-60 had a brief and troubled existence.

The Prospect was started at Arcadia in 1859 by A. Coulter. W. L. Taber was the editor. It was moved to Ironton in 1860 and suspended publication in 1861.

The first newspaper of Harrison County was The Bethany Star, established August 4, 1859, by Edwin R. Martin and Samuel Allen. It was started as an independent local sheet, but soon took a decided stand for the South. Martin and Allen sold it in 1861 to William A. Templeman, who changed the name to Weekly Union and made it Union Democratic in politics. The editor was Col. David J. Heaston, scholar, lawyer, later State Senator and delegate to every Democratic convention since the war. Henry Howe purchased the paper in 1863 and changed the name to Weekly Union of States. He secured the services of Howard T. Combs, son of Gen. Leslie Combs of Kentucky, as editor. Under his editorship the paper became one of the most ultra Republican journals of North Missouri.

80. History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, etc., Counties, p. 316.

81. Columbia Statesman, 1859, 1867.

Thomas D. Neal was the next publisher, taking charge of the office in 1865. He gave the paper the name of North Missouri Tribune. Neal was a man of great energy and determination and as a political writer took rank among the most progressive Republican editors of the State. He published The Tribune until 1872 when W. T. Foster became the editor and publisher. Mr. Foster was a Granger and made The Tribune strictly a Grange paper. He sold it to John H. Phillibaum in 1875, who changed the name to Harrison County Herald and the politics to Democratic. It suspended publication in 1876 as the Democrats were in the minority in Harrison County and could not give it sufficient support. (82)

The Union, an independent paper although inclined to support the Union, was published at Buffalo during 1859 by E. D. Plummer. (83)

The Jefferson County Herald was started at De Soto in 1859 by E. E. Furber. It ceased publication at the beginning of the Civil War. (84)

The Knox County Argus was started at Edina in 1859 by Warner Pratt. William S. Bennington was the editor. Later it was sold to Frank M. Daulton and Charles Newman, who changed the name to Herald and made it a seccession paper. The publishers abandoned the office in the summer of 1861 and entered the Confederate service. While they were away, the press and type were used by Thomas Reid and John Wirt in publishing a paper to which they gave the significant name of "Rebel and Copperhead Ventilator." They got out but a few issues. (85)

The Democratic Bulletin was founded at Linneus in April, 1859, by Thomas E. Brawner and W. R. Williams. It suspended during the war but was revived again in 1865 by its original publishers as The Bulletin. Mr. Brawner continued as editor and publisher until 1890, when E. J. Conger became

82. History of Harrison and Mercer Counties, p. 273.
83. Jefferson City Examiner, 1859.
84. History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, etc., Counties, p. 446.
85. History of Lewis, Clark, Knox and Scott Counties, p. 745.

the proprietor. The publishers since 1891 have been Conger and Wiggington. (86)

The Reporter was started at Maryville in 1859 by Benjaman F. Torrance. It was destroyed during the first year of the Civil War and never revived. (87)

The National Democrat, the second paper of Scotland County, was founded at Memphis in 1859 by Rufus Summerline. He published it until 1865, when the press and material were bought by Lemuel Shields and G. A. Henry, two Union soldiers who had just returned from the war. They named the paper the Memphis Reveille. The first issue was on September 9, 1865. The editors say in their salutatory: "The Reveille will be devoted to the agricultural, educational and local interests of Scotland County and Northeastern Missouri. We are not politicians, but we love our country. We simply remark we are for the Union now and forever, one and inseparable."

Mr. Shields became the sole proprietor on March 16, 1867, and on July 30, 1868, sold a half interest to S. R. Peters. On October 7, 1869, Peters sold his interest to John M. McGrindley, former editor of the Lewis County Gazette. C. P. Forman was the publisher. Cy. W. Jamison bought McGrindley's interest on September 8, 1870, and in March, 1877, became sole proprietor. He published The Reveille until November, 1884, when he was adjudged insane and placed in the asylum at Fulton. The paper was published during this time by John P. Craig. He sold the paper on January 22, 1885, to the present editor and proprietor, James Gillespie. (88)

The Democrat was started at Osceola in March, 1859, by R. B. Devin. He sold it in May, 1860, to James O. Cook and Ewell D. Murphy. In their prospectus they say: "We shall ever uphold those pure principles of Democracy conspicuous in the lives of Jefferson, Madison, and other illustrious patriots who have shed luster on their country's history." They changed the name to Osage Valley Star in the fall of 1860

86. Columbia Statesman, 1859-1890.
87. History of Nodaway County, p. 271.
88. Sketch by James Gillespie.

and gave it the motto: "We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag, and keep step to the music of the Union." Shortly afterwards, E. D. Murphy became the sole proprietor. He made it a Union Democratic paper "pledged to maintain the rights of Missouri and the South, in the Union, until all hope is gone, then pledged to join the border States in whatever course they may adopt." The Valley Star did not get to redeem this pledge as the office and all the machinery were destroyed when Lane and his band of Kansans destroyed Osceola in 1861. (89)

The Clinton County News, first paper in that county, was established at Plattsburg in July, 1859, by G. W. Hendley and Upton M. Young. Col. John T. Hughes, author of Doniphan's Expedition, was the editor. John Bourne and William R. Vanover became the publishers in 1860 and changed the name to Northwest Reporter. It was called a disunion sheet by its contemporaries. E. W. Turner and S. A. Young were the publishers in 1861. The office was entirely destroyed by fire in November, 1862. The paper never resumed publication. (90)

The Princeton Reporter was founded in 1859 by P. O. Jones and James Scarbough. It was nominally neutral in politics and was supported by both parties. But in the issue of September 24, 1861, the editor says: "This number closes forever our career as editors of an independent paper. We have tried it long enough and we find it won't pay. This week we hoist the names of Douglas and Johnson and with the mighty hammer of popular sovereignty, nail them fast to our mast head." This public declaration of a preference for one branch of the Democratic party caused the Republicans to withdraw their support from the paper. It became overwhelmed in financial difficulties and had to suspend publication. W. H. Fooshe bought the press and office materials and issued The Unionist at Princeton during 1861. (91)

89. File of Osage Valley Star, 1860-61.
90. History of Clinton County, p. 174.
91. History of Harrison and Mercer Counties, p. 430.

The Richmond Bulletin was published during 1859-1860 by Edward L. King, son of Governor Austin A. King. It was merged into the Richmond Mirror in 1860. (92)

The Rock Port Herald, a Democratic paper, was published from November, 1859, to August, 1861, by George W. Reed. At the beginning of the war he closed his office and moved to Mississippi. (93)

The Courier, a Democratic paper, was started at Washington in 1859 by Adelbert Bandessin. He sold it in 1860 to C. M. Buck, who changed the name to Washington Gazette. J. O. Matthews was the next publisher, but was compelled by the federal authorities to stop its publication in August, 1861. (94)

The Constitution has been published at Chillicothe for the past fifty years. It was founded by Dr. A. S. Hughes who made it a strong Union paper. (95) O. D. Hawkins was the editor in 1861. He was followed by Howard S. Harbaugh. Some secession articles in The Constitution caused the federal authorities to arrest Harbaugh and imprison him in St. Louis. On his release from prison in 1863 he returned to Chillicothe and again became editor of The Constitution. While in prison he experienced a change of political belief and became an extreme abolitionist. By 1865 he had experienced another change and while still a Republican, his editorials became very conservative. Harbaugh was a very small man and it is said tried to appear larger by wearing clothes several sizes too big for him.

The editor and proprietor of The Constitution from 1869 to 1873 was W. T. Wright, later judge of the county court of Pulaski County and editor of the Pulaski County Democrat. T. B. Reynolds became the publisher in 1873, and in 1876 sold it to George W. and James Eastin, sons of Gen. Lucien Eastin, the veteran newspaperman. Subsequent editors and

92. Jefferson City Examiner, 1859-60.
93. History of Holt and Atchison Counties, p. 998.
94. History of Franklin, Jefferson etc., Counties, p. 316.
95. Columbia Statesman, Sept. 14, 1860.

publishers have been Wright and Gilchrist, J. E. Hitt and Son, James L. Davis, J. T. Bradshaw, Barton, Newlands and Watkins and W. L. Watkins. (96)

The Macon Republican also dates back to 1860. It was founded in February of that year by Col. Abner L. Gilstrap. Its name was no indication of its politics for it belonged to the Douglas branch of the Democratic party. It was on March 2, 1871, sold to Gen. Fielder A. Jones and Major Sidney G. Brock. Both were men of ability and culture, trained in the law and in journalism. Gen. Jones was editor-in-chief of The Republican, which now became Republican in politics as well as in name. He conducted The Republican with marked ability until his death on January 7, 1882. Maj. Brock now took entire charge of the paper and continued as editor until 1890, when it became the property or its present owner and publisher, Philip Gansz. (97)

For the first time in the history of Missouri newspapers, there appeared one with a Latin name. This was the Vox Populi, published at Fulton. It was started by J. C. Fox in September, 1860, and was for Stephen A. Douglas for President. The Columbia Statesman of September 28, 1860, said of it: "The editorials are of the spread eagle order, but what else can be expected in a political paper with a Latin name." The results of the election of 1860 showed the editor that the "voice of the people" was not for Douglas. He stopped the publication of the paper in 1861 and opened a seminary in California, Missouri. (98)

The Journal was started at Georgetown in 1860 by J. H. Middleton and Gen. Bacon Montgomery. They gave it the motto: "Born, reared and educated in the Union, we shall die in the Union, or die in a struggle to preserve it." The Journal suspended publication in 1861.

The Caldwell County Beacon was started in October, 1860, at Kingston by Wilbur F. Boggs. It was a Democratic paper

96. Files of Columbia Statesman, 1859-99. Files of Chillicothe Constitution, 1899-date.
97. History of Randolph and Macon Counties, p. 846 ff.
98. Columbia Statesman, 1860-61.

and advocated secession. Mr. Boggs published it until 1864 when Judge George W. Buckingham bought the press and type and commenced the publication of The Banner of Liberty, a Republican paper. In July, 1864, a force of Confederates marched through Kingston, some of the soldiers entered the office of The Banner of Liberty and carried off the subscription books, but disturbed nothing else. The editor hid in a hazel thicket while the raid was in progress. The Banner of Liberty was published through 1866. (99)

The Lafayette Pioneer, a German paper, was published at Lexington by Philip Reichter during 1860. (100)

The Ste. Genevieve Plaindealer was established by Oliver D. Harris in February, 1860. He gave it the motto: "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable." It had a brief existence. Incurring the displeasure of the Provost Marshal, he suppressed the paper and siezed the office.(101)

The Missouri Plaindealer was established at Savannah in January, 1860, by Whittaker and Elkin. It was a strong anti-slavery paper and in 1861 was seized by the Confederates. The press and type were taken to camp where every available part was molded into bullets. The publishers purchased a new press a few weeks later and resumed publication of The Missouri Plaindealer, but were forced to suspend its publication again within a few weeks. (102)

The Southern Missouri Argus was started at Salem on May 19, 1860, by Carr, Shuck and Co. L. M. Nickol was the editor. It belonged to the National Democratic party. The Ste. Genevieve Plaindealer in acknowledging the receipt of the first number said: "We have received a voice from the wilderness." Salem was somewhat of a wilderness in those days.

The Southern Missouri Argus was moved to Farmington in 1861 and published there by Nickol, Shuck and Crowell. Nickol was from Kentucky, Crowell from Massachusetts and

99. History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, p. 172 ff.
100. History of Lafayette County by W. H. Chiles, p 9.
101. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 408.
102. History of Andrew and DeKalb Counties.

Shuck was a Missourian. Joseph J. Bradley bought it in 1862 and shortened the name to Missouri Argus. He transferred it to his sons in 1865. They changed the name to Farmington Herald and in 1872 moved it to De Soto, where it was published a short time. (103)

The Equal Rights Gazette was started at Springfield in 1860 by T. J. Ritchey. The editor said in his first issue: "We will adhere to the time honored and revered Democratic creed handed down to us from Jefferson through the administrations of Johnson, Polk, Pierce and Buchanan." It suspended publication in 1862. (104)

The Pike Union was established at Clarksville in 1860. It was edited by Dr. E. W. Herndon. He entered the Confederate army in 1861, but the paper continued until 1865. It was followed by The Monitor, which had been started at Hannibal as The Chronicle in 1862 by A. Sproul and William Frazee. When The Pike Union suspended the citizens of Clarksville petitioned the publishers of The Monitor to move to Clarksville and publish their paper there. They did so and published The Monitor as a Union conservative paper until 1867. In that year it became the property of Gen. J. C. Jamison and W. S. Pepper. They changed the name to Sentinel. L. A. Leach was the next publisher, and in 1878 J. G. Anderson succeeded to the ownership of the paper. He sold it on April 1, 1881, to L. R. Downing. M. S. Goodman was the publisher from 1889 to 1898, when he sold it to Hubble and Eads, who were publishing The Banner at Clarksville. They consolidated the two papers retaining the name Banner. Harry Hubble was the publisher from 1900 to 1906, when George W. Eads, present editor and proprietor, assumed control. In July, 1909, The Banner added the name Sentinel to its headline in order to perpetuate a newspaper which had been a potent factor in the affairs of not only the town of

103. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 441, and Southern Missouri Argus, June, 1860.

104. Files of Columbia Statesman, 1860-62.

Clarksville but of Pike County and Missouri for more than thirty years. (105)

The Standard was established at Columbia in 1862 by Edmund J. Ellis. He was forced to suspend its publication on account of its avowed sympathy with the Confederate cause. Ellis was imprisoned and tried on the charge that he used his newspaper to give information for the benefit of the enemy. He was found guilty and banished from Missouri during the war. His press, type and office furniture were sold by the Federals. (106) Ellis returned to Missouri after the war and resumed his profession. During his lifetime he owned and controlled no less than thirty-two different newspapers.

The Register was started at Macon in 1861 by D. E. H. Johnson. He was permitted to publish it only a few months. The Third Iowa Regiment passed through Macon and some of the soldiers who were printers took the press and type which they used in publishing an army paper, The Union. Johnson entered the Confederate army. (107)

An interesting paper was started at Platte City in April, 1861. It was The Tenth Legion, a secession paper, published by E. Sangston Wilkinson. He denounced the war against the South as a crusade of robbers and plunderers and kept a Confedrate flag floating over his office. He issued an extra on July 21, 1861, to celebrate the victory at Bull Run. The Federals soon suppressed The Tenth Legion. Wilkinson took sanctuary in Montana and from there entered the Confederate army. After the war he returned to Montana and published the Bozeman Times. (108)

The Shelby County Weekly was started at Shelbyville on March 7, 1861, by Griffin Frost, assisted by G. Watts Hillias. They gave it the motto: "Free as the wind, pure and firm as the voice of nature, the press should be." The paper lived but three months. In June representatives of the Union Home

105. Louisiana Press Journal, July 15, 1909.
106. History of Boone County, p. 419.
107. History of Randolph and Macon Counties, p. —
108. Annals of Platte County by W. M. Paxton, p. 46 ff.

Guards visited Mr. Frost, who was a secessionist, and ordered him to stop his "treasonable sheet." The soldiers closed the office, threw part of the furniture into the street and took the rest to Maryville. Mr. Frost entered the Missouri State Guard service and served with distinction throughout the war. (109) At the close of the war he took up his profession again at Edina and for years edited the Edina Democrat. He is author of "Camp and Prison Journal."

The Grand River News was started at Trenton in 1861. A. O. Brinkley and C. W. Buckingham became the publishers in 1864. Brinkley bought Buckingham's interest and in 1865 sold the paper to John E. Carter. A few months later N. T. Doane bought it and changed the name to Grand River Republican. Doane died in 1868 and the paper was leased to E. S. Darlington. He and W. H. Roberts bought the paper in 1869. On September 2d of that year it was sold to Col. W. B. Rogers. The name was changed to Trenton Republican in 1872.

Col. Rogers bought the Trenton Star in 1885, and consolidated it with his paper under the name Republican-Star. In 1903 he bought out the Trenton Tribune and changed the name of his paper to Republican-Tribune. It is still published by Col. Rogers under this name. (110)

The Platte County Sentinel was established at Weston in 1861 by A. F. Cox. Cox was an extreme abolitionist and used the columns of his paper to denounce every one who differed from him on the subject of slavery. He moved his paper to Platte City in March, 1864, and secured the country printing, but his prosperity was short lived. In July of the same year troops from Kansas under Colonels Ford and Jennison burned his office and destroyed all of his property, because he was publishing his paper in the building owned by a secessionist. Cox, himself, was protected as he was a Union man. He went to St. Louis, brokenhearted at this treatment by his friends and died there in 1869. (111)

109. History of Monroe and Shelby Counties, p 812.
110. History of Grundy County by J. E. Ford, p.
111. Annals of Platte County, by W. M. Paxton, p. 370 ff.

A little paper published at odd times during the war should be mentioned here, because of its unique and interesting character. It was The Missouri Army Argus, a small four-page three-column Confederate paper, printed by William F. Wiseley and edited by Joseph W. Tucker, soldiers in Gen. Price's army.

The press and type, which was carried with the army train, belonged to Wiseley, who had brought it with him from Platte City where he had been publishing The Platte Argus. Tucker, a Southern Methodist minister, known to his brother journalists as "Deacon Tucker," had been editor of The Missouri State Journal at St. Louis. His editorials offended the federal authorities. He was arrested and imprisoned, but escaped and joined Gen. Price's army.

The first issue of the Missouri Army Argus was on October 28, 1861, while the army was encamped at Neosho. It contained besides the army news the proceedings of the State Legislature, later known as "The Rebel Legislature," then in session at Neosho. The second number was issued at Cassville on November 6, 1861. The third number, the only copy extant, was issued at Greenfield on November 22, 1861. The publishers addressed the officers commanding each division of the army: "This little newspaper is paid for by the State, expressly for the use of the army. They are distributed to the different divisions in proportion to numbers. It is expected and earnestly requested that you see to it, that all the men of your commands are furnished with their proper share for perusal. If the soldiers do not get the paper, then the object of its publication is thwarted. Let every regiment and every company have its due compliment of papers."

The fourth number was issued on December 18, 1861, in North Missouri where Gen. Price had sent a small force to recruit brigades. Another issue was at Camp Des Arc, April 14, 1862, on a sheet of foolscap size. The last number was issued at Camp Churchill Clark near Corinth, Arkansas, Wiseley and Tucker were still army printer and editor. Wise-

ley died at Mobile during the war. There is no record of "Deacon" Tucker after the battle of Corinth.

The years 1862, 1863 and 1864 were "lean years" for Missouri newspapers. A majority of the editors suspended the publication of their papers and took up arms in defense of the stars and stripes or stars and bars. Few new papers were established and only four started during these three years survived to the present time.

The first number of The Canton Press was issued on July 4, 1862, by Jesse W. Barrett, founder and editor. During the war his paper was, with few exceptions, issued weekly under the motto: "Pledged but to truth, to liberty and law, no favor swings us and no fear shall awe." Mr. Barrett edited and published The Press for twenty-four years, and upon his death, September 9, 1886, his two sons, who had been associated with him in its publication, took charge of the paper and still edit and publish it.

The Boonville Monitor was started on May 24, 1862, by H. K. Davis. The editor announced that it would be an unconditional Union paper and would sustain the radical measures of the party and administration. It was published until July, 1864, when it suspended on account of hard times. (112)

The Conservative was started at Fredericktown in June, 1862, by W. H. Booth. He got out two issues at Fredericktown and then moved to Perryville, where he published his paper for twenty years under the name Perryville Union. It was consolidated with the Perry County Sun in 1882. (113)

Two papers were started at Springfield in 1862, The Missourian and The Journal.

The Missourian was established on March 1, 1862, by A. F. Ingram. It was the organ of the emancipationists. Charles E. Moss of Iowa was the editor. He was a writer of considerable ability but unpopular, as the people considered him a "carpet bagger."

The Missourian became The Missouri Patriot on Septem-

112. Files of Columbia Statesman.
113. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 450.

ber 25, 1864. It was still under the control of A. F. Ingram. William J. Teed purchased a half interest in October, 1864. Ingram sold his remaining interest in 1867 to E. R. Shipley. The Missouri Patriot was combined with the Advertiser in 1876 under the name Patriot-Advertiser. Col. James Demars was the editor and publisher. Later it passed into the possession of Col. D. C. Leach and suspended some time after 1880. (114)

The Journal was started at Springfield on May 21, 1862, by J. W. Boren and Maj. A. C. Graves. It was a conservative, Union paper. Major Graves was mortally wounded at the battle of Springfield, and Boren sold The Journal to J. W. D. L. F. Mack, "Alphabet Mack," as some of his contemporaries called him.

The Journal was published until some time after the war. (115)

The Union Standard was started at Warrensburg in May, 1862, by C. A. Middleton. It was published by him until 1865 when the press and office material were bought by S. K. Hall and N. B. Klaine. They issued the first number of their paper, The Standard, on June 17, 1865. They advocated equality of the races and made themselves and their paper very unpopular. Hall sold his interest to R. Baldwin on March 19, 1868.

The Standard was published by Klaine and Baldwin until 1875, when Baldwin bought Klaine's interest. It was combined with The Herald in 1893 under the name Standard-Herald. Baldwin retired from the paper in 1899. It was edited and published by Van Metre and Sheperd until 1903 when J. M. Sheperd assumed control. Since 1907 it has been published by C. M. Jaqua. (116)

The Atchison County Journal was founded on September 19, 1863. The office was owned by a stock company, of whom Col. P. A. Thompson, Bennett Pike, Aaron B. Durfee, Dr. C.

114. History of Greene County, p. 409 ff.
115. History of Greene County, p. 417 ff.
116. History of Johnson and Pettis Counties, p. 436.

V. Snow and F. M. Thompson were members. Col. P. A. Thompson was the editor and John D. Dopf had charge of the financial and mechanical management. The Journal was the official paper of Holt, Andrew, Nodoway and Atchison Counties. It was radical union in politics.

Mr. Dopf bought out all the stockholders in the fall of 1864 and from that time until 1904, a period of forty years, he controlled the policies of the paper. He was assited in its publication at different times by A. B. McCreary, Steele L. Morehead and his sons J. R. and Robert. On August 4, 1904, The Journal was sold to C. S. Dragoo and Company. (117)

The St. Charles Banner-News commenced as The St. Charles News at Wentzville in 1863. William S. Byram was the editor and publisher. He moved the plant to St. Charles in 1870 and sold a part interest to F. C. King. P. A. Farley became the proprietor in 1875 and continued as such until his death in April, 1883. James C. Holmes was the next publisher of The News. Later it was combined with the St. Charles Banner and published as The Banner-News by Britt and Comann. It is at present edited and published by Ronold M. Thompson. (118)

The Argus, a Republican paper, was published at Macon from 1863 through 1866. It was edited by Thomas Proctor.

The first number of The Audrain County Beacon was issued at Mexico in January, 1863, by Capt. Amos Ladd and A. O. O. Gardner. It was published until 1866 when it was consolidated with The Mexico Ledger and lost its name and identity. (119)

The Pacific Enterprise was started at Sedalia in August, 1863, by Wiley P. Baker. It was a Republican paper and was probably started to get the printing of a large number of sheriff sales. It was awarded this printing contract and suspended publication as soon as the contract was fulfilled. (120)

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117. Forty years with the Atchison County Journal by J. D. Dopf.
118. History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, p. 221.
119. Files of Columbia Statesman.
120. History of Sedalia Newspapers by J. West Goodwin.

The North Missourian was founded at Gallatin on August 28, 1864, by B. J. Waters and D. L. Kost. Waters sold his interest to J. T. Day, of Ohio, in the fall of 1866. The firm of Kost and Day continued its publication until April 23, 1870, when Kost sold his interest to W. F. Foster. William T. Sullivan bought Foster's interest on August 12, 1875, and in 1889 succeeded to full ownership. Since that time the North Missourian has been published successively by Sullivan and Brundige, R. M. Harrah, D. H. Gilchrist, C. M. Harrison, and S. G. McDowell, the present editor and publisher. (121)

The Grand River News was started at Albany in 1864 by Comstock and Stewart. The next year Deming and Matthewson became the publishers. They sold the paper to Robert N. Traver. He sold it in 1783 to George W. Needles who changed the name of American Freeman and published it for a number of years as an anti-monopoly reform paper. (122)

The Patriot was commenced at Kirksville on August 23, 1864 by Keel Bradley. He stopped its publication on November 23, 1865, and sold the press and office furniture to H. G. Kernodle who founded the present Kirksville Journal. The first number of The Journal was issued on December 2, 1865. It supported the radical union party. J. H. Myers and E. S. Darlington were associated with Mr. Kernodle in its publication. Samuel Pickler became the editor and publisher in 1871 and changed the name to Dollar Journal. The name was later changed back to Kirksville Journal. B. F. Heiny purchased a half interest in the paper in April, 1880, from Mr. Pickler, who subsequently sold his remaining interest to Judge Hooper. S. S. McLaughlin was the next editor and publisher. He was followed by W. M. Gill in January, 1887. W. F. and T. Link have published The Journal since 1897. (123)

Two papers bearing the name, The True Flag, were started in 1864, one at Alexandria by J. T. Howe and the other at Louisiana by C. C. M. Mayhall and J. N. Hawkins. Both were

121. History of Daviess County, p. 482-3.
122. History of Gentry and Worth Counties, p. 137.
123. History of Adair County, p. 410 ff.

radical union papers. The Alexandria True Flag was published until 1866. The one at Louisiana became the property of N. C. Rogers in 1866 and suspended publication in January, 1867. (124)

The Sedalia Advertiser was founded by George R., Benjamin R., and Thomas J. Lingle and the first number issued on August 20, 1864. The editors were Dr. Logan Clark and Orestes A. Crandall. Three or four months later Col. Jeff Thompson came in on a raid and closed the office, and on March 11, 1865, the paper was sold to P. G. Stafford and J. G. Magann. They named it The Sedalia Times, and made it an intensely radical Republican paper. Mr. Stafford was elected to the House of Representatives from Pettis county in 1866, and sold his interest in The Times to Magann. He sold a half interest in the paper to Perry Hawes, a school teacher from Ohio, and later postmaster of Sedalia. Gen. Bacon Montgomery bought Magann's remaining interest in March 5, 1866, but sold it in a few months to Perry Hawes.

The Times became the property of J. M. Godman, A. J. and F. A. Sampson in 1869. They sold it on June 3, 1870, to Charles M. Walker, who had been Fifth Auditor of the Treasury in Washington. He was not successful financially, and surrendered the office under the mortgage to Godman and Sampsons on June 22, 1872. Mr. Walker went to Indianapolis and became editor of the Indianapolis Journal. Cephas A. Leach, a Congregational minister, became the proprietor of The Times on Feb. 25, 1873. Richard Penny was associated with him in its publication. The next publishers were Kimball, Koyle and Sloane Brothers of The Daily News who bought it on November 3, 1880. Kimball and Koyle retired on November 7, 1881. The Sloans bought The Eagle, published by Milo Blair, and consolidated the two papers under the name Eagle-Times, until January 18, 1883, when they sold the entire plant to The New Age, a temperance paper. (125)

A paper was started in Platte county in 1864 which, in

124. Files of Columbia Statesman.
125. History of Sedalia Newspapers by J. West Goodwin.

common with former papers published in that county, soon attained considerable influence.

This paper was The Border Times published at Weston. The first number was issued on February 13, 1864. It was edited by a committee of union men, but Augustus T. Beller, a radical republican, was the active editor. It advocated union, liberty and equality, opposed secession and rebellion and approved of the emancipation of slaves. Mr. Beller never hesitated nor temporized in his defense of the union. With a moral courage unequalled by any anti-slavery man of his county he boldly and defiantly denounced through the columns of his paper, those principles he believed to be wrong. His outspoken loyalty was a shield for Platte county and many times saved it from the fire and sword of the Federals.

The Border Times was published under his editorship until 1871 when it suspended. (126)

The Missouri Conservator, a union paper, was published at Warrenton during 1864-65. J. E. Hatton was the editor. (127)

With the year 1865 Missouri newspapers enter into a new life. Editors returning from the long four years strife again took up their profession and fitted themselves as best they could into the new order of things, but found that in the general conduct of a newspaper they had to serve a new apprenticeship.

Many new papers were started and with few exceptions have continued to the present time.

Among the first soldier-editors to take up his work again was D. K. Abeel who, with commendable zeal started two newspapers, one at Harrisonville and one at Butler. Both were radical republican papers. The one at Harrisonville he named The Democrat. The Richmond Conservator in commenting upon the name said: "That is what we would call stealing the livery of Heaven to serve the Devil in." Abeel sold the Democrat in 1867 to S. T. Harris, who published it un-

126. Annals of Platte County by W. M. Paxton, p. 359 ff.
127. Files of Columbia Statesman.

til 1872. In that year the office was destroyed by fire and the paper was never re-established.

The paper at Butler was The Bates County Record, the first number of which was issued on May 18, 1865. Abeel sold this paper in November, 1867, to O. D. Austin, who still publishes it. (128)

The Knox County Gazette, a Republican paper, was started at Edina in 1865 by S. M. Wirt and J. B. Poage. They published it until June, 1866, when it became the property of Alfred Cooney and Rev. Father D. S. Phelan. They changed the name to Missouri Watchman. It was Democratic in politics and Catholic in religion. Father Phelan became the sole proprietor in 1869 and moved the paper to St. Louis where it became the well known Western Watchman. (129)

The First number of The Howard Union was issued at Glasgow on June 15, 1865, by Francis M. Taylor. This paper was really a revival of the old Glasgow Times which had been suppressed in 1861. The Howard Union took the motto of The Times: "Error ceases to be dangerous when reason is left free to combat it." Taylor sold The Union to James B. Thompson in January, 1866. He changed the name back to Glasgow Times and published it for a number of years. (130)

The Forge was started at Ironton in 1865 by Eli D. Ake, who has been editor and proprietor of The Iron County Register since 1869. Mr. Ake sold The Forge in 1866 to G. A. and J. L. Moser who changed the name to Southeast Missouri Enterprise. It suspended publication in 1873. (131)

The first number of The Peoples Tribune was issued at Jefferson City on October 4, 1865. Major C. J. Corwin was the editor. It was a liberal Republican paper. Joseph D. Regan bought it in 1866 and changed the politics to Democratic. W. C. Julian became associated with Mr. Regan in its publication on January 22, 1868. He remained with the

128. History of Cass and Bates Counties, p. 1020. Files of Richmond Conservator.
129. History of Lewis, Clark, Knox and Scott Counties, p. 745.
130. Howard Union, June 15, 1865. Files of Columbia Statesman.
131. History of Southeast Missouri, p. 456.

paper only a few months and Mr. Regan again assumed full control. He sold a half interest to Maj. John F. Howes, who had come to Jefferson City in 1859 to report the impeachment trial of Judge Albert Jackson. Major Howes assumed editorial charge of the paper and by his able articles made The Tribune both popular and influential. He continued as editor until his death in 1871. Mr. Regan then took James E. Carter into partnership and the firm of Regan and Carter continued to publish The Tribune until Mr. Regan's death in 1877. Mr. Carter published the paper until his death on October 23, 1879.

The office was sold to a stock company on August 18, 1880. In the summer of 1885 the name was changed to Jefferson City Tribune. It became The State Tribune on January 3, 1899, under the control of The Tribune Printing Company, composed E. W. Stephens, Walter Williams and Hugh Stephens. The State Tribune was sold to John G. and Byron E. Leslie in January, 1905. They changed the name back to Jefferson City Tribune. It was consolidated with The Democrat in January, 1910, and is now published as The Democrat-Tribune by Joseph Goldman, editor and business manager. A daily has been issued since September 9, 1873. (132)

The Chariton County Union was established at Keytesville in 1865 by William E. Maynard. He sold it in 1871 to Thomas Bogie who changed the name to Keytesville Herald. William E. Jones became the proprietor in 1874. J. L. Hudson bought it in June, 1878. He gave it the name it bears today, The Chariton Courier. Mr. Hudson sold the paper to A. C. Vandiver and J. M. Collins. Charles P. Vandiver, the present editor and proprietor, bought a part interest in it in 1889 and in 1892 assumed entire control. (133)

The Lafayette Advertiser was started at Lexington in the spring of 1865 by Casper Gruber and L. Davis. It came out strongly in support of the new constitution. In the fall

132. Files of Peoples Tribune, Jefferson City Tribune, 1865 to date.

133. History of Chariton County, p. 240.

of 1865 Gruber sold his interest to Samuel Earle. The name was changed to Missouri Valley Register. It came under the editorial control of Col. Mark L. DeMotte, a ready, vigorous and witty writer, a thorough politician, and a gentleman of varied attainments. He made The Register a power in the Republican ranks. In 1867 Col. DeMotte and Edwin Turner bought the paper and published it until 1873. In that year Col. DeMotte sold his interest to Henry W. Turner. Henry Bascom was the next publisher. It is not known definitely when The Register suspended publication. (134)

It was in June, 1865, that Col. Clark H. Green again took up newspaper work after four years spent in the Union army. It will be remembered that from 1840 until 1860 he was a power in the Whig and Republican party as editor of The Boon's Lick Times and of The Glasgow Times.

In 1865 he founded the present Macon Times-Democrat. It was then the Macon Times. In his salutatory, published in the Howard Union of June 29, 1865, he said: "We have spent the prime of our life in the business we now resume, in a neighboring county, 'battling for the right as God gave us to see the right,' so we shall continue to battle, and without further prelude, only ask to be judged by our acts, which will or may be read of all men."

The Times was published by Col. Green until his death in 1871, when it was sold to Maj. W. C. B. Gillespie, Hezekiah Purdom and John N. Howe.

Mr. Purdom's interest was bought by Maj. Gillespie in 1872. He sold it a few months later to T. A. H. Smith.

The Times was now consolidated with the Democrat and published under the name Democratic Times. It was edited and published in 1873 by James M. Love and E. C. Shain. They sold it in 1874 to B. F. Stone and Walter Brown.

There was a general consolidation of newspapers in Macon in 1875. The Democratic-Times, Journal and Daily Pilot were bought by a stock company which organized as The Examiner

134. History of Lafayette County by W. H. Chiles, p. 9.
135. History of Randolph and Macon Counties, p. 844-5.

Printing Company. This company commenced the publication of a daily and weekly paper, The Examiner. B. F. Stone became the editor and publisher of The Examiner in 1876. He sold it to J. A. Hudson and Hezekiah Purdom in 1877. Mr. Hudson sold his interest to I. J. Buster in February, 1878. W. C. B. Gillespie and C. H. Steele bought it in 1879 and changed the name to North Missouri Register. J. A. Hudson again became the proprietor in 1883 and changed the name back to Macon Times. Subsequent editors and publishers have been Eli Guthrie, for years official reporter of the Kansas City Court of Appeals, B. F. White, J. J. Heifner and the present publisher, F. H. Tedford. On September 6, 1901, the publishers of The Times bought the Macon Democrat and consolidated the two papers under the name Macon Times- Democrat. (135)

The True Flag was started at Macon in 1865 by John Scovern, a young man nineteen years old. He sold a part interest to N. L. Prentiss in 1867, and in 1869 sold his remaining interest in the paper. It soon afterwards suspended publication. (136)

The Saline County Progress was founded at Marshall in July, 1865, by R. S. and D. M. Sandidge. It is still edited and published by them.

The Yeoman, a Republican paper, was started at Marshfield in 1865 by Campbell and Ferguson. The later was elected in 1869 to represent Webster county in the State Legislature and the paper was sold to Alfred Smith and George Tunnel. It ultimately became the property of Carson and Stephens who sold it to Joseph Wisby. He stopped its publication a few years later. (137)

The Register, established at Maryville in August, 1865, had a brief but interesting life. It was established by Albert P. Morehouse, afterwards Governor of Missouri, but at that time practicing law in Maryville. The Register was started simply to get the county printing as the delinquent tax lists of 1865 were very heavy. Mr. Moorehouse kept the paper only a

136. History of Randolph and Macon Counties, p. 1205.
137. History of Laclede, Camden, Dallas, etc., Counties, p. 270.

few weeks, made $1400 out of the county printing and then gave the office to A. C. Votair, a practical printer in his employ. Votair published the paper in the interest of the Republican party until 1867 when he sold it to A. B. Cornell who changed the name to Reporter.

During the political campaign of 1870 there was a division in the Republican party in Nodaway county over the question of enfranchising the ex-Confederates. The Reporter opposed the enfranchising amendment to the Constitution and lost the support of its party.

The Republicans in favor of the amendment decided to start a paper of their own and on August 2, 1870, the first number of the Maryville Republican was issued. It was published by M. G. Roseberry, state senator from that district, and Joseph Jackson, later president of the First National bank of Maryville.

Dr. H. E. Robinson, scholar, author, bibliophile and gracious gentleman, bought The Republican in 1871, and published it until 1875. He sold it to B. A. Dunn and H. B. Swartz to take up again the practice of his profession. Mr. Dunn, now a writer of note living at Waukeegan, Illinois, sold his interest in The Republican to Byron Condow. Dr. Robinson bought the paper again in 1888 and edited and published it until his death, April 15, 1907. Under Dr. Robinson's control The Republican became one of the most influential journals in the west.

In November, 1907, H. L. Hutchinson, Daniel McFarland and others organized the Maryville Publishing company and bought The Republican. Daniel McFarland was the editor. The Republican was sold in June, 1910, to the publishers of The Nodaway Democrat and The Nodaway Forum. The combined papers under the name Democrat-Forum are published by W. C. Van Cleve, editor of The Forum, James Todd, editor of The Democrat, and N. S. De Motte, one of the owners of The Forum. (138)

138. Maryville Republican, June 9, 1910.

The DeKalb County Register was started at Maysville in 1865 by Day and Howe. It was a Republican paper. One publisher after another tried it until 1878 when it came under the control of Dalby and Glazier. They bought the Stewartsville News and combined the two papers, retaining the name Register. The politics was changed to Democratic. Mr. Glazier later became the editor and proprietor and published it for a number of years. (139)

The North Missouri Messenger was first issued at Mexico on September 22, 1865. William W. Davenport was the publisher and J. D. McFarlane, the editor. It was established, according to its prospectus especially "to support Governor Fletcher in his efforts to carry into force the recently adopted new constitution." Mr. Davenport sold the paper in 1866 to Col. L. H. Whitney who also became the editor. Milton F. Simmons became the proprietor in 1873 and in 1876 sold the entire establishment to the Mexico Ledger. (140)

The Ralls County Record was founded at New London in July, 1865, by Thomas R. Dodge, a pioneer newspaper man. He published it until 1889 when C. C. M. Mayhall became the editor and proprietor. It became the property of its present owner, Joseph Burnett, in 1897. (141)

The Holt County Sentinel was established at Oregon, June 30, 1865, by Charles W. Bowman. He sold it to A. N. Ruley on February 12, 1869. Ruley sold it in three months to Adam Klippel who published it until the fall of 1876 when it was bought by W. W. Davenport and D. P. Dobyns. Davenport sold his interest to W. F. Waller in 1881. In December of that year Mr. Dobyns bought out Mr. Waller and became sole editor and proprietor of The Sentinel. He sold a part interest to Thomas Curry in 1883. The paper is still published by Dobyns and Curry. (142)

The first number of the Monroe County Appeal was issued

139. History of Andrew and DeKalb Counties.
140. Files of Columbia Statesman.
141. Files of Columbia Statesman.
142. Sketch by D. P. Dobyns.

at Monroe City on October 8, 1865, by M. C. Brown and H. A. Buchanan. They published it until 1872 when J. B. Reavis bought Mr. Buchanan's interest. B. F. Blanton secured a controlling interest in 1873 and moved the paper to Paris where it has since been published by Mr. Blanton and his sons. (143)

The Lincoln County Herald was established by Edmund J. Ellis in December, 1865. It was conservative Democratic in politics and opposed to negro suffrage. Mr. Ellis sold a half interest in the paper in January, 1868, to Theo. D. Fisher, now editor and publisher of the Farmington Times. Mr. Fisher became sole proprietor of The Lincoln County Herald in December, 1868. It was consolidated with The Troy Dispatch on June 4, 1873. The name was changed to Troy Herald. Joseph A. Mudd, publisher of The Dispatch, was associated with Mr. Fisher in the publication of the consolidated papers. W. T. Thurmond bought the interest of J. A. Mudd in December, 1876. Two years later he bought Mr. Fisher's interest and continued to edit and publish The Herald through 1890. (143a)

The Franklin County Tribune was founded at Union, May 15, 1865, by Dr. William Moore. It was known then as The Franklin County Progress. Dr. Moore sold the paper to a stock company. The plant was moved to Pacific and The Progress published there as an independent paper. J. H. Chambers became the next publisher and moved the paper to Washington. He changed the name to Franklin County Democrat.

The next owner was J. J. Shelton. He moved it back to Union and in 1887 sold it to Clark Brown. Mr. Brown changed the name to Tribune and the politics to Republican. He published The Tribune until 1891. In that year he bought The Republican, published at Washington and The Record published at Union, and consolidated them with The Tribune changing the name to Republican-Tribune. He changed the name back to Franklin County Tribune in 1897. Mr. Brown continued as editor and publisher until 1907 when he sold the

143. History of Monroe and Shelby Counties, p. 200.

143a. Files of The Lincoln County Herald and Troy Herald, 1866-1878.

entire establishment to A. L. Baumgartner, the present editor and proprietor. (144)

The Morgan County Banner was the second newspaper venture in that county. It was started at Versailles in 1865 by William J. Jackson. He sold it in less than a year to B. S. Walker, W. A. Mills and J. H. Stover. W. A. Mills became the proprietor in 1867, but sold it in a few months to W. R. H. Carty who published it until 1870. John A. Hannay, the next publisher changed the name to Morgan County Gazette. It became the Versailles Gazette in 1874 and in 1886 was consolidated with The Morgan Messenger. The consolidated papers were published as The Messenger-Gazette through 1887. (145)

The Warsaw Times was established in the fall of 1865 by Judge Sewell W. Smith. He was assisted for a short time by Assistant Adjutant-General John M. Read. Besides editing and publishing The Times, Judge Smith presided over the County Court for six years, was Justice of the Peace for nearly as long, Mayor of Warsaw, chairman of the Republican County committee, a member of the senatorial and congressional executive committee, an elder in the Presbyterian church, superintendent and president of the Benton County Sunday School association, and held office in the Masonic Lodge, Good Templars, Sons of Temperance, G. A. R., Veterans of the Mexican War, and Missouri Press Association.

Since the death of Judge Smith The Times has been published successively by Mrs. Smith, Knight and Barrett, J. G. Knight, G. N. Richards, Meyers and Richards and is now edited and published by George B. Dowell. (146)

The Platte County Landmark was first published at Weston. Harry Howard was the publisher and C. L. Wheeler the editor. The first number was issued on September 28, 1865, with the motto: "Remove not the ancient landmarks." Judge

144. Franklin County Tribune, May 8, 1908.

145. History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan and Benton Counties, p. 431.

146. History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan and Benton Counties, p. 507 and 736.

Samuel A. Gilbert became the editor in 1869. J. R. Reynolds and James L. McCluer bought the paper in August, 1870. Reynolds sold his interest to Maj. L. W. Park on June 2, 1871. The Landmark was then moved to Platte City where it has since been published. Maj. Park became the sole proprietor in 1878. J. L. McCluer again became associated with Maj. Park in its publication in 1879. They bought The Advocate and consolidated the two papers, but kept the name Landmark. Major Park retired from the paper in 1886 after fifteen years service as editor. He was succeeded by Rev. Thomas R. Valliant and James M. Cockrill. J. L. McCluer remained on the paper as a silent partner. Rev. Valliant retired in December, 1888, and John B. Mundy assisted Mr. Cockrill in its publication. The present editor and proprietor, W. T. Jenkins, has controlled the Landmark since August 24, 1890. (147)

This brief history of The County Press of Missouri closes with the year 1865. Much of the history of Missouri newspapers has been made since that year, but it is the history of modern newspapers, differing materially from that of the pioneer press.

The early journalists of Missouri met and overcame difficulties of which the modern editor knows nothing. They were often seriously embarrassed because so far removed from the source of supplies. Press, types, paper and ink are heavy articles, and poorly adapted to the rough methods of pioneer transportation.

So pressing was the necessity for a trans-Mississippi paper mill that one was established at Rock Bridge, near Columbia, in 1834.

The paper from this mill was manufactured long before the tariff on wood pulp made the obtaining of "print" paper at reasonable figures a vexatious question to latter day publishers. It was made of rags. In January, 1834, the firm composed of David and William Lamme, John W. Keiser and Thomas Cox, gave public notice that they would pay for "good clean linen

147. Annals of Platte County by W. M. Paxton, p. 399 ff.

and cotton rags, 3 cents per pound, for woolen 10 and jeans rags 1 cent per pound."

It was 1838 before a type foundry was established in Missouri.

The hand presses in use were heavy and clumsy. Much hard manual labor was required in getting the paper out, often only fifty to seventy-five sheets could be worked off in an hour.

The pioneer newspapers of Missouri possessed certain general characteristics. They were usually the outgrowth of local conditions. Where two or three stores and a blacksmith shop were gathered together, there was the newspaper man and his little "print shop" in the midst of them. But these early papers reflected far less than the papers of today, the local history, for there is an almost complete absence of home news. Mrs. Smith might give the most elaborate "pink tea" in the history of the community, but no mention would be made of it. Two or three lines were sufficient to chronicle the arrival of as important a personage as Thomas H. Benton, but if he made a speech it was printed in full whether it filled one column or ten. Much space was given to the proceedings of Congress and the State Legislature, to foreign and eastern news, contributed discussions and the ever valuable and suggestive advertisement.

The newspaper was published then not to furnish news, but ideas. While there were few editorials, as we know them, there was always one leading article from the pen of the editor. This article was almost invariably of a political nature, for politics have ever been a dominant factor in the history of Missouri.

The pioneer editors were almost always men to be reckoned with, and generally won prominence in the political affairs of their community. They were usually lawyers who in the editorial office began long and honorable public careers.

The early papers of Missouri were never lacking in enterprise. The very fact of their establishment under almost insurmountable difficulties was in itself a display of that masterly

energy which is born of optimism. They did untold good in the early development of the Middle West and of Missouri.

Missouri editors have ever been jealous of the fair name of their state and zealous in spreading her fame abroad. They have been loyal in season and out of season, when their efforts were rewarded with chips and stones, as well as when the reward came in coin of the realm.

Until we come to know them and their work, we fail to appreciate some of the underlying forces of the history of our state.

MINNIE ORGAN.

THE SANTA FE TRAIL.

Prior to 1818 all of the explorers, traders and many trappers made St. Louis the place from which to outfit and start. Most of the early traders were of Spanish or French descent.

James Mackey, a Scotchman, was in St. Louis between 1790 and 1800. About 1797 he traded some west of the mouth of the Kaw river. He afterwards marked off the streets of early St. Louis, and his son, Zeno Mackey, laid off Carondelet and part of St. Louis.

Manuel Lisa, a native of Cuba, and of Spanish descent, was one of the early traders, and active in establishing posts on the Missouri. He established a trading post on the Yellowstone in 1807 near where is now the town of Custer.

In 1806 Capt. Pike passed Lisa's trading post on the Osage near where the present town of Papinville now stands.

Pierre Chouteau was also one of the chief of the early fur traders. He, with Lisa, Clark and others, formed the Missouri Fur Co., and the American Fur Co. The object of these early traders was to secure furs, and in those days the fur trade was extensive. Buffalo, bear, deer, and beaver were numerous and their furs valuable.

After 1810 other traders went west and southwest to New Mexico. Merchandise was taken to Santa Fe, and there sold for good prices, and for thirty-five years there was an extensive trade to Santa Fe.

In 1804 William Morrison of Kaskaskia sent Baptiste La Lande, a creole, with a lot of goods to sell. La Lande took them to Santa Fe, sold them and kept the money he received and remained in Santa Fe (1) Morrison authorized Dr. Robinson to collect the money from La Lande—Dr. Robinson went out with Capt. Pike and in February, 1807, was in Santa Fe, but could do nothing with La Lande. La Lande acted as guide to Capt. Pike between Santa Fe and Albuquerque.

1. Pike's Expedition, Phil., 1810, p. 195.

Lieut. Zebulon Montgomery Pike (who was Gen. Pike in War of 1812) left the post at Belle Fontaine on the 15th of July, 1805. July 28 he reached the Osage. On the 14th of August he arrived at trading post of Manuel Lisa (near the present village of Papinville). About the middle of October he reached the Arkansas. On the 27th of November he came in sight of the snow capped mountain, later known as Pike's Peak. He found that its height above the plain was 10,581 feet. Pike soon after found himself on the Rio Grande, and for awhile was under guard of the Spaniards, and brought to Santa Fe, where he arrived on March 2, 1807. On March 7 he reached Albuquerque. Still guarded by Spanish guards he reached Natchetoches, La., July 1, 1807.

In 1812 McKnight, Beard and Chambers following Capt. Pike's directions, succeeded in safely reaching Santa Fe. (2) At this time Hidalgo, who had failed in forcing Mexico from Spanish rule, had been defeated and executed. The royalists felt that they had regained their power and people from the United States were received with suspicion. So McKnight and those with him were seized as suspected spies, their goods were confiscated and the men thrown into prison, and most of them confined for nine years.

When the Republican forces under Itrubide gained power McKnight and his men were liberated. Some of them, on their return, met Glenn at his trading post at mouth of the Verdigris. Glenn was from Cincinnati, Ohio. The stories these men told Glenn induced him to venture. He passed up the Arkansas encountering much trouble and reached Santa Fe in 1821. Some accounts say that Glenn was here several years before.

Tales of wealth of gold and silver attracted the traders to Santa Fe and other companies were formed. Prior to 1815 most of the companies organized in St. Louis, but as boats began to navigate the Missouri, Franklin, on the river, in Howard County, became the starting point, and between 1820 and 1830 many companies were outfitted at that place. Steam-

2. Gregg in Commerce of Prairies, p. 19.

boats being more abundant on the river, Independence next became the starting point for the Santa Fe trade.

In the spring of 1822 two parties left Franklin for Santa Fe. (3) A party under Col. Cooper met with disaster and was robbed by the Indians. Jumel of the Missouri Fur Company brought the news to Gen. Atkinson at Council Bluffs. Mr. Glenn came in from Santa Fe and reported that he met the Cooper party at the bend of the Arkansas, and he believed that Cooper would soon fall in with parties of Indians, and the meeting might result in disaster to Cooper, as Glenn had been stopped by the same Indians, and it was difficult to get clear of them. At this time there were fifty persons in Franklin from St. Louis en route to Santa Fe.

Capt. Wm. Bicknell and his company started from Franklin to Santa Fe, crossing the Missouri river near Arrow Rock the 1st of September, 1821. (4) On his route he crossed the Petite Osage plains, passed Fort Osage, crossed the Osage and reached Santa Fe about the middle of November.

On 22d May, 1822, Bicknell and party returned to Santa Fe. He was 48 days on his return trip from Santa Fe. Bicknell states that an excellent route may be made from Fort Osage to Santa Fe.

During November, 1824, Capt. Wm. Bicknell journeyed northwardly from Santa Fe to Green river for the purpose of trapping. (5)

A company of 30 left in May, 1823, on a commercial adventure to Santa Fe (6) They went by Fort Osage and thence direct. Each man had one or two pack horses and about $200 worth of goods. Col. Cooper, who was in Santa Fe the preceding summer, accompanied them. All were well armed.

In August, 1822, Capt. Cole and his nephew were killed by the Navajoes on the banks of the Rio del Norte. The Navajoes discovered them in the evening and thought they were Spaniards. They watched, and in the night murdered

3. Missouri Intelligencer, Sept. 3, 1822.
4. Missouri Intelligencer, April 22, 1823.
5. Intelligencer, June 25, 1825.
6. Intelligencer, May 13, 1823.

them. Examining their rifles they found that they were Americans and were much grieved that they had killed them instead of Spaniards. They did not strip them and even left part of their baggage. They afterwards evinced much sorrow for what they had done, and said that the Americans had always treated them well.

Mr. Graham, Indian agent, appeared before the congressional committee and gave evidence regarding the Santa Fe trade. He spoke of it as a small trade, that the Spaniards at Santa Fe were miserably poor, and gave in exchange a small trade in furs. He recommended a trail and a post on the Arkansas. (7)

Maj. O'Fallon, Indian agent for the upper Missouri, had received verbal application from the commandant at Santa Fe desiring interference to restrain the Pawnees and other Indians from committing depredations, and advised that commissioners should be appointed on part of the constituted authorities at Santa Fe to meet at Council Bluffs and arrange terms of peace. (8)

A company of Americans and Mexicans who left Santa Fe the 1st of June arrived at Franklin with nearly 500 mules and horses. They fell in with Osages and were plundered and badly treated. (9) The company pursued a new route from Santa Fe. One hundred miles from St. Michaels they crossed the Canadian river at the foot of the great table land. Thence down along the north side of the stream for 300 miles until they passed the high knobs, thence northeast to the Arkansas river, which was safely crossed, and three days after they camped and sent out twelve or thirteen of the company for the purpose of killing buffalo to take to the settlements. Two hours later those in camp were aroused by the cry "Indians are among the horses." At this many of them ran among the horses endeavoring to check them, only one was mounted. At this time the Indians showed no hostility.

7. Intelligencer of May 8, 1824.
8. Intelligencer, June 5, 1824.
9. Intelligencer, Aug. 5, 1825.

continually crying out, others frightening the horses by riding among them. In this way two-thirds of the animals were driven off. Six or seven men mounted and pursued. It was soon apparent that the animals were divided into four parties. The men separated, part after one drove, others after others. Both succeeded in catching a drove, one of 63 horses and mules, safely reaching camp. The other was retaken by the Indians and driven to their camp four or five miles off. In the meantime these Indians had fallen in with the party who went out hunting and forcibly took them all to their camp, robbing them and taking everything they wanted. The party which had pursued the horses reported that there were from 200 to 300 warriors in camp, many of whom seemed indisposed. During this and the next day many of them were continually in the camp endeavoring to steal. During the 14th and 15th the Osages moved to the camp and returned 50 or 60 animals which they had driven off. They kept the best, amounting to 130. The Indians were told that they would be made to pay.

Rumors that persons en route from Santa Fe to Franklin had been attacked by a band of Arapahoes on the Cimmaron river in the Mexican province and everything of value taken from them, and that three persons had been killed. (10)

Wm. Huddard, who went to Santa Fe with a trading company the preceding winter, returned in the spring. He left Taos January 12, 1825. (11) He said that on the 24th of August, 1824, he with fourteen others left Taos with the object of trapping beaver, and traveled west for thirty days on a river (probably Colorado), the company separated, nine ascending the river. Huddart and others remained, and in a few days they accidentally fell in with five other Americans, including Mr. Roubidaux. Ten days after a party of Arapahoes attacked them, killing one man named Nowlin, and robbed the others. The party of six then concluded to return to Taos, and left Mr. Roubidaux and his men in the mountains with-

10. Intelligencer, April 5, 1825.
11. Intelligencer, April 19, 1825.

out a horse or mule. Three other Americans had been killed in New Mexico; Mr. Nance by a Spaniard, and Messrs. Foote and Hanley by the Indians.

The party which left Franklin in 1824 had met with reverses. (12) Geo. Armstrong, son of Mrs. Means of Franklin, was killed. The trade in furs and merchandise was still carried on with vigor.

Upwards of 100 who left Franklin in the spring of 1825 reached Franklin in the fall. (13) Forty others were expected within a few days. A number remained in Santa Fe expecting to stay there during the winter. Among them was Augustus Storrs, who was appointed consul at that place. About twenty returned by way of Louisiana. About twenty of the Tennessee company came back a good part of the way with the Missourians, and then went direct through Arkansas. The small party which left Franklin a few weeks ago were met about 300 miles out and were in company with the Santa Fe Road Commissioners. (12) The Intelligencer of June 25, 1825, gives an account of another tour of Capt. Wm. Bicknell.

Three commissioners were to be appointed to survey the road to Santa Fe. The commissioners were Benj. H. Reeves of Howard County. Mo.; George C. Sibley of St. Charles, and Thomas Mather of Illinois. They employed J. C. Brown of St. Louis as surveyor. (14) The survey began at Fort Osage (now town of Sibley), Missouri, 17th July, 1825, (15) and arrived at the boundary line of the United States and Mexico on 11th September, distance from Fort Osage 416 miles, and remained there until September 20th. The approach of winter made it necessary to prepare for it. Maj. Sibley and a small party set out for Santa Fe. Col. Mather and Col. Reeves started back locating and working the road; they had experienced no difficulty for want of wood and water. A most excellent route could be had as nature has opened it. Col Reeves said "the route is entirely practicable for the heaviest

12. Intelligencer, June 11, 1825.
13. Intelligencer, October 1, 1825.
14. Missouri Intelligencer, March 1, 1825.
15. Intelligencer, Oct. 28, 1825.

vehicle, that the Indians had manifested great friendship and readily consented to the unmolested use of the road through any part of their territory, and guaranteed every protection in their power."

The commissioners met a deputation of the Osages soon after they started on their survey, and the Osages gave them the privilege to survey and establish a road through their territory, for which they were given a certain amount of money. The place where they and the Osages met was then and has ever since been known as Council Grove a name given it at that time by the commissioners.

During 1826 the commissioners obtained authority from the Mexican Government to examine routes in their territory and a survey was begun at Fernando de Toas and ran to connect with survey of the year before. Their table of distances began at Fort Osage, 25 miles east of the west line of Missouri. Their distances, counting from Fort Osage were: Council Groves 139 miles; Diamond Spring 115 miles; Arkansas river 255 miles; Mexican boundary 416 miles; Silver Cimaron Spring 477; Middle Cimaron Spring 514; Upper Cimaron Spring 553; Canadian river 668; Foot of Mountains 710 miles; Summit 727 miles; San Fernando de Taos 745 miles; Santa Fe 810 miles, or 795 miles from Independence.

A map of the survey was placed in the office of the War Department at Washington City and was seen there only a few years ago. The maps made by Jos. C. Brown, surveyor employed by the commissioners. The first map, dated October 27, 1827, shows the trail from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. This map is endorsed by Col. John I. Abert of corps of engineers in 1844, who states that it is the original plat of survey, Fort Osage to Santa Fe. Another map shows survey from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. A third map shows survey from U. S. Boundary to Santa Fe. A manuscript atlas in handwriting of Geo. C. Sibley shows route from boundary of Missouri to Fernando de Taos, with notes and directions for travelers. There are thirty-seven leaves of manuscript and drawings, making seventy-four pages in all. The Santa Fe railroad has

approximately followed the route of the survey excepting beyond Trinidad, where it turns towards Las Vegas. So have done most of the traders to Santa Fe.

Harpers' Monthly, Vol. 21, for June 1860, contains an interesting account of the trials and adventures of Sylvester Pattie and his son James, who started out from St. Louis in 1824, passed up the Missouri to St. Joseph, crossed the Missouri on 20 June, 1824, thence to the headwaters of the Platte and to Santa Fe. There they remained awhile, trapped on the Gila and mined in the copper mines, made $30,000, but it was all stolen from them. Afterwards they trapped on the Colorado and got many furs. They then went to San Diego California, and were put in prison and kept there nearly a year, during which time the elder Pattie died. The son, James, after getting out of prison went to San Francisco, and was probably the first person from the United States who crossed the continent and saw San Francisco. From here he went to Vera Cruz, then to New Orleans and back to St. Louis after a six years' journeying.

Alphonso Wetmore states that trade to Chihuahua and Sonora amounted to $2,000,000 per annum.* On the whole distance forage was scarce and high, and brackish water was often encountered, and sometimes for six days there was no grass. Grass and water was found to the head of Missouri streams. (16) In 1830 a caravan brought in $200,000 to Fayette, Missouri, also some merchandise. (17) Some persons got wealthy in the Santa Fe trade. David Waldo came to Missouri from Virginia in the early part of the nineteenth century. (18) He cut and handled pines on headwaters of the Gasconade. In 1826 he went to Lexington, Kentucky, and attended medical lectures. Returning to Missouri he acted as clerk of the circuit court of Gasconade County, also of the county court, deputy sheriff and postmaster. At that time Gasconade included a half dozen other counties lying to the

16. Intelligencer, Jan. 19, 1829.
17. Intelligencer, Feb., 1830.
18. Darby Recollections.

south of the Missouri, and people spoke of "State of Gasconade, David Waldo, Governor."

David Waldo crossed the plains in 1827 and in 1828 he and Charles Bent went across the plains to Santa Fe. On account of Indian troubles Maj. Bennett Riley marched from Council Bluffs and escorted them part of the way. Bent established forts on the upper Arkansas which became points on the route to Santa Fe about 1833. David Waldo amassed some wealth in the Santa Fe trade. Afterwards he had a store at Independence, Missouri, and in his latter days had a bank there. William Waldo, a brother of David, dwelt in Texas and traded to Mexico.

Josiah Gregg crossed the plains between Independence and Santa Fe three times between 1831 and 1838. The articles he brought to the United States were gold (in dust), silver bullion, coarse blankets, mules and asses, buffalo rugs, goods, chiefly from Chihuahua. He made the return trip in 38 days.

Indians were sometimes troublesome to those going across the plains. They were Pawnees and Comanche chiefly. In 1829 Maj. Bennett Riley was detailed for awhile to watch these Indians. In one of Gregg's trips he had an escort part of the way.

In 1839 Gregg made arrangement to go again to Santa Fe To this end he had goods shipped up Arkansas river to Van Buren, and started from that place early in April with $25,000 worth of goods. His route was up the Canadian, thence via Tucumcari, thence to San Miguel and Santa Fe, where he arrived on 25th of June. He then passed on to Chihuahua and beyond. He returned to the States the next year. Gregg spent most of nine years on the plains and in the Santa Fe trade. He afterwards wrote an interesting book of two volumes entitled "Commerce of the Prairies."

In 1852 I was in Independence, Missouri, and saw goods for the Santa Fe trade and many persons preparing to start to that place.

As stated above, many persons sought the Santa Fe and Mexican trade between 1820 and 1840. Before Missouri became a State expeditions for exploring the plains and mountains to the west were sent out by the Government. In 1819 Maj. Stephen Long was sent west; he stopped at Franklin, thence west by Fort Osage to Glenn's fort on the Arkansas, north to the Platte and back.

In 1842 J. C. Fremont went west with Kit Carson as guide. He passed up the Missouri to the north of Kansas river, thence along Santa Fe road nearly to Arkansas, thence to St. Vrain's fort on the Platte, up Sweet Water to South Pass, returned down the Platte, and there losing most of his equipment.

In 1846 people crossed the plains to Oregon and California. The gold discoveries in California in 1849 turned attention of every one to California.

Just after the Mexican War, or before it was ended, people were attracted to California. In 1846 Col. Emory by direction of Gen. Kearney, journeyed from Fort Leavenworth southwest by Council Grove to Pawnee Fork, 288 miles up the Arkansas, across the Canadian and the Cimarron by Las Vegas to Santa Fe, thence west to San Diego—Doniphan was with him prior to reaching Santa Fe. The country is well described, first the prairies with tall grass and trees on streams, then grass more scanty and only a few cottonwoods on streams, then only a little of the buffalo grass on uplands and a few bushes on streams, and water often scarce. No trees scarcely beyond 200 miles from Missouri.

Felix X. Aubrey of St. Louis made frequent trips between Independence and Santa Fe. In 1848 he rode horseback from Independence to Santa Fe without making any stops. He had relays of horses on the route and in fact had one or two alongside all the time. I have heard that he made the trip in four days . The Encyclopedia of Missouri History says that it took him nine days and a few hours. He slept tied to his horse.

The proper Santa Fe trail undoubtedly ran from Fort Osage, Jackson County, Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Certain roads in Missouri were feeders to it, more particularly the road from Old Franklin, Howard County, to Fort Osage. The main tributary road to Old Franklin was the Boonslick road from St. Charles to Boonslick, Howard County, with a short branch to Old Franklin. This road passed from St. Charles via Pauldingville, Warrenton, Camp Branch, Jonesburg, Danville, Williamsburg, Concord, Thralls Prairie to Boonslick, passing six to eight miles north of Fulton and about same distance north of Columbia. Fulton and Columbia were both laid off in 1822, the Boonslick road had been used for six years previously. The road was the main thoroughfare of persons going to Boonslick for salt, just as the Salt river road from St. Charles to Palmyra was the road to the salt springs of Pike and Ralls Counties.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

January, 1910.

MISSOURI WEATHER IN EARLY DAYS.

When as a boy, living at my father's farm 1 1-2 miles north of Flint Hill, in St. Charles county, Missouri, even then I daily observed the thermometer and the changes of the weather and made note of them. The winter of 1842-43 was long and continued into March, but during 1843-44 the thermometer was not lower than zero, followed by an early spring, though as before there was much cold weather in March. The river rose high in 1844, and the last of May the Mississippi covered its entire bottoms, and by the first of June many persons had to move to the hills. The Mississippi backed sixty miles up the Ohio, and more rain fell in eleven days in May than in all of 1843. It and the Missouri overflowed three times in June.

In St. Charles county, in the Mississippi bottoms, there are some large sloughs. When the water receded, after the flood these sloughs were found to contain many large fish, buffalo, cat, sturgeon, shovel fish and others. People would walk into the water and brush against fish at every step and would spear the fish and throw them out. They came thirty miles, camped out and next day would go home with a load of fish.

September 21, 1844, there was a heavy frost. Like March of this year, March and the first half of April were warm—as high as 90, but May 16 there was a heavy frost. In 1846 rain fell from April 22 to May 7. In 1847 frost was on May 3, and in 1857 I saw frost in the valley of Pomme de Terre, Benton county, on May 18.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

MISSOURI DOCUMENTS FOR THE SMALL PUBLIC LIBRARY.

A paper read before the Missouri State Library Association at Columbia, October, 1909.

The State documents, when considered for use in a library, fall naturally into two classes, statistical or reference; and non-statistical or readable. The former will prove useful in giving latest statistics on various subjects. The latter contain the latest and most authoritative information on the many lines of work being carried on by the State. The articles are well written and are often illustrated.

The first class being purely statistical will not appeal to the general reader; but will meet the demands of the newspaper man or lawyer or perhaps of the high school student working up a debate. If crowded conditions exist in the library, the last number of a document of this class is all that is necessary or even advisable. Of first importance among these statistical publications is the Blue Book or New Official Manual of the State of Missouri, a most useful reference book containing biographical and historical material as well as information concerning the national, State and municipal Government. There is much also of a general interest. For example, the last volume contains a careful description (accompanied by an illustration and definition of terms) of the seal of the State of Missouri. There is also a list of the private schools of the State with tabulated information concerning them. The Journal of the Senate and House give brief proceedings; but no speeches. A classified index makes it possible to look up any subject which has been presented in the General Assembly , also the record of any Senator or Representative. Files of the bills and daily journals may be secured

as issued by asking for them at the beginning of a session. The Revised Statutes of 1899 in two volumes give the general laws in force at that time and should be supplemented by Missouri Session Laws, 1901—date. A bill passed at the last General Assembly gives one copy of the Session Laws to every library in the State.

Among the special reports, those of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission are useful on account of the lively interest in the regulation of railroad rates. The Commission also issues a large wall map of Missouri, which is the best map available. Another report which meets a demand at the present time is the Insurance report. This gives the standing of companies doing business in the State. A similar report for banks is issued by the State Bank Examiner. The report of the Charities and Corrections contains a summary of their recommendations to the Legislature; a review of the work of the juvenile courts of Kansas City and St. Louis; also a brief statistical account of the different charitable institutions of the State. In a small library where crowded conditions exist, it might be well to keep only this report for the State institutions. The full report of any one of them could be secured in a few days to meeet a demand. In the average library, however, space would not be so available as to prohibit the filing of the latest report of each State institution. They are not purely statistical; but contain illustrations and give much information concerning the institutions.

Partly statistical and thus on the line between our two classes of documents, is the Red Book or Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The 1908 volume contains an article on the European continuation schools and the need of industrial education in the United States with special reference to Missouri. It gives also an account of the work of the Free Employment Agency conducted by the bureau.

Of quite a different character are the books of the second class, of which the Agricultural publications form an important part. The reports, bulletins, and circulars of information issued by the Agricultural Experiment Station give the re-

sults of the experiments which are constantly being carried on by the station. The reports and the bulletins of the State Board of Agriculture give the experience of successful farmers and are therefore very valuable. These, together with the reports of the Dairy and Food Commissioner and of the State Horticultural Society, and Fruit Experiment Station go to make up a splendid collection giving the very latest information on agricultural subjects.

The importance of arousing interest in local and State history is realized doubtless by every librarian. The report of the State Historical Society of Missouri and the Missouri Historical Review, a quarterly published by the society, are of very great importance in this work. The subscription to the Quarterly, one dollar per year, includes membership and puts the library on the mailing list of the society.

The geography and geology of the State may be found in the reports and bulletins of the Geological Survey and lately in the Bureau of Geology and Mines. The second series of reports being issued by the Bureau are especially attractive, being of a rather popular nature and beautifully illustrated. These reports treat of the mineral and clay deposits, water supply and allied subjects. Some, however, are of a still more practical nature. For example, volume 5 of the second series is devoted to public roads, their improvement and maintenance, and includes the construction of sidewalks. Of value to those interested in mining are the "Economic considerations" which form a large part of those reports. The reports of the Mines and Mine Inspection Bureau are likewise useful from the practical standpoint and would be particularly useful in a mining district.

The educational interests of the State are represented by the report of the Superintendent of Public Schools. This is largely statistical; but contains also recommendations for the consolidation and improvement of the rural schools; plans and pictures of school buildings, and much of value to teachers. For the higher education of the State, there are the brief accounts of the State University and the Normal schools in

the Blue Book; and the Annual Reports of the President of the University and of the Normal schools. There are also the reports and miscellaneous publications of the Library Commission. The librarian will find these very useful. The report of the State Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and similar reports for as many of the national and international expositions as can be secured, will prove useful. A valuable book was issued for the St. Louis Exposition, entitled The State of Missouri; an autobiography, edited by Walter Williams. Copies may still be secured from the State Historical Society for cost of transportation.

Among the laws on special subjects, the School Laws and Election Laws would probably be most useful. The desirability of securing copies of some of the other special laws such as the Game Laws and Mining Laws would depend upon the community in which the library is located.

The following list may seem formidable; but it should be kept in mind that it is only suggestive, also that the last number of the statistical documents is all that is necessary. The fact that they are practically all free (if there is any charge it is indicated) should not detract from their value. The usefulness of the documents will be increased by careful classification. A document collection is not desirable. Forget that they are documents and treat them just as other books.

MISSOURI—SUGGESTIVE LIST OF STATE DOCUMENTS.

General.

Revised Statutes, 1899. v. 1. out of print. v. 2, purchase $1.50.

Session Acts, 1901—date. 1901-7, 50c ea. 1909, free.

Should be in every library.

N. B. The latest revision of the Statutes, 1910, will contain the results of the legislation of the 45th General Assembly, 1909. The latest editions of both the above titles are free to Public Libraries on request; address Secretary of State.

Banking Laws. State Banking Department (Useful for business men.)

Corporation Laws. Secretary of State.

Election Laws. Secretary of State.

Game Laws. State Game Warden. (Depend on community.)

Insurance Laws. State Insurance Department.

Labor Laws. Commissioner of Labor.

Legislative Journals. Secretary of State. (Free except for freight. Should have last volume.)

Manual (Blue Book). Secretary of State. (Most useful reference book.) (Keep last volume.)

Mining Laws. Bureau of Mine Inspector. (Depend upon community.)

Pure Food Laws. Food and Drug Commission.

Revenue Laws. Auditor.

Road Laws. Secretary of State.

School Laws. Superintendent of Schools (latest ed.). Very useful.

Township Organization Laws. Auditor.

State Department, Boards, Etc.

Apply directly to the officer and board unless some other source is indicated.

Agricultural Experiment Station Report.

Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletins.

Agricultural Experiment Station Circulars of information. (Scientific, up-to-date papers on agricultural subjects.)

Agriculture, Board of, Report. (Practical and helpful.)

Agriculture, Board of, Bulletin.

Bank Examiner, Report (latest). Useful to business men.

Charities and Corrections, Report. Of interest to students of sociology.

Dairy and Food Commissioner, Report. Gives work of State in pure food reform.

Equalization, Board of. Report (latest). Of use in the study of taxation.

Fish Commissioners. Report.

Food and Drug Commission. Report.

Fruit Experiment Station. Bulletin.

Geological Survey. Report and Bulletin. (Now Bureau of Geology and Mines.) (H. A. Buehler, Director, Rolla, Mo. Valuable for the geography and geology of the State. The report, 2d ser. now being issued by the Bureau is very attractive.)

Geology and Mines, Bureau of, Report.

Geology and Mines, Bureau of, Bulletin.

Health, Board of, Report.

Health, Board of, Quarterly Bulletin. (For use of the local board of health and others interested in public hygiene.)

Clippings from the bulletin posted in the reading room might do much good.

Horticulture, State Board of, Secretary W. L. Howard, Columbia. Successor to State Horticultural Society.

Insurance, Superintendent of, Report. (Gives standing of insurance companies doing business in State.)

Labor, Commissioner of, Report. (Red Book). (Labor conditions and opportunities in the State. Last volume at least.)

Also, Map of Missouri products; Surplus products of Missouri counties; Resources and advantages of Missouri counties. (And many miscellaneous publications of value.)

Library Commission, Report.

Library Commission. Miscellaneous publications . (For use of the librarian. Very helpful.)

Mines, Inspector of, Report. Practical, useful in a mining community.

Normal Schools. Report.

Public Schools, Superintendent of, Report.

Public Schools. State course of study. Important in work with schools.

Railroad and Warehouse Commission, Report.

Railroad and Warehouse Commission, Map. Best map available.

University Annual Catalogue (latest).
University President's Report.

Societies.

Historical Society of Missouri, State. Biennial report.
Historical Society of Missouri, State. Missouri Historical Review (quarterly). (Society $1.00.) Secretary F. A. Sampson, Columbia, Mo.
State Teachers' Association. Proceedings and addresses, $1.00.

Institutions.

Apply to the institution.
Colony for Feeble-minded.
Confederate Soldiers' Home.
Federal Soldiers' Home.
Hospitals for Insane (1-4).
Industrial Home for Girls.
Institution for Deaf.
Missouri School for Blind.
Missouri State Sanitarium (Mt. Vernon, cure of Tuberculosis.)
Penitentiary.
Training School for Boys.

Miscellaneous.

Williams, Walter, ed., State of Missouri. (Secure from the State Historical Society for cost of transportation.)
State Commission to Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Report. (And similar reports for as many of national and international expositions as can be secured.)

GRACE LEFLER.

DESTRUCTION OF MISSOURI BOOKS.

Once in a while an old court house in Missouri burns down or is torn down, and the old official publications that were formerly sent in considerable numbers to the court house are burned up or otherwise destroyed. When they are deliberately destroyed to get rid of them the vandalism can not be forgiven. As an example of wholly unjustifiable action the following may be given. The Secretary of this Society found at Troy, in Lincoln county, several hundred volumes of Missouri publications running back to an early day. They were in the attic of the court house without any pretense of taking care of them. Obtaining the consent of an official be paid the janitor to carry them down to the first floor, when another official refused to let them go. He then wrote a formal application to the County Court to have the books turned over to the Society, and requested the editor of one of the papers in Troy to assist the Society in the preservation of the books. He was not able to get a single word from any one about what was done, till now a year or two later, he learns that the janitor burned up the entire lot, possibly to save himself the work of carrying them to the attic again, destroyed probably three hundred dollars worth of books, some of which were well worth several dollars each. The county has saved nothing, the officials have grossly neglected their duty, and the state has failed to get what would be a valuable asset for it had the books been turned over to its Historical Society.

NOTES.

The account of the Kirksville meeting of the Society of Teachers of History will appear in the October number on account of want of space in this one.

Judge John Finis Philips. Usually when a man dies his friends do not hesitate to tell of the good things that may be said about him. If his course of life has been such that while still where he can hear the approval of all, it is not only a pleasure to him, but an incentive for others to model after him. It is with a full measure of pleasure that we notice the proceedings of the bar at Kansas City on the retirement of Judge Philips from the office of Judge of the United States Court that for the past twenty-two years he has adorned with signal ability, and with untarnished integrity. For more than a half century he has been devoted to his profession, but has also been prominent in other lines, having been colonel of the Seventh Missouri Cavalry during the Civil War, and member of the Forty-fourth and Forty-sixth Congresses.

That he was a hard worker during his years of the practice of law is shown by his eminence among such lawyers by whose side he practiced, as Senator Vest, Waldo P. Johnson, Judge Russell Hicks, Judge Foster P. Wright and others of his home city Sedalia, as well as those of the adjoining counties. As soldier, lawyer, judge, statesman and finished writer and speaker, Judge Philips has been worthy of imitation, and retires to private life with unblemished reputation, and the hearty good wishes of all who have ever come in contact with him.

Judge Philips is a corresponding member of this Society, and will now have more time to give to the preparation of a promised paper for publication in the Review, which we hope soon to present to our readers.

BOOK NOTICES.

The American Public Library, by **Arthur E. Bostwick,** Ph. D. N. Y. and Lond. D. Appleton and Company, 1910.

The author of the above book is now the librarian of the St. Louis Public Library and was formerly of the New York Public Library. In 1907-1908 he was the President of the American Library Association.

The book is intended for the general reader, as well as for those who wish to learn the methods of daily work in the library, and a bird's-eye view of library economy. It shows the general aims and tendencies of American literary work, and also what our libraries are trying to do, and how far they have succeeded in doing it.

NECROLOGY.

Miss Ellen B. Atwater, a member of this Society, and teacher of history in Central High school in St. Louis, died March 5, 1910, at the age of forty years. She received her degree of A. M. from the University of Chicago, and had been a teacher in Central High school for six years.

Edmund B. Beard died at Jaydee, Mo., March 14, 1910, after a residence of a full century in St. Francois county. He was born in Indiana, February 9, 1809, but was brought to Missouri when one year old. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge at Libertyville, Mo.

Samuel L. Clemens, better known as "Mark Twain," was born in Missouri in the town of Florida, November 30, 1835, but at an early age went to Hannibal, where at the age of twelve years he was apprenticed to a printer; afterwards he went to St. Louis, from which place he engaged in the river service for ten years, and out of which came his pseudonym.

In 1861 he went to Virginia City, Nevada, as private secretary to his brother Orion, who had been appointed territorial secretary of Nevada. He became city editor of the Virginia City Enterprise, and afterwards went to California, where he was engaged in mining and in newspaper work.

In 1867 he published his first book "The Jumping Frog of Calaveras County and Other Sketches." He was then sent by the Alta Californian with a steamship excursion to Europe and the Orient, and in 1869 the letters he wrote on this trip were published under the title of "The Innocents Abroad, or the New Pilgrim's Progress," which was soon translated into all the European languages, and his international reputation as a humorist was established. His next book was in 1872 entitled "Roughing It," the reminiscence of his life in the far West. Then followed the "Gilded Age" in collaboration with Charles Dudley Warner. In 1876 he published "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer," in which he portrayed the irresponsible American boy with remarkable insight and humor. A second trip to Europe gave material for "A Tramp Abroad," published in 1880. His first attempt at historical fiction was "The Prince and the Pauper" in 1882. The next year "Life on the Mississippi River," was founded largely on his experiences as a river pilot. In 1885 appeared "Huckleberry Finn;" in 1889 "Yankee at the Court of King Arthur;" in 1894 "Pudd'nhead Wilson;" and in 1896 "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc." Other books were "Following the Equator," "The Man Who Corrupted Hadleyburg." "A Double Barrelled Detective Story."

In 1884 he became a partner in the publishing firm of Chas. L. Webster & Co., and the failure of this company made him a poor man. However, before his death the income from his royalties, pay from publishers and profits from business ventures made him a millionaire.

The literature of the world has been enriched by the prolific pen of Mark Twain, America has been honored in this enrichment, and Missouri has acknowledged it by conferring upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the Uni-

versity of the State, and its chapter of Phi Beta Kappa by making him an honorary member.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has a special "Mark Twain Collection," consisting of the Hartford edition of his works in 22 volumes presented by him, the Harper Bros'. edition of 17 volumes, presented by Harper Bros.,and a number of first editions and original editions of his works. It is desired to increase this collection by adding to it any edition of any of his books, and especially translations in any language of all of them. Donations are asked of anything that may be added to this special collection.

Hon. Alonzo S. Prather was born near North Vernon, Indiana, July 25, 1840, educated at Depauw University, and at the outbreak of the Civil War had commenced the study of law, but with his father and five brothers enlisted in the Sixth Indiana Volunteer Infantry. During his service he rose to the rank of colonel. In 1870 he was admitted to the bar, and for some years during the reconstruction period lived in Arkansas, and was the Receiver of the United States Land office at Harrison. In 1880 he returned to Missouri. For five terms he had been Representative in the General Assembly from Taney County. A trip to California did not restore his failing health, and June 3d he died, and was buried with Masonic ceremonies.

Hon. Benj. F. Thomas was born in Wisconsin, August 10, 1851, and was educated at the University of Wisconsin. He came to Missouri in 1874 and settled at Carthage, where he served a term as mayor, and one as postmaster, and in 1901 was elected to the State Senate in the Forty-first General Assembly. He died at Carthage, March 25, 1910.

Hon. Elihu B. Thomas, the father of Augustus Thomas, the well known playwright, died in St. Louis, April 25, 1910. He was born in New York, March 22, 1827, and has lived in St. Louis since 1845. He was a captain in the Mexican War, and at the establishment of the St. Louis Dispatch was its pub-

lisher. He was a member of the Missouri Legislature, of the House of the Twenty-second General Assembly in 1862.

Hon. George Henry Walser, the founder of Liberal, Missouri, died at his home, Catalpa Park, Liberal, May 1, 1910. He was born in Dearborn County, Indiana, May 26, 1834, and at an early age moved to Illinois, where he was admitted to the bar in 1857, at Watsega, at which town he tried and won the Oster case last winter. He came to Barton County, Missouri, in 1866, and became the leading criminal lawyer of Southwest Missouri. In 1868 he was elected prosecuting attorney of the county, and in 1869 was elected a member of the House in the Twenty-fifth General Assembly. In 1880 he founded the town of Liberal, and has ever since been its leading citizen. Col. Walser was a literary as well as a business and professional man, his first publication being a book of poems published in St. Louis, 1879, and his last work "The Life and Teaching of Christ," published in Boston last year The Historical Society has in its collection of Missouri authors, Poems of Leisure, Lamar, 1890; Boquet, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1897 and Orthopaedic or Atomic Solution, published in 1898.

Hon. Wilson A. Fast, of Sedalia, a member of this Society, died of appendicitis in a hospital at Mansfield, Ohio, June 24, 1910. A few days previously he had gone to Ohio to attend a family reunion. He was born in Ohio, in 1842, and at the age of eighteen enlisted in the Union army in the Civil War in Company K, 102 Ohio volunteer infantry. After the war he graduated from the law school at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and went to Iowa to practice. He was elected and served a term as a member of the State legislature of Iowa.

About 1881 he came to Sedalia, Missouri, and afterwards resided at that place. The body was brought to Sedalia, and the George R. Smith Camp of the G. A. R., of which he was a member took part in the funeral ceremonies.

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